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THE

HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XXXVII.

Lucius Cornelius Scipio the consul, having as lieutenant Publius Scipio Africanus, (who had declared that he would be his brother's lieutenant if the province of Greece was decreed to him, when that province appeared likely to be assigned to Caius Lælius, who had great influence in the senate) set out to wage war against Antiochus, and was the first Roman general that ever passed over into Asia. Æmilius Regillus, with the assistance of the Rhodians, fought successfully against the royal fleet of Antiochus at Myonnesus. The son of Africanus, having been taken by Antiochus, was sent back to his father. Manius Acilius Glabrio triumphed over Antiochus, whom he had driven out of Greece, and over the Aetolians. Antiochus being subsequently conquered by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, with the aid of Eumenes, son of Attalus, and king of Pergamus, peace was granted to him on these terms—that he should evacuate all the provinces on this side Mount Taurus. The kingdom of Eumenes, through whose assistance Antiochus had been conquered, was enlarged. Some states were granted to the Rhodians too, who also had assisted them. The colony of Bononia was founded. Æmilius Regillus, who had conquered the admirals of Antiochus Scipio was called this name.

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present, they were importuned by questions of the senators, wringing from them an acknowledgment of their guilt rather than replies, and when ordered to depart from the senate, they caused a great contest. Resentment had more power in their case than compassion; for the senate were incensed against them not merely as enemies, but as an uncivilized and unsocial race. After it had been contested several days, it was at last resolved, that peace should neither be granted nor refused. Two conditions were offered them, either that they should yield to the senate unconditional power over them, or pay one thousand talents,[1] and have the same friends and enemies. To them, desirous to elicit in what things they should give to the senate unconditional power over them, no positive answer is given; but being thus dismissed, without having concluded a peace, they were ordered to quit the city that very day, and Italy within fifteen days. They then began to debate concerning the provinces for the consuls. Both of these wished for Greece. Lælius had a powerful interest in the senate; and when the senate had ordered that the consuls should either cast lots for the provinces, or settle them between themselves, he observed, that they would act with more propriety in leaving that matter to the wisdom of the senators, than to the decision of lot. To this Scipio, an answer being given that he would take advice how he ought to act, having spoken to his brother alone, and having been desired by him to leave it unhesitatingly to the senate, answered his colleague that he would do what he recommended. When this plan, either original or sup-

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lus, the fleet; Publius Junius Brutus, the Tuscans; Marcus Tuccius, Apulia and Bruttium; and Caius Atinius, Sicily.

2. Then to the consul to whom the province of Greece had been decreed, in addition to the army which he was about to receive from M. Acilius, (but they were two legions,) three thousand Roman foot and one hundred horse, and of the Latin confederates five thousand foot and two hundred horse, are added as a reinforcement; and it was further ordered, that if, when he arrived in his province, he would judge it conducive to the public interest, he should be at liberty to carry over the army into Asia. To the other consul was decreed an army entirely new; two Roman legions, and of the Latin confederates fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. Quintius Minucius was ordered to remove his forces out of Liguria (for he had written, that the province was completely subdued, and that the whole nation of the Ligurians had surrendered) into the country of the Boians, and to give up the command to Publius Cornelius, proconsul. The two city legions, enlisted the year before, about to be brought home from the country in which Cornelius had fined the conquered Boians, were assigned to Marcus Tuccius, prætor, together with fifteen thousand foot and six hundred horse, of the Latin confederates, to occupy Apulia and Bruttium. Orders were given to Aulus Cornelius, a prætor of the preceding year, who occupied Bruttium with an army, that if the consul judged it proper, he should transport his legions into Ætolia, and give them to Manius Acilius, provided the latter was inclined to remain there; but if Acilius wished to come to Rome, that then Aulus Cornelius should stay in Ætolia with that army. It was resolved that Caius Atinius Labeo should receive from Marcus Æmilius the province of Sicily, and the army there; and should, if he deemed it proper, enlist in the province itself two thousand foot and one hundred horse, for a reinforcement. Publius Junius Brutus was ordered to raise a new army for Tuscany, consisting of one Roman legion, and ten thousand foot of the allies and Latin nation, and four hundred horse. Lucius Æmilius, whose province was the sea, was ordered to receive from Marcus Junius, prætor of the former year, twenty ships of war, with their crews, and himself to enlist one thousand marines and two thousand foot soldiers, with which ships and soldiers he

was to sail to Asia, and receive the command of the fleet from Caius Livius. To the governors of the two Spains and Sardinia, their command is prolonged for a year, and the same armies were decreed them. Sicily and Sardinia were, this year, assessed in two-tenths of their corn. All the corn from Sicily was ordered to be carried into Ætolia, to the army there; of that to be collected from Sardinia, one-half to Rome, and the other half into Ætolia, for the same use as the corn from Sicily.

3. It was judged proper, that, previous to the departure of the consuls for their provinces, the prodigies should be expiated under the direction of the pontiffs. The temple of Juno Lucina, at Rome, was struck by lightning in such a manner, that the summit and the folding-doors were much damaged. At Puteoli, the wall and a gate were struck by lightning in several parts, and two men killed. It was clearly proved, that, at Nursia, in the midst of a calm, a tempest suddenly burst forth; and there also two freemen were killed. The Tusculans reported, that a shower of earth fell in their country; and the Reatines, that a mule brought forth young in theirs. These prodigies were expiated, and the Latin festival was celebrated a second time, because the flesh-meat, which ought to be given to the Laurentians, had not been given them. There was also a supplication made on account of those religious fears; the decemvirs gave directions from the books, to which of the gods it should be performed. Ten free-born youths, and ten virgins, all of whom had their fathers and mothers living, were employed in that ceremony; and the decemvirs sacrificed sucklings by night. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he left the city, erected an arch on the Capitol, facing the road by which we ascend to it, with seven gilded statues and two horses, and placed two marble cisterns in the front of the arch. During that period, forty-three of the principal Ætolians, among whom were Damocritus and his brother, were brought to Rome by two cohorts, sent by Manius Acilius, and were thrown into the prison called Lautumiæ, or the quarry. Lucius Cornelius the consul ordered the cohorts after that to return to the army. Ambassadors came from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, congratulating the Romans because the consul Manius Acilius had driven king Antiochus out of Greece,

and advising that they should carry over their army into Asia. For "all places, not only in Asia, but also in Syria, were filled with consternation; and the king and queen of Egypt would be prepared to do those things which the senate should direct." Thanks were returned to the king and queen, and presents were ordered to be made to the ambassadors, four thousand *asses*[1] to each.

4. The consul Lucius Cornelius, having finished what was necessary to be done at Rome, gave public notice, in an assembly of the people, that the soldiers, whom he himself had enlisted for a reinforcement, and those who were in Bruttium with Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, should all meet him at Brundusium on the ides of July. He likewise appointed three lieutenants-general, Sextus Digitius, Lucius Apustius, and Caius Fabricius Luscinus; who were to bring together ships from all parts of the sea-coast to Brundusium; and now, every thing being ready, he set out from the city in his military robe of state. About five thousand volunteers of the Romans and allies, who had served out their campaigns, under the command of Publius Africanus, attended the consul at his departure, and gave in their names. At the time in which the consul set out to the war during the celebration of the Apollinarian games, on the fifth day before the ides of July, though the sky was serene, *the light* was obscured in the middle of the day, when the moon passed beneath the orb of the sun. L. Æmilius Regillus, to whom the sea had fallen as his province, set out at the same time. To Lucius Aurunculeius this business was assigned by the senate, that he should build thirty quinqueremes and twenty triremes, because there was a report that Antiochus, since the engagement at sea, was fitting out a much larger fleet. The Ætolians, after the ambassadors brought back word from Rome that there was no hope of peace, although their whole sea-coast, which was opposite to Peloponnesus, was ravaged by the Achæans, regarding the danger more than their losses, seized on Mount Corax, in order to shut up the pass against the Romans; for they had no doubt that they would return in the beginning of spring to the siege of Naupactum. It appeared better to Acilius, who knew that this was expected, to attempt a thing that was not anticipated, and to lay

[1] 12*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

siege to Lamia; for the garrison had been reduced by Philip almost to a state of desperation; and being then off their guard, because they feared no such attempt, might be surprised by himself. Marching from Elatia, he formed his first encampment in the enemy's country, on the banks of the river Sperchius, and decamping thence in the night, he at break of day attacked the town with a line of troops that encircled it.

5. As is usual in an unexpected affair, great consternation and tumult ensued; yet the besieged, with greater resolution than any one could suppose them capable of under such a sudden alarm, when the men fought, and the women brought weapons of every kind, and stones, to the walls, defended the city for that day, although the scaling ladders were raised against the walls. About mid-day, Acilius, the signal for retreat being given, drew off his men to their camp. After their bodies were refreshed by food and rest, before he dismissed the meeting in the Prætorium, he gave them notice, "to be ready and under arms before day; and that they were not to return to their tents until the city should be taken." Next day, at the same hour as before, having began the assault in a greater number of places, as not only the strength, but also the weapons, and above all, the courage of the garrison began to fail, he took the town in the space of a few hours. One half of the spoil found there was sold in parcels; the other was divided among the soldiers; and a council was held to determine what he should next undertake. No one approved of going against Naupactum, while the pass at Corax was occupied by the Ætolians. That, however, the summer campaign might not be an idle one, and that the Ætolians might not through his supineness possess the peace that they could not obtain from the senate, Acilius resolved to besiege Amphissa; his army was led thither from Heraclea by Œta. Having encamped under the walls, he proceeded to attack the town, not by general assault, as at Lamia, but by regular approaches. The ram was brought up to the walls in many places at once; and though these were shaken by it, yet the townsmen never attempted to provide or contrive any sort of defence against such a description of mechanism. All their hope was in arms and courage. By frequent sallies they much annoyed not only the advanced guards of the Romans, but those who were employed at the works and machines.

6. However, the wall was broken down in many places, when word was brought, that his successor, having landed his army at Apollonia, was coming through Epirus and Thessaly. The consul came with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse. He had already arrived at the Malian bay; and after that, to his messengers sent forward to Hypata, to order a surrender of the city, this response was given, that they would do nothing except by the common consent of the Ætolians: that the siege of Hypata might not detain him while Amphissa was not yet recovered, having sent forward his brother Africanus, he leads his forces to Amphissa. A little before their arrival, the towns-people having abandoned the city, for it was now, for the most part, stripped of its walls; all, armed and unarmed, retired into the citadel, which they deemed an impregnable fortress. The consul pitched his camp at the distance of about six miles from the town; and thither came ambassadors from the Athenians, addressing, first, Publius Scipio, who preceded the main body as before mentioned, and afterwards the consul, with earnest supplications in favour of the Ætolians. They received a milder answer from Africanus, who, wishing for an honourable pretext for relinquishing the Ætolian war, was directing his views towards Asia and king Antiochus, and had recommended to the Athenians to persuade, not only the Romans, but the Ætolians likewise, to prefer peace to war. By the advice of the Athenians a numerous embassy of the Ætolians came speedily from Hypata, and the discourse of Africanus, whom they addressed first, augmented their hopes of peace; for he mentioned, that "many nations and states, first in Spain, and afterwards in Africa, had thrown themselves on his protection; and that, in all of them, he had left greater monuments of clemency and kindness than of military prowess." The business seemed to be concluded, when the consul, on being applied to, repeated the very same answer with which they had been driven off by the senate. When the Ætolians were thunderstruck at this, as if they had never heard it before, (for they now perceived that no progress was made either from the Athenian embassy or the favourable reply of Africanus,) they said that they wished to consult their countrymen on the affair.

7. They then returned to Hypata, nor were their plans cleared of difficulties. For they had no means of paying the thousand

talents; and, in case of an unconditional submission, they dreaded lest cruelty should be inflicted on their persons. They, therefore, ordered the same ambassadors to return to the consul and Africanus, and to request, that if they meant in reality to grant them peace, and not merely to amuse them with a prospect of it, frustrating the hopes of the wretched, they would either remit some part of the money required to be paid, or order that the unconditional submission should not extend to their persons. Nothing was accomplished whereby the consul might change his resolution; and that embassy, also, was dismissed without effect. The Athenian ambassadors accompanied them. And Echedemus, their principal in the embassy, recalled to hope the Ætolians, dejected by so many repulses, and deploring with unavailing lamentations the hard fate of their nation—by advising them to request a suspension of arms for six months, in order that they might send an embassy to Rome. He urged that "the delay could add nothing to their present calamities, which were already severe in the extreme; but that, if time intervened, their present calamities might be alleviated by many chances. Agreeably to this advice of Echedemus, the same ambassadors were sent again; who, making their first application to Publius Scipio, obtained, through him, from the consul, a suspension of arms for the time they desired: and the siege of Amphissa being raised, Manius Acilius, the army being delivered to the consul, left the province; and the consul returned from Amphissa into Thessaly, with intention of leading his troops into Asia through Macedonia and Thrace. Here Africanus said to his brother, Lucius Scipio, "I also, Lucius Scipio, approve of the route which you adopt. But the whole matter rests on the inclinations of Philip; for if he be faithful to our government, he will afford us a passage, and provisions and all things which support and aid an army on a long march. But if he should fail in this, you will find no safety in any part of Thrace. In my opinion, therefore, the king's disposition ought in the first place to be discovered. He will be best tested if the person who shall be sent will come suddenly upon him, doing nothing by a preconcerted plan. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a young man, the most active of all the youths at that time, being selected for this purpose, by means of relays of horses, and travelling with almost incredi-

ble expedition, made good the journey from Amphissa, whence he had been despatched, to Pella, on the third day. The king was sitting at a banquet, and was far gone in his cups: that very relaxation of mind removed all suspicion of any intention of changing his measures. His guest was kindly entertained for the present; and next day he saw provisions in abundance already prepared for the army, bridges made over rivers, and roads fortified where the passage was difficult. As he was bringing back this intelligence, with the same speed which he had used in coming, he met the consul at Thaumaci. From this the army rejoicing, marched with more certain and greater hopes into Macedon, where all things were prepared. On their arrival, the king received them with royal magnificence, and accompanied them on their march. Much pleasantry and good humour appeared in him, which recommended him much to Africanus, a man who, as he was unparalleled in other respects, was not averse to courteousness unaccompanied by luxury. Passing from this not only through Macedon, but also through Thrace, they arrived at the Hellespont, Philip escorting them and making every preparation.

8. Antiochus, after the sea-fight at Corycus, when he had the whole winter disengaged to carry on his preparations by land and water, was chiefly intent on the refitting of his ships, lest he should be entirely excluded from the sea. It occurred to him that he had been defeated when the Rhodian fleet was absent; if this fleet were present in an engagement, (and the Rhodians would certainly not be guilty of being late a second time,) he required a vast number of ships to equal the fleet of the enemy, in the strength of their crews and size of their vessels. For this reason, he sent Hannibal into Syria, to bring in the Phœnician navy, and gave orders to Polyxenidas, that, the more unsuccessfully affairs had been managed before, the more diligently he should now repair the ships which he had, and procure others. He himself passed the winter in Phrygia, calling in auxiliaries from every quarter. He had even sent for that purpose to Gallogræcia. The people of that country were then more warlike than at present, retaining the Gallic spirit, as the generation which had emigrated thither was not yet extinct. He had left his son Seleucus with an army in Æolia, to keep in obedience the maritime cities, which on one side Eumenes from Perga-

mus, on the other, the Romans from Phocæa and Erythræ, were soliciting to revolt. The Roman fleet, as mentioned before, wintered at Canæ; thither, about the middle of the season, came king Eumenes, with two thousand foot and one hundred horse. He, when he affirmed that vast quantities of spoil might be brought off from the enemy's country round Thyatira; by his persuasions, prevailed on Livius to send with him five thousand soldiers. Those that were sent within a few days carried off an immense booty.

9. Meanwhile a sedition broke out at Phocæa, in consequence of some endeavouring to bring over the multitude to the party of Antiochus. The winter quarters of the ships were burdensome: the tribute was burdensome, because five hundred gowns with five hundred tunics were exacted from them: the scarcity of corn was also galling, on account of which the ships also and garrison of Rome evacuated the place. The faction which laboured in their assemblies to draw the commonalty over to Antiochus, was now freed from all apprehension: the senate, and higher ranks, were of opinion that they should persevere in the alliance with Rome. But the advisers of a revolt had greater influence with the multitude. The Rhodians, the earlier in proportion to their having been too late in the former summer, sent in the vernal equinox, as commander of their fleet, with thirty-six ships, the same Pausistratus. At this time Livius, with thirty ships and seven quadriremes, which king Eumenes had brought with him, was on his passage from Canæ to the Hellespont, in order to prepare every thing necessary for the transportation of the army, which he expected to come by land. He first brought his fleet into the harbour called the Achæan; whence he went up to Ilium, and having offered sacrifice to Minerva, gave a kind reception to the embassies from the states in the neighbourhood, from Elæus, Dardanum, and Rhetæum, surrendering their respective states to him. Then he sailed to the entrance of the Hellespont; and, leaving ten ships stationed opposite to Abydos, he crossed over to Europe with the rest of the fleet, to attack Sestos. As the troops were advancing up to the walls, first of all inspired priests of Cybele,[1] in their solemn dress, met them before the gate. These said, that, "by order of the mother of the gods, they,

[1] Called Galli, and Corybantes.

the immediate servants of the goddess, were come to pray the Roman commander to spare the walls and the city." None of them was injured; and, presently, the whole senate and the magistrates came out to surrender the place. The fleet then sailed over to Abydos; where when, their minds being sounded by conferences, no peaceable answer was given, they prepared themselves for a siege.

10. While these transactions are carried on at the Hellespont, Polyxenidas, the commander of the king's fleet, (but he was an exile from Rhodes,) having heard that the ships of his countrymen had sailed from home, and that Pausistratus, who commanded them, had, in a public speech, uttered several haughty and contemptuous expressions respecting him, and having conceived a particular jealousy against him, considered nothing else, night or day, than that by his acts he should refute his boastful words. He sent a person, who was known to him, to say, that "if it were allowed, he would be of great service to Pausistratus, and to his native country; and that he might be restored by Pausistratus to his country." When Pausistratus, in surprise, asked by what means such things could be effected; and pledged his faith to the other, at his request, that he would either concur in the execution of the design, or bury it in silence; the emissary then told him, that "Polyxenidas would deliver into his hands, either the whole of the king's fleet or the greater part of it; and as a reward, he stipulated for nothing more, than a return to his native country." The importance of the business had this effect, that he neither believed nor despised his proposition. He sailed to Panormus, in the Samian territory, and stopped there in order to examine thoroughly the business which was proposed to him. Messengers passed rapidly from both parties, nor was confidence inspired into Pausistratus until, in the presence of his messenger, Polyxenidas wrote, with his own hand, an engagement that he would perform all that he had promised, and sent the tablets sealed with his own seal. By such a pledge as this, he thought that the traitor was completely engaged to him. For, "that he who lived under a king would never act so absurdly as to give evidence of guilt against himself, attested by his own signature." The method of conducting the pretended plot was then settled: Polyxenidas said that "he would neglect every kind of preparation; that

he would not keep any considerable numbers on board, either of rowers or mariners; that he would haul up on land some of the ships, under pretence of refitting them; would send away others into the neighbouring ports, and keep a few at sea before the harbour of Ephesus; which, if circumstances made it necessary to come out, he would expose to a battle." The negligence which Pausistratus heard that Polyxenidas was about to use in his fleet, he himself immediately practised. Part of his ships he sent to Halicarnassus to bring provisions, another part to the city of Samos, while he himself waited at Panormus, that he might be ready when he should receive the signal of attack from the traitor. Polyxenidas encouraged his mistake by counterfeiting neglect; hauled up some ships, and, as if he intended to haul up others, put the docks in repair; he did not call the rowers from their winter quarters to Ephesus, but assembled them secretly at Magnesia.

11. By chance one of Antiochus's soldiers, when he had come to Samos on account of private business, being seized as a spy, is brought to Panormus to the admiral. This man, it is uncertain whether through fear or treachery towards his countrymen, disclosed all things to him, inquiring what was going on at Ephesus: that the fleet lay in harbour, fully equipped and ready for sea; that all the rowers had been sent to Magnesia (at Sipylus); that very few of the ships had been hauled on land; that the docks were shut, and that never was the business of the fleet conducted with greater diligence. But the mind of Pausistratus, prepossessed by misplaced confidence and vain hopes, caused these things not to be attended to as true. Polyxenidas, having fully adjusted all his measures, having called in the rowers from Magnesia, and launched hastily the ships that were in dock, by night, after wasting the day not so much in preparation as because he was unwilling that the fleet should be seen going to sea, set sail after sun-set with seventy decked ships, and, the wind being contrary, put into the harbour of Pygelia before daylight. Where when he had rested during the day, for the same reason as before, he passed over in the night to the nearest part of the Samian territory. From this place, having ordered a certain Nicander, a chief pirate, to sail with five decked ships to Palinurus, and thence to lead his armed men by the shortest road through the fields towards Panor-

mus, and so to come behind the enemy; he himself, in the mean time, with his fleet in two divisions, in order that it might command the mouth of the harbour on both sides, proceeded to Panormus. Pausistratus was at first confused for a little, as the thing was unexpected; but afterwards, being an old soldier, having quickly regained his courage, and judging that the enemy would be more easily repelled by land than by sea, he marched his armed forces in two bodies to the promontories, which, by their heads projecting into the deep, formed the harbour; under the impression that he could easily repel the enemy by weapons on both sides, from the two promontories. When the sight of Nicander on the land had disconcerted this undertaking, having suddenly changed his design, he ordered all to go on board the ships. Then truly a great confusion arose among soldiers and sailors alike, and a sort of flight to the ships took place, when they perceived themselves surrounded by land and sea at the same time. Pausistratus supposed that the only way of safety was to force through the narrow entrance of the port, and push out into the open sea; and after that he saw his men embarked, ordering the rest to follow, he himself the first, with ship urged vigorously by the oars, pressed to the mouth of the harbour. Just as his ship was clearing the entrance, Polyxenidas, with three quinqueremes, surrounded it. The vessel, shattered by their beaks, sunk; the crew were overwhelmed with weapons, and, among them, Pausistratus, fighting gallantly, was slain. Of the rest of the ships, some were taken outside of the harbour, some within, and others by Nicander, while they were putting off from the shore. Only five Rhodian and two Coan ships effected an escape, a passage being made for them through the thick of the enemy, by the terror of shining flames; for they carried before them, on two poles projecting from their prows, a great quantity of fire contained in iron vessels. The galleys of Erythræ, after meeting not far from Samos the Rhodian ships, then flying, which they were coming to succour, bore away to the Romans in the direction of the Hellespont. About the same time, Seleucus got possession of Phocæa by treachery, one gate being opened by the sentinels. Cyme, with the other cities on that coast, revolted to him through fear.

12. Whilst these events are taking place in Æolis, after

Abydos, which was defended by a garrison of the king's troops, had sustained a siege of several days, all parties then grew weary of the struggle, and the magistrates, with the permission of Philotas, the commander of the garrison, began to treat with Livius, concerning the terms on which they should surrender the city. Because they could not agree whether the king's troops should march out with their arms, or without them, this question protracted the matter. When the intelligence of the destruction of the Rhodians interrupted them, treating of these things, the matter was dropped. For Livius, fearing lest Polyxenidas, elated by his recent success in such an important enterprise, might surprise the fleet which lay at Canæ, instantly abandoned the siege of Abydos and the guard of the Hellespont, and drew out the ships that were in dock at Canæ, and Eumenes came to Elæa. Livius, with the whole fleet, to which he had joined two triremes of Mitylene, sailed to Phocæa; but, having learned that this place was held by a strong garrison of the king's troops, and that the camp of Seleucus was not far distant, he ravaged the sea-coast, hastily conveying on board the booty, which consisted chiefly of men, and waiting only until Eumenes, with his fleet, came up, he endeavours to reach Samos. Among the Rhodians, the news of their misfortune excited, at first, both consternation, and the greatest grief, at the same time. For, besides the loss of their ships and soldiers, they had lost the flower and strength of their youth; many young men of distinction having been induced, among other motives, by the character of Pausistratus, which was deservedly very high among his countrymen. Afterwards, because they had been circumvented by treachery, and by a countryman of their own, above all men, their grief was changed into anger. They sent out ten ships immediately, and, in a few days, ten more, Eudamus being commander of all; who, though far inferior to Pausistratus in warlike qualifications, they supposed would be a more cautious leader, as he was not of so high a spirit. The Romans, and king Eumenes, put in their fleet, first, at Erythræ; and, having staid there one night, they, on next day, reached Corycus, a promontory in Teios. When they intended to pass over hence, to the nearest part of the Samian territory; not waiting for the rising of the sun, from which the pilots could learn the state of the weather, they exposed themselves to the varying storm. About the middle

of the passage, the wind changing from north-east to north, they began to be tossed about on the sea, stormy with billows.

13. Polyxenidas, taking it for granted that the enemy would go to Samos to join the Rhodian fleet, set sail from Ephesus, and stopped first at Myonnesus, from whence he crossed over to the island which they call Macris; in order that, when the enemy's fleet should sail by, he might be able to attack, with advantage, either any ships that straggled from the main body, or might attack the rear of the fleet itself. After that he saw the fleet dispersed by the storm, first of all he thought this a good opportunity to attack it; but, in a little time, the wind increasing and raising a heavy sea, because he could not possibly come up with them, he steered to the island of Æthalia, that, from thence, he might next day fall on the ships, as they made for Samos, from the main sea. A small number of Roman vessels, just as it grew dark, got into a desert harbour on the Samian coast; the rest, after being tossed about all night, ran into the same harbour. Then when it was learned from the country people, that the enemy's fleet lay at Æthalia, a consultation was held whether they should attack them immediately, or wait for that of the Rhodian fleet. The attack being deferred, for so they resolved, they sailed away to Corycus, whence they had come. Polyxenidas also, having kept his station for some time, without effecting any thing, returned to Ephesus. On this the Roman ships, the sea being clear of the enemy, sailed to Samos. The Rhodian fleet came to the same place after a few days. And that it might appear that they were only waiting for this, they immediately sailed away to Ephesus, that they should either decide it in a naval contest, or, in case the enemy should decline a battle, to extort from them a confession of fear, which would have the best effect on the minds of the states of Asia. They lay opposite the entrance of the harbour, with the fleet formed in a line abreast of it, but none came out against them; the fleet being divided, one part lay at anchor before the mouth of the harbour, the other landed a body of soldiers. Andronicus, a Macedonian, who was in garrison at Ephesus, then made a sally against them, driving off great booty from the widely-deserted country; when they came near the walls, he stripped them of the greatest part of their

plunder, and drove them down to the shore and their ships. On the day following, the Romans, having laid an ambuscade about the middle of the way, marched in a body to the city, in order to entice the Macedonians out of the gates. Then, when that same fear had deterred any one from coming out, the Romans returned to their ships. And the enemy avoiding a contest by land or sea, the fleet sailed back to Samos, whence it came. The prætor then detached two Rhodian triremes, and two belonging to the Italian allies, under the command of Epicrates, a Rhodian, to guard the strait of Cephallenia. Hybristas, a Lacedæmonian, at the head of a band of young Cephallenians, infested it with piracies; and the passage was shut against the convoys from Italy.

14. Epicrates met, at Piræeus, Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who was on his way to take the command of the fleet. On hearing of the defeat of the Rhodians, as he had only two quinqueremes, he carried back with him to Asia Epicrates and his four ships. Some undecked vessels of the Athenians followed him. He crossed the Ægean Sea to Chios. To which place came, in the middle of the night, Timasicrates, a Rhodian, with two quadriremes from Samos, and, being presented to Æmilius, he told him that he was despatched for the purpose of convoying him in safety, because the king's ships, by frequent excursions from the Hellespont and Abydos, rendered the sea on that coast dangerous to transports. Two Rhodian quadriremes met Æmilius on his passage from Chios to Samos, being sent by Livius to attend him, and king Eumenes with two quinqueremes met him. Æmilius, after he arrived at Samos, as soon as he had received the command of the fleet from Livius, and duly performed the usual sacrifices, called a council. Here, Caius Livius, whose opinion was first asked, said, that "no one could give advice with more sincerity than he, who recommended to another what himself would do in the same case. That he had intended to sail with the whole fleet to Ephesus; to take with him ships of burden, heavily laden with ballast, and to sink them in the entrance of the harbour. That the narrow passage might be shut up with less difficulty on this account, because the mouth of the port was like a river, long and narrow, and full of shoals. By this expedient he was about to cut off the enemy's communication with the sea, and render their fleet useless."

15. This plan was not approved by any of the council. King Eumenes asked, "What then? when, by sinking the ships, they should have barred the pass to the sea, their own fleet being at liberty, would they depart from the place to bear aid to the allies, and strike terror into their enemies? or whether, with no less ardour, they would block up the port with their whole force? For, if they should withdraw, who could doubt that the enemy would weigh up the masses that were sunk, and open the port with less labour than it had cost to shut it? But if, after all, they were to remain there, what advantage would accrue from the harbour being closed? Nay, on the contrary, the enemy enjoying a safe haven, and an opulent city, furnished, at the same time, with every thing from Asia, would pass the summer at their ease, while the Romans, exposed in the open sea to winds and waves, and in want of every accommodation, must continue on guard, without intermission; and would be themselves tied down, and hindered from doing any thing that ought to be done, rather than to keep the enemy shut up." Eudamus, commander of the Rhodian fleet, rather showed his disapprobation of the plan proposed, than proposed himself what he thought should be done. Epicrates, the Rhodian, advised, "not to think of Ephesus for the present, but that a part of the fleet should be sent to Lycia, and that Patara, the metropolis of that nation, should be brought into a treaty of allianee. This would conduce to two important purposes: first, the Rhodians, owing to peace being established in the countries opposite to their island, could apply the whole of their strength to the care of the war against Antiochus; and then the fleet which the enemy were fitting out in Lycia, would be blocked up, and prevented from joining Polyxenidas." This plan influenced the most. Nevertheless, it was determined that Regillus should sail, with the entire fleet, to the harbour of Ephesus, to strike terror into the enemy.

16. Caius Livius was sent to Lycia, with two Roman quinqueremes, four Rhodian quadriremes, and two open vessels of Smyrna; being ordered to proceed, first, to Rhodes, and to communicate all his designs to the government there. The states which he passed in his way, Miletus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Cous, diligently executed his orders. When he came to Rhodes, he explained, to the persons in authority, the business on which he was sent, and, at the same

time, desired their opinion. All approving his design, and three quadriremes being added to that fleet which he had, he set sail for Patara. The wind being favourable at first, carried them very near the city, and they were in hopes of effecting something by surprise. After that, the wind veering, the sea had begun to roll in heavy waves, they persevered at their oars until they reached the land; but there was no safe anchorage there, nor could they ride in the road, as the sea was rough, and night was coming on. They, therefore, sailed past the city, to the port of Phœnicus, which was not quite two miles distant, and which afforded shelter from the violence of the waves, but high cliffs overlooked it, which the towns-people, joined by the king's troops which were in garrison, immediately seized. Livius, though the landing-places were rugged and difficult, sent against them a party of the auxiliaries, composed of Issæans, and light infantry of Smyrna. These (whilst they were skirmishing with missile weapons, and in slight attacks on the few who were there at first, rather than engaging in battle) supported the contest sufficiently well. After that greater numbers flocked thither from the city, and at length, the whole multitude pouring out, fear seized Livius, not only that the auxiliaries might be cut off, but that the ships would be in danger from the land. In consequence he led out to the engagement, not only the soldiers, but the marines, and even the crowd of rowers, armed with such weapons as each could find. After all, however, the fight was doubtful; and, besides a considerable number of soldiers, Lucius Apustius fell in this disorderly combat. At last, the Lycians were routed, and driven within their gates; and the Romans, with a bloody victory, returned to their ships. They then proceeded to the gulf of Telmissus, which washes Caria on one side, and Lycia on the other, where all thoughts of any further attempt on Patara were laid aside, the Rhodians were sent home, and Livius, sailing along the coast of Asia, crossed over to Greece, that he might have a meeting with the Scipios, who were at that time in Thessaly, and then take his passage to Italy.

17. Æmilius, although he himself had been driven off from Ephesus by a storm, and had returned to Samos without effecting any thing, after he knew that the expedition to Lycia was dropped, and that Livius had gone to Italy, having thought

it disgraceful that Patara should be attacked in vain, resolved to go thither and attack the city with his utmost force. Having sailed past Miletus, and the rest of the coast of the allies, he made a descent in the bay of Bargyllæ, with the design of reducing Jassus. A garrison of the king's troops held the city, and the Romans made hostile depredations on all the country round. He then sent persons to confer with the magistrates and principal inhabitants, and sound their dispositions. After they answered that nothing was in their power, he advanced to lay siege to the city. There were, with the Romans, some exiles from Jassus, who, in a body, earnestly importuned the Rhodians "not to suffer an unoffending city, which was as well a neighbouring one as also connected with them in consanguinity, to be ruined. They themselves were banished for no other cause than their faithful attachment to the Romans; and those who remained in the place were held in subjection by the same force by which they had been expelled. The wish of the people of Jassus was one, to escape from a state of slavery under the king." The Rhodians, moved by their entreaties, and calling in the assistance of king Eumenes, by representing, at the same time, their own connexions with them, and also the unfortunate condition of the city, which was kept in bondage by the king's garrison, prevailed on Æmilius to drop the siege. Departing hence, and coasting along the shore of Asia, the other places being at peace, they arrived at Loryma, a port opposite to Rhodes. Here, at head-quarters, a private conversation arises first among the tribunes of the soldiers, and afterwards reached the ears of Æmilius, that the fleet was going off to a distance from Ephesus, from the war which concerned themselves; so that the enemy, being left behind, without control, might safely make whatever attempts they pleased against so many states of the allies, in their neighbourhood. These remarks moved Æmilius; and calling the Rhodians to him, he asked them, whether the whole fleet could lie in the harbour of Patara: when they answered that it could not, furnished with an excuse for laying aside the design, he sailed back to Samos.

18. In the mean time Seleucus, son of Antiochus, who had kept his army in Ætolia, through the whole of the winter employed, partly, in succouring his allies, partly, in ravaging the

lands of those whom he could not seduce to his side, resolved to make an incursion on the territory of king Eumenes, while he, at a great distance from home, was assisting the Romans and Rhodians, in attacks on the maritime parts of Lycia. He advanced with hostile standards, first, to Elæa; afterwards, the design of besieging it being given up, having wasted the country in a hostile manner, he led his army to lay siege to Pergamus, the capital and principal fortress of the kingdom. Attalus, at first, posting advanced guards outside the city, and sending out parties of cavalry and light infantry, harassed rather than withstood the enemy. But, after some time, having discovered, in slight skirmishes, that he was not a match for the enemy in any respect, he drew back his men within the fortifications, and then the city began to be besieged. About this time, Antiochus, leaving Apamea with a vast army compounded of various nations, encamped first at Sardis, and afterwards took post at a small distance from the camp of Seleucus, at the head of the river Caicus. The most formidable part of his force was a body of four thousand Gauls, procured for hire: these, with a few others intermixed, he detached, with orders to waste utterly the country about Pergamus. When news of these transactions arrived at Samos, Eumenes being thus recalled by a war in his own dominions, sailed with his fleet to Elæa; and finding there, in readiness, some light troops of horse and foot, he took them for an escort, and proceeded directly to Pergamus, before the enemy could be apprized of his arrival, or could put themselves in motion. Then again skirmishes began to take place in the sallies, Eumenes undoubtedly shrinking from the risk of a decisive engagement. In a few days after the combined fleet of the Romans and Rhodians came from Samos to Elæa, to support the king. When information was brought to Antiochus that these had landed troops at Elæa, and that so many fleets were assembled in one harbour, and at the same time heard that the consul, with his army, was already in Macedonia, and that the things that were necessary for the passage of the Hellespont were being prepared, he judged that now was the time for negotiation, before he should be pressed on sea and land at once; and with this view he chose for his camp a rising ground opposite to Elæa. Leaving there all the infantry, with his cavalry, amounting to six thousand, he

went down into the plains, which lay under the walls of the town, having despatched a herald to Æmilius, to acquaint him that he wished to treat of peace.

19. Æmilius sent to Pergamus for Eumenes, and desiring the Rhodians to be present, held a council on the message. The Rhodians were not averse to a pacification; but Eumenes affirmed that "it was not honourable to treat of peace at that time, nor could an end be put to the thing. For," said he, "how can we, shut up as we are, within our walls, and besieged, with honour accept terms of peace? Or to whom shall that treaty be valid, which we shall conclude, without the presence of the consul, without a vote of the senate, and without an order of the Roman people? For, let me ask, supposing the matter concluded by you, would you immediately go home to Italy, and carry away your fleet and army, or would you wait to know the consul's determination on the case; what the senate should decree, or the people order? It remains therefore that you must stay in Asia, that your troops being led back again into winter quarters, the war being given over, must exhaust the allies in furnishing provisions; and then, if it seem fit to those who have the power of determining, we must begin the whole war anew, which we are able, with the aid of the gods, to finish before winter, if no relaxation from our present vigorous movements is made by delay." This opinion prevailed; and the answer given to Antiochus was, that they could not treat of peace before the arrival of the consul. Antiochus, peace being tried for in vain, ravaged, first, the territory of Elæa, then that of Pergamus; and, leaving there his son Seleucus, marched in a hostile manner to Adramyttium, whence he proceeded to a rich tract of country called the Plain of Thebes, a city celebrated in one of Homer's poems; and in no other place in Asia did the king's soldiers find such a plenty of booty. At the same time, Æmilius and Eumenes also, sailing round with the fleet, came to Adramyttium, to protect the city.

20. By chance, at this time, one thousand foot with one hundred horse came to Elæa from Achaia, Diophanes being commander of all these forces; whom, on their landing, persons, sent by Eumenes to meet them, conducted by night to Pergamus. Veterans they all were, well skilled in war; and their commander was a disciple of Philopœmen,

the most consummate general among the Greeks in that age. They set apart two days to give rest to the men and horses, and, at the same time, to view the posts of the enemy, and to learn at what places, and what times, they advanced and retired. The king's troops generally approached to the foot of the hill on which the town stands; so that the plundering in the rear was unimpeded, as not a man ever sallied out, even to throw darts from a distance, against their guards. After that they were once driven in, and with fear confined themselves within the walls, a contempt for them arises among the king's troops, and consequently negligence. The greater number did not keep their horses either saddled or bridled; while few remained under arms, and in the ranks; the rest, slipping away, had scattered themselves every where over the entire plain, some diverting themselves with youthful sports and amusements, others eating in the shade, and some even stretched on the ground asleep. Diophanes, having observed all these particulars from the lofty city of Pergamus, ordered his men to take arms, and to be ready at a particular gate. He himself went to Attalus, and told him that he intended to attack the outposts of the enemy. Attalus giving his consent with reluctance, as he saw that one hundred horse must fight against six hundred, one thousand foot against four thousand, Diophanes then marched out of the gate, and took post at a small distance from the enemy's guard, waiting his opportunity. Both the people in Pergamus thought that it was madness rather than daring, and the enemy, after observing his party for a short time, as soon as they saw no movement among them, did not change their usual negligence, ridiculing moreover the smallness of their number. Diophanes for a long time kept his men quiet, as if they had been brought out merely for the purpose of looking about them; but as soon as he perceived that the enemy had quitted their ranks, ordering the infantry to follow as fast as they could, he himself, with his own troop, led the way at the head of the cavalry, and pushing on, with all possible speed, made a sudden charge on the enemy's party, while a shout was raised by every horseman and footman at once. Not only were the men so attacked terrified, but the horses also; and when they broke their collars, they caused great confusion and tumult throughout. A few of the horses, indeed, stood unaffrighted; but even these

the troopers could not easily saddle, or bridle, or mount; for the Achæans struck much greater terror than would be supposed from so small a party of horse. But now the infantry, in due order and preparation, assailed the enemy, dispersed through their own negligence, and almost half asleep; and slaughter and flight ensued in every part of the plain. Diophanes pursued the runaways as far as he could with safety, and then returned into garrison, after acquiring very great honour for the Achæan nation; for not only the men, but also the women, had been spectators from the walls of Pergamus.

21. Next day the enemy's guard, in more regular and orderly condition, pitched their camp five hundred paces farther from the city, and the Achæans marched out at nearly the same time as before, and to the same place. During many hours, both parties intently awaited the assault, as if it were about to take place immediately. When it was not far from sun-set, the usual time of their returning to the main camp, the king's troops, forming in close order, began to retire in a body, arranged for a march rather than for a battle. Diophanes did not stir until they were out of sight; and then he rushed on their rear-guard with the same vehemence as before, and again excited such dismay and confusion, that, though the hindmost were put to the sword, not one of them halted to fight; they were driven into their camp in confusion, and scarcely observing any order in their march. These daring exertions of the Achæans obliged Seleucus to decamp, and quit the territory of Pergamus. Antiochus, having learned that the Romans and Eumenes were come to protect Adramyttium, made no attempt on that city, but ravaged the country adjoining. He afterwards reduced Perœa, a colony of Mityleneans; Cotton, Corylenus, Aphrodisias, and Crene, were all taken at the first assault. He then returned through Thyatira to Sardis. Seleucus, remaining on the sea-coast, was a terror to one party, a protection to the other. The Roman fleet, with Eumenes and the Rhodians, retired, first to Mitylene, and then to Elæa, whence they had set out. On their way to Phocæa, they put in at an island called Bachius; it is near the city of Phocæa; and when they had plundered the temples and statues, which they had before spared, (for the island was surpassingly adorned with them,) they then passed over to the city. When they, having divided the

quarters among themselves, assaulted it, and saw that it could not be taken by arms and scaling-ladders, without regular works; after that a reinforcement of three thousand soldiers, sent by Antiochus, had got into the city, they immediately broke up the siege, and the fleet retired to the island, without having effected any thing more than the devastation of the enemy's country in the neighbourhood.

22. It was then resolved that Eumenes should return home, and make every necessary preparation for the passage of the consul and his army over the Hellespont; and that the Roman and Rhodian fleets should sail back to Samos, and remain stationed there, that Polyxenidas might not make any movement from Ephesus. The king returned to Elæa, the Romans and Rhodians to Samos. There, Marcus Æmilius, brother of the prætor, died. After his obsequies were performed, the Rhodians sailed, with thirteen of their own ships, one Coan, and one Cnidian quinquereme, to Rhodes, in order that they might take up a position there, against a fleet which was reported to be coming from Syria. Two days before the arrival of Eudamus and the fleet from Samos, another fleet of thirteen ships, under the command of Pamphilidas, had been sent out against the same Syrian fleet; and taking with them four ships, which had been left to protect Caria, they relieved from blockade Dædala, and several other fortresses of Peræa, which the king's troops were besieging. It was determined that Eudamus should put to sea directly, and an addition of six undecked ships was made to his fleet. He accordingly set sail; and using all possible expedition, overtook the first squadron at a port called Magiste, from whence they proceeded in one body to Phaselis, resolving to wait there for the enemy.

23. Phaselis stands on the confines of Lycia and Pamphilia; it projects far into the sea, and is the first land seen by persons coming from Cilicia to Rhodes, and from hence ships can be seen at a great distance. For this reason, chiefly, this place was made choice of, that they may lie in the way of the enemy's fleet. But in consequence of the unwholesomeness of the place, and of the season of the year, (for it was now the middle of summer,) and of the unusual stench, diseases began to spread with violence, particularly among the rowers, an event which they did not foresee. And having

left the place from fear of this pestilence, when they were sailing by the Pamphylian bay, their fleet putting into port at the river Eurymedon, they hear from the people of Aspendus, that the enemy are now at Sida. The king's fleet had been the slower in its passage, the season of the Etesiæ being opposed to them, for this is the periodical time for the north-west winds. The Rhodians had thirty-two quadriremes and four triremes. In the king's fleet were thirty-seven ships of the larger rates; among which were three of seven, and four of six banks of oars; and besides these, ten triremes. They discovered too, from some watch-tower, that the Rhodians were at hand. Both fleets, at the dawn of the next day, moved out of port, as if resolved to come to an immediate engagement; and, as soon as the Rhodians passed the promontory that stretches into the deep from Sida, they descried the enemy, and were observed by them. On the king's side, Hannibal had the command of the left squadron, which stretched away seaward; Apollonius, one of the nobles, had the command of the right, and they had their ships already formed in a line a-head. The Rhodians approached in a long line. First was the admiral's ship, with Eudamus in it; Chariclitus brought up the rear; and Pamphilidas commanded the centre division. When Eudamus saw the enemy's line formed and ready for battle, he pushed out towards the main, ordering the ships that followed to form, regularly, as they came up, in line of battle. This caused confusion at first; for he had not stretched out to the main far enough for the line of all the ships to form in the direction of the land, and he himself hurrying on with precipitation, with only five ships, engaged with Hannibal; the rest, having received orders to form their line, did not come up. The rear division had no room left for it next to the land; and, while they were in disorder, the fight was already begun on the right against Hannibal.

24. But the goodness of their ships, and the expertness of their men in nautical business, quickly freed the Rhodians from all embarrassment. They pushed out hastily towards the main, and each made room next the land for the one immediately behind; and when any made a stroke with its beak against a ship of the enemy, it either shattered its prow, or swept off its oars; or passing by it in the clear space

between the vessels, made an attack on its stern. One of the king's seven-banked ships being sunk with one stroke, by a Rhodian vessel of much smaller size, discouraged them very much. Therefore the right wing of the enemy was now undoubtedly verging to flight. Hannibal, in the open sea, by means chiefly of his superior number of ships, pressed hard on Eudamus, who surpassed him in every other respect: and he would have surrounded him were it not that, on the signal being given from the admiral's fleet, (by which it is usual to collect together the fleet when dispersed,) all the ships which had conquered on the right wing came speedily to bear aid to their own party. This made Hannibal himself, with all his division, betake themselves to flight; while the Rhodians could not pursue, because their rowers being most of them sick, were therefore the sooner wearied. When they were recruiting their strength with food on the sea where they brought to, Eudamus, observing the enemy towing, by means of their open vessels, several damaged and crippled ships, and seeing little more than twenty that were going off uninjured, commanded silence from the castle of the commander's ship, and then called out, "Arise, and feast your eyes with an extraordinary sight." They all started up, and perceiving the disorderly flight of the enemy, cried out, almost with one voice, that they ought to pursue. Eudamus's ship was bulged in many places; he therefore ordered Pamphilidas and Chariclitus to pursue as far as they should think it safe. They, accordingly, pursued for a considerable time: but after that Hannibal make-in close to the land, fearing to be wind-bound on an enemy's coast, they steered back to Eudamus, and with difficulty towed to Phaselis a captured seven-banked ship, which had been damaged in the beginning of the engagement. They then sailed home to Rhodes, not so much exulting in their victory as blaming one another because the entire fleet had not been taken or sunk, when it could have been done. Hannibal, disheartened by the loss of this one battle, did not even then dare to sail past the coast of Lycia, though he wished to join the king's main fleet as soon as possible. And that this action might not be unimpeded, the Rhodians sent Chariclitus with twenty ships of war to Patara and the harbour of Megiste. They then ordered Eudamus, with seven of the largest vessels belonging to the fleet which he had com-

manded, to rejoin the Romans at Samos, and to endeavour by every argument, and by all his influence, to prevail on the Romans to besiege Patara.

25. Now first of all the intelligence of the victory, and subsequently the arrival of the Rhodians, caused great joy to the Romans, and it appeared to them that if that anxiety was taken away from the Rhodians, they would when at leisure render the seas of that country safe. But the march of Antiochus from Sardis did not allow them to quit the guard of Ionia and Æolia, lest the maritime cities should be crushed by his arms. However, they sent Pamphilidas, with four decked ships, to join the fleet which was at Patara. Antiochus not only collected aids from the states that lay around, but also sent to Prusias, king of Bithynia, ambassadors and letters, in which he inveighed against the pressing of the Romans into Asia. "They were coming," he said, "to abolish all kingly governments; so that there should be no empire in any part of the world, save that of Rome. Philip and Nabis were subdued: he was the third object of attack. Thus the conflagration would spread, without interruption, from one to another, as each lay nearest to the one last ruined, until it enveloped them all. From him there was but one step to Bithynia, now that Eumenes had submitted to voluntary servitude." Though Prusias was greatly affected by these observations, his mind was relieved from all such doubts by a letter from Scipio, the consul, and still more so by one from his brother Africanus, who, besides urging the invariable practice of the Roman people of augmenting, by every honourable addition, the grandeur of kings in alliance with them, by instances taken from his own family, induced Prusias to earn their friendship. "The petty chieftains in Spain," he said, "who had been received into alliance, he had left kings. Masinissa he had not only re-established in his father's kingdom, but had put him in possession of that of Syphax, by whom he had been formerly dethroned: so that he was, at the present, not only by far the most powerful of all the kings in Africa, but equal, both in dignity and strength, to any monarch in any part of the world. Philip and Nabis, avowed enemies, were conquered in war by Titus Quintius; nevertheless, they were left in possession of their kingdoms. Philip even had the tribute remitted to him last year, and his son, who was a

hostage, restored. Through the indulgence of the Roman commanders, he had also got possession of several states beyond the boundaries of Macedonia. As to Nabis, he might have remained in the same honourable rank, had not first his own madness, and afterwards the treachery of the Ætolians, brought him to ruin." The king's resolution was especially confirmed after that Caius Livius, who had commanded the fleet as prætor, came to him as ambassador from Rome, and informed him how much better hope the Romans had of success than Antiochus; and how much more sacred and lasting an alliance with them would be.

26. Antiochus, after he lost the hope of an alliance with Prusias, went from Sardis to Ephesus, to review the fleet which was fitted out, and lay there ready, for several months; rather because he saw it impossible, with his land forces, to make any stand against the Roman army and its commanders, the two Scipios, than that his naval force by itself had ever been tried by him successfully, or afforded at this juncture any great or well-grounded confidence. Yet there was an incentive to hope on the present occasion; for he had heard that a large portion of the Rhodian fleet was at Patara, and that king Eumenes had gone to the Hellespont, with all his ships, to meet the consul. Besides, the destruction of the Rhodian fleet at Samos, on an opportunity prepared by treachery, inspired some degree of confidence. Relying on these things, he sent Polyxenidas with orders to try, at all events, the fortune of a naval engagement; while he himself marched his land forces to Notium. This town, which belongs to Colophon, stands close to the sea, and is distant about two miles from Old Colophon. He wished to get this city into his power, because it was so near to Ephesus that nothing could be done there, on sea or land, that was not open to the view of the Colophonians, and, through them, instantly made known to the Romans; and he had no doubt that the latter, having heard of the siege, would bring their fleet from Samos to the relief of an ally, which would give Polyxenidas an opportunity of coming to action. He therefore began to lay regular siege to the city, making his approaches at the same time on the two sides next the sea; in both places he joined his engines and mounds to the wall, and brought up the rams under covered galleries.

By which dangers the Colophonians being terrified, sent envoys to Lucius Æmilius, at Samos, imploring the protection of the prætor and people of Rome. His lying so long inactive at Samos offended Æmilius, thinking nothing more improbable than that Polyxenidas, whom he had twice challenged in vain to fight, should ever offer him battle; and he considered it as dishonourable, that the fleet of Eumenes should assist the consul in conveying the legions into Asia, that he should be fettered by bearing to the besieged Colophon an assistance destined to have an uncertain end. Eudamus, the Rhodian, (who had before prevailed upon him to stay at Samos, when he wished to go to the Hellespont,) with all the other officers, pressed him to comply, representing "how much more eligible it would be, either to relieve confederates from a siege, or to vanquish that fleet which he had vanquished before, and to take from the enemy the entire possession of the sea, than, deserting his allies, and delivering Asia to Antiochus by land and sea, to depart from his own part of the war to the Hellespont, when the fleet of Eumenes was sufficient for that station."

27. They accordingly, having set sail from Samos in quest of provisions, their stock being consumed, were preparing to pass over to Chios. Samos served as a granary to the Romans, and thither all the store-ships sent from Rome directed their course. When they had sailed round from the city to the back of the island, which looks northward towards Chios and Erythræ, and were preparing to cross over, the prætor is informed by a letter, that a vast quantity of corn had arrived at Chios, from Italy; but that the vessels laden with wine were detained by storms. At the same time accounts were received, that the people of Teos had furnished large supplies of provisions to the king's fleet, and had promised five thousand vessels of wine. On this the prætor immediately changed his course, and steered away to Teos, resolved either to make use of the provisions prepared for the enemy, with the consent of the inhabitants, or to treat them as foes. When they had turned their prows to the land, about fifteen vessels appeared in sight near Myonnesus, which the prætor at first supposed to belong to the king's fleet, and hastened to pursue. It appeared afterwards, that they were piratical cutters and galleys. They, having ravaged the sea-coast of Chios, re-

turning with booty of every kind, betook themselves to flight when they saw the fleet on the open sea. They had much the advantage in swiftness, their galleys being lighter and constructed for the purpose, and were nearer the land; therefore before the fleet could overtake them, they made their escape to Myonnesus. And the prætor, unacquainted with the place, followed in expectation of forcing their ships from it out of the harbour. Myonnesus is a promontory between Teos and Samos. It consists of a hill rising from a pretty large base to a sharp top, in the shape of an obelisk. From the land it has access by a narrow path towards the sea, cliffs undermined by the waves terminate it, so that in some places the superimpending rocks project beyond the vessels that lie at anchor. The ships not daring to approach lest they should be exposed to the weapons of the pirates, who stood above on the cliffs, wasted the day to no purpose. At length, after they had desisted from this useless undertaking a little before night, they the next day reached Teos. Here the prætor, after mooring in the port at the back of the city, which the inhabitants call Geræsticum, sent out the soldiers to ravage the land about the city.

28. The Teians, as these ravages passed under their eyes, sent deputies to the Roman commander, carrying fillets, and other badges of suppliants. And when they were exculpating their state from every hostile act or word against the Romans, he strongly charged them with "having assisted the enemy's fleet with provisions, and with having promised a quantity of wine to Polyxenidas." He further told them, that "if they would furnish the same supplies to the Roman fleet, he would recall his troops from plundering; otherwise, he would treat them as enemies." When the deputies carried back this distressing answer, the people were summoned to an assembly by the magistrates, to consult on what they should do. It happened that Polyxenidas, who had sailed with the king's fleet from Colophon, after he heard that the Romans had left Samos and pursued the pirates to Myonnesus, and that they were laying waste the lands of the Teians, and that their fleet lay in the harbour of Geræsticus, cast anchor, in a retired harbour of an island called by the sailors Macris, opposite to Myonnesus. Then from his neighbouring position, exploring what his enemies were doing, at first he was in great hopes of van

quishing the Roman fleet here, in like manner as he had vanquished the Rhodian at Samos, by besetting the narrow entrance at the mouth of the port. Nor is the nature of the place unlike: by the promontories advancing towards each other, the harbour is enclosed in such a manner, that two ships can scarcely go out together. Polyxenidas intended to seize this narrow pass in the night; and, while ten ships stood at each of the promontories, to attack, from the right and left, both sides of the enemy's fleet sailing out, having landed his armed men from the fleet, as he had done at Panormus, to overpower the Romans on land and sea at once. And this design would not have been formed by him in vain, had it not appeared to the Romans better for receiving the provisions, when the Teians had promised to execute their commands, that the fleet should pass into that harbour, which is before the city. It is said, also, that Eudamus, the Rhodian, had pointed out the fault of the outer harbour, when two ships broke their oars locked together in the narrow entrance. Among other motives, this too induced the prætor to remove his fleet, because there was danger from the land, as Antiochus kept his camp not far from it.

29. When the fleet was brought round to the city, all being ignorant of the approach of the enemy, both soldiers and sailors went on shore to divide the provisions, and the wine particularly, among the ships; when, about mid-day, a peasant happened to be brought before the prætor, who told him, that the enemy's fleet was lying at the island of Macris these two days; and that, a little while ago, some of them were observed to be in motion, as if preparing to sail. Greatly alarmed at this unexpected event, the prætor ordered the trumpets to sound, to call in such as might have straggled into the country, and sent the tribunes into the city, to hasten the soldiers and sailors on board. The confusion was not less than if the place were on fire, or taken by an enemy; some running to call out the men; others hurrying to the ships, while the orders of the officers were confounded by irregular shouts, amid which the trumpets raised their din, until at length the crowd collected at the ships. Here scarcely could each know his own ship, or make his way through the tumult; and the disorder would probably have been productive of much mischief, on land and sea, had not Æmilius, in the commander's ship, sailed out first

into the main; where, receiving those following, he put each into its own place, so as to form a line abreast: and Eudamus, with the Rhodian fleet, waited at the shore, that the men might be embarked without confusion, and that every ship might leave the harbour as soon as it was ready. By these means, the foremost division formed under the eye of the prætor, while the rear was brought up by the Rhodians; and then the whole line, in as regular order as if within sight of the foe, advanced into the open sea. They were between Myonnesus and the promontory of Corycus, when they first got sight of the enemy. The king's fleet, which was coming in a long line, with only two vessels abreast, then formed themselves in order of battle, stretching out their left division so far, as that it might enclose the right of the Romans. When Eudamus, who commanded in the rear, perceived that the Romans could not form an equal front, but were just on the point of being surrounded, he pushed up his ships. They were Rhodians, by far the fastest sailers of any of the fleet; and having filled up the deficiency in the extent of the line, he opposed his own ship to the commander's, on board of which was Polyxenidas.

30. Now the entire fleets in every part were engaged in action. On the side of the Romans eighty ships were fighting, of which twenty-two were Rhodian. The enemy's fleet consisted of eighty-nine ships, and they had of the largest rates, three of six, and two of seven banks. In the strength of the vessels, and valour of the soldiers, the Romans had greatly the advantage of the king's party, as had the Rhodians in the activity of their vessels, the skill of the pilots, and the dexterity of the rowers. However, those which carried fire before them were the greatest terror to the enemy: and what was the sole cause of their preservation when they were surrounded at Panormus, proved here the principal means of victory. For when the king's ships, through fear of the fire, had turned aside, in order to avoid at the same time encountering the enemy's prow with their own, they could not strike their antagonist with the beaks, but exposed the side of their ships to his strokes; and if any did venture an encounter, it was immediately overspread with the fire that was poured in; while the men were more alarmed at the fire than the battle. However, the bravery of the soldiers, as is generally the case,

chiefly availed in deciding the battle. For the Romans, having broke through the centre of the enemy's line, tacked about and fell upon the rear of the division which was engaged with the Rhodians; and, in an instant of time, both Antiochus's centre division, and the ships on the left, were surrounded and sunk. The squadron on the right, which was still entire, was terrified rather by the disaster of their friends, than by any immediate danger threatening themselves; but, when they saw the others surrounded, and Polyxenidas's ship deserting its associates, and sailing away, having quickly hoisted their topsails, they betook themselves to flight, (and they steering for Ephesus had a favourable wind,) having lost forty-two ships in that battle; of which thirteen struck, and fell into the hands of the Romans; the rest were burned or sunk. Two Roman ships were shattered, and several were much damaged. One Rhodian vessel was taken by an extraordinary casualty; for, on its striking a Sidonian ship with its beak, its anchor, thrown out by the force of the shock, caught fast hold of the other's prow with its fluke, as if it were a grappling-iron thrown in. Great confusion ensuing thereon, when the Rhodians, who wished to disengage themselves from the enemy, pulled back, its cable being dragged forcibly, and at the same time entangled with the oars, swept off one side of them. The very ship, which, when struck, had grappled with it, took the Rhodian galley in its weakened state. The naval battle at Myonnesus was fought principally in this manner.

31. By which Antiochus being terrified, because, as he was driven from the possession of the sea, he despaired of being able to defend his distant possessions, ordered the garrison to be withdrawn from Lysimachia, which plan was ill devised, as the event subsequently proved, lest it should be there cut off by the Romans. As it was easy for him, not only to defend Lysimachia from the first attack of the Romans, but to protract the siege through the whole winter; and by thus prolonging the time, to reduce the besiegers to the extremity of want; and in the mean time try the hope of peace, as opportunities should present themselves. But, after the defeat at sea, he not only gave up Lysimachia, but even raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis. Here, bending all his thoughts to one single object, that of meeting the enemy in

the field, he sent into Cappadocia, to Ariarathes, to request assistance, and to every other place within his power, to collect forces. Æmilius Regillus, after his victory at sea, proceeded to Ephesus, having drawn up his ships before the harbour, when he had extorted from the enemy a final acknowledgment of their having surrendered the dominion of the sea, sailed to Chios, to which he had directed his course from Samos, before the sea-fight. As soon as he had refitted the ships that had been damaged in the battle, he sent off Lucius Æmilius Scaurus, with thirty others, to the Hellespont, to transport the army; and decorating the Rhodian vessels with naval spoils, and allowing them a part of the booty, he ordered them to return home. The Rhodians energetically took the lead, and proceeded to assist in transporting the consul's forces, and when they had completed that service also, then at length returned to Rhodes. The Roman fleet sailed from Chios to Phocæa. This city stands at the bottom of a bay, and is of an oblong shape. The wall encompasses a space of two miles and a half in length, and then contracts on both sides into a very narrow wedge-like form, which place they call Lampter (or the light-house). The breadth here extends one thousand two hundred paces; and a tongue of land stretching out about a mile into the sea, divides the bay nearly in the middle, as if with a line; where it is connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, it has two very safe harbours, turned to each side. The one that fronts the south they call Naustathmos, (the station for ships,) from the circumstance of its being capable of containing a vast number of ships; the other is close to Lampter.

32. When the Roman fleet had taken possession of these very safe harbours, the prætor thought proper, before he attempted the fortifications, either by escalade or works, that persons should be sent to sound the disposition of the magistrates and principal people in the place: when he saw them obstinate, he determined to attack the city in two places at the same time. One part was thinly occupied by private dwellings, temples of the gods occupying a great deal of the ground. In that part first, having brought up the battering-ram, he began to shake the wall and towers; and when the multitude within ran thither to defend that spot, the battering-rams were applied in the other quarter, and the walls

were now knocked down in both places. On the fall of which, when some of the Roman soldiers were making an assault over the scattered masses of ruins, others attempted to scale walls; the townsmen made such an obstinate resistance, as plainly showed that they had a firmer dependence on their arms and courage, than on their fortifications. The prætor, compelled by the danger of the soldiers, sounded a retreat, that he might not expose them incautious to his opponents, maddened with despair and rage. The fighting being ended, the besieged did not, even then, think of rest; but all hastened from every quarter, to strengthen the walls, and to raise new ones in the place of those that had been demolished. While they were busily employed in this manner, Quintus Antonius, being sent by the prætor, came to them, who, after having blamed their obstinacy, assured them that "the Romans were more anxious than they were themselves that the battle should not be carried on to the destruction of the city. If they would desist from their madness, Æmilius would allow them to capitulate on the same terms on which they had formerly surrendered to Caius Livius." When they heard this, having taken five days' time to deliberate, and having in the mean time tried the hope of aid from Antiochus, after that the ambassadors sent to the king had brought back word that there was no aid in him, they opened their gates, stipulating that they should suffer nothing hostile. When the troops were marching into the city, and the prætor had proclaimed that it was his pleasure that the surrendered townsmen should be spared, there arose an universal clamour, "that it was shameful that the Phocæans, who had never been faithful to any alliance, and had always been bitter in enmity, should escape with impunity." After which words, as if a signal had been given by the prætor, they ran, in parties, every way, to plunder the city. Æmilius, at first, began to resist, and call them back, saying, that "towns taken by storm, and not such as surrendered, were plundered; and that, even with regard to the former, the determination lay with the commander, not with the soldiers." But rage and avarice were too strong for his authority; wherefore, despatching heralds through all parts of the city, he ordered, that all persons of free condition should come to him in the forum, that they should not be injured: and in all things which were in his power, the

promise of the prætor was observed. He restored to them their city, their lands, and their laws; and, as the winter now approached, he chose the harbour of Phocæa for his fleet to pass the winter in.

33. About the same time it was announced to the consul, as he was marching along the frontiers of the Ænians and Maronites, that the king's fleet was conquered at Myonnesus, and that Lysimachia was evacuated by its garrison. This latter event gave much more satisfaction than even the success at sea; especially after they came thither, and were hospitably received in the city, filled with provisions of all sorts, as if provided for the arrival of the army; when, in besieging the city, they had anticipated extreme want and hardship. There they made a halt for a few days, that the baggage and sick might overtake them, who, overcome by diseases, or the length of the way, had been left behind in all the forts of Thrace. When all had joined, they began again their march through the Chersonese, and arrived at the Hellespont; where every thing requisite for their passage having been previously got ready, by the care of king Eumenes, they crossed over, without confusion, as if to friendly shores, no one opposing, and the ships putting in at several different places. This raised to a high degree the spirits of the Romans, who saw the passage into Asia left open to them; which thing they supposed would cost them a severe struggle. They afterwards remained encamped a considerable time at the Hellespont, because it happened to be a period too holy for marching, during which the sacred shields are moved. The same festival had separated Publius Scipio from the army, as the religious ceremony was more incumbent on him, because he was one of the Salian priests; and he himself was a source of delay, till he overtook the rest of the army.

34. In the mean time an ambassador came from Antiochus to the camp,—Heraclides, a Byzantian, having mandates concerning peace. The delay and tardiness of the Romans gave him great hope that this might be attained; for he had imagined, that as soon as they set foot in Asia, they would advance in a rapid march against the king. He resolved, however, not to address himself to the consul until he had first applied to Publius Scipio, and instructions to that effect were given him by the king. In him he had the greatest

hope, besides that his greatness of soul, and the fulness of his glory, tended very much to make him inclined to peace, and it was known to all nations what sort of a conqueror he had been, both in Spain and afterwards in Africa; and also because his son was then a prisoner with Antiochus. Where, and when, and by what accident he became a prisoner, is, like very many other things, not ascertained among writers. Some say, that in the beginning of the war, as he was going from Chalcis to Oreum, he was intercepted by some of the king's ships; others, that after the army came into Asia, he was sent with a troop of Fregellans to Antiochus's camp, to gain intelligence; that on the cavalry sallying out against him, he retreated, and having fallen from his horse in the confusion, he was, together with two horsemen, overpowered, and thus conducted to the king. This however is fully ascertained, that if peace had still subsisted with the Romans, and likewise a personal friendship between the king and the Scipios, the young man could not have been treated and courted with greater kindness than he was. When the ambassador, for these reasons, had waited the arrival of Publius Scipio, as soon as he came he applied to the consul, and requested that he should hear his instructions.

35. A full council being assembled, audience was given to the ambassador, who said, that, "though many embassies about peace had already been sent backwards and forwards, without producing any effect, yet he conceived strong hopes of obtaining it, because the former ambassadors had obtained nothing. For the objects of contention in those discussions were Smyrna and Lampsacus, Alexandria in the Troad, and Lysimachia in Europe. Of these, the king had already ceded Lysimachia, that they might not say that he possessed any thing in Europe; and those cities which lay in Asia, he was now ready to deliver up as well as any others, which the Romans might wish to render independent of the king's government, because they belonged to their party. The king was also willing to pay to the Roman people half the expense of the war." These were the conditions of peace. The rest of his discourse was, "that, mindful of human affairs, they should use with moderation their own good fortune, and not press too severely on the misfortune of others; that they should limit their empire by Europe; that single acquisitions

could be made with more ease than that necessary for holding them collectively. But if they would wish to take away some part of Asia, provided that they would define it by indisputable limits, the king, for the sake of peace and harmony, would willingly suffer his own moderate temper to be overcome by the insatiableness of the Romans." These concessions, which appeared to the ambassador of great moment towards obtaining a peace, the Romans deemed trifling. They thought it just, that "the king should defray the whole expense occasioned by the war, because it was through his fault that it was begun. And that, not only Ionia and Æolia ought to be evacuated by the king's troops, but as all Greece had been set free, so all the cities of that nation in Asia should also be free. That this could be effected in no other way, than by Antiochus relinquishing the possession of that part of Asia on the hither side of Mount Taurus."

36. The ambassador, after he came to the conclusion that he could obtain no reasonable terms in the council, tried to influence the mind of Publius Scipio in private (for such were his orders). First of all he told him that the king would restore him his son without a ransom; and then, as ignorant of the disposition of Scipio as he was of the Roman manners, he promised an immense weight of gold, and, excepting the title of king, an absolute partnership in the sovereignty, if through his means he should obtain a peace. To which Scipio answered, "I am the less surprised that you are ignorant of the Romans in general, and of me, to whom you have been sent, when I see that you are unacquainted with the situation even of the person from whom you come. You ought to have kept Lysimachia to prevent our entering the Chersonese, or to have opposed us at the Hellespont to hinder our passing into Asia, if you meant to ask peace from us as from people solicitous about the issue of war. But after leaving the passage into Asia open, and receiving not only a bridle, but also a yoke, what negotiation on an equality has been left you, when you must submit to orders? I shall consider my son as a very great gift from the munificence of the king; I pray to the gods that my circumstances may never require others, my mind certainly never will require any. For such an act of generosity to me he shall find me grateful, if for a personal favour he will accept a personal

return of gratitude. In my public capacity, I will neither accept from him nor give him any thing. All that I can give at present is sincere advice. Go then, and desire him in my name, to cease hostilities, and to refuse no terms of peace." These words had no effect on the king, who thought that the chance of war would be comparatively safe, since terms were dictated to him already as if he were totally vanquished. Laying aside, therefore, for the present, all farther mention of peace, he turned his whole attention to the preparations for war.

37. The consul having made every preparation for the execution of his designs, when he had quitted the post where he lay, marched first to Dardanus, and then to Rhœteum; from both states the people came out in crowds to meet him. He then advanced to Troy, and having pitched his camp in the plain which is under the walls, when he had gone up to the city and into the citadel, he offered sacrifices to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel; the Trojans, by every act and expression of respect, showing themselves proud of the Romans being descended from them, and the Romans expressing their delight in their origin. The army marching thence, arrived, on the sixth encampment, at the source of the Caicus. To this place also king Eumenes came. He at first endeavoured to bring back his fleet from the Hellespont to Elæa, for the winter; subsequently, when by adverse winds he could not, for several days, pass the promontory of Lectos, that he might not be absent at the commencement of operations, he landed and came, with a small body of men, by the shortest road to the Roman camp. From the camp he was sent home to Pergamus, to hasten supplies of provisions; and when the corn was delivered to the persons whom the consul had ordered to receive it, he returned to the same camp. The plan was, provisions for several days being prepared, to march hence against the enemy, before the winter should prevent them. The king's camp was near Thyatira; and Antiochus, hearing there that Publius Scipio had fallen sick and was conveyed to Elæa, sent ambassadors to conduct his son to him. As this present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave no less salutary to his body. At length, being sated with the embraces of his son, he said to the ambassadors, "Tell the king

that I return him thanks; that at present I can make him no other requital than my advice; which is, not to come to an engagement, until he shall have heard that I have rejoined the army." Although sixty-two thousand foot, and more than twelve thousand horse, inspired the king at times with hopes in the result of a battle; yet, moved by the advice of so great a man as Scipio, in whom, when he considered the uncertainty of the events of war, he placed safety in any reverse of fortune, he retired, and having crossed the Phrygian river, pitched his camp near Magnesia, which is at Sipylus. And lest, if he wished to prolong the time, the Romans might attack his works, he drew round it a fosse six cubits deep and twelve broad, and on the outside surrounded the fosse with a double rampart: on the inside bank, he raised a wall flanked with towers at small distances, by which the enemy could easily be prevented from crossing the fosse.

38. The consul, thinking that the king was still in the neighbourhood of Thyatira, came down by continued marches on the fifth day into the Hyrcanian plains. Then when he heard that the other had departed, he followed his track, and pitched his camp on the hither side of the Phrygian river, at the distance of four miles from the enemy. Here, a body of about one thousand horse, (the greatest part of whom were Gallogræcians, the rest Dahans, and archers on horseback, of other nations intermixed,) passing the river with great tumult, made an attack on the advanced Roman guards. First of all they threw into confusion those unprepared; then, when the contest continued longer, and the number of the Romans increased, as succours were easily sent from the neighbouring camp, the king's troops, becoming weary and unable to withstand superior numbers, endeavoured to retreat; but, before they could reach the river, very many were killed on the bank, by the enemy pressing on their rear. For two days after there was quiet, neither party passing the river. On the third, the Romans passed it with their whole force, and encamped at the distance of about two miles and a half from the enemy. While they were employed in measuring and fortifying the camp, a body of the king's troops, consisting of three thousand chosen horse and foot, approached with great rapidity and violence. The party on guard, though much inferior in number, (being only two thousand,) without

calling off any of the soldiers from the fortifying of the camp, sustained the combat with equal success at first, and, in the progress of the contest, repulsed the enemy, killing a hundred, and taking about the same number. During the four ensuing days, both armies stood in order of battle, before their respective camps. On the fifth, the Romans advanced into the middle of the plain, but Antiochus did not stir; so that his rear was not so far as a thousand feet from his rampart.

39. The consul, after perceiving that he declined the contest, called a council next day, and asked their opinion, "how he ought to act if Antiochus would not give him an opportunity of engaging. For the winter was at hand, and he must either keep the soldiers in camp; or, if they chose to retire to winter quarters, defer the business of the war until summer." The Romans never despised any enemy so much. The assembly on every side called on him to lead on immediately, and make use of the present ardour of the troops; who, as if the business were not to fight against so many thousands, but to slaughter an equal number of cattle, were ready to force their way, through trenches and ramparts, into the camp, if the enemy would not come out to battle. Cneius Domitius was sent to discover the nature of the ground, and on what side the enemies' rampart could be approached; after he returned with a full account of every particular, it was resolved that the camp should next day be moved nearer to the enemy. On the third day, the standards were carried forward into the middle of the plain, and the soldiers began to form line. Antiochus, thinking that he could hesitate no longer, lest, by declining a battle, he should damp the courage of his men, and add to the confidence of the enemy, drew out his forces in person, advancing only so far from the enemy's camp as to make it apparent that he was willing to come to an engagement. The Roman line was nearly uniform throughout with respect to both men and armour. There were two Roman legions, and two brigades of allies and Latins, each containing five thousand four hundred men. The Romans formed the centre, the Latins the wings. The spearmen composed the first line, the first-rank men the second, and the veterans closed the rear. Beyond this, which formed as it were the regular line of battle, the consul formed on the

right of it, and in one continued line, the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, intermixed with Achæan targeteers, making about three thousand foot; beyond these he posted somewhat less than three thousand horse, of which, eight hundred belonged to Eumenes; all the rest of the cavalry were Roman: and in the extremity of the line he placed bodies of Trallians and Cretans, equal in number, who were composed of five hundred men each. His left wing did not appear to require such supports, because a river and steep banks flanked it. However, four troops of horse were posted there. This was the whole amount of the Roman force, besides two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who had, as volunteers, accompanied the army. These were left to guard the camp. They placed sixteen elephants behind the veterans, in reserve. For besides that they were not supposed capable of withstanding the great number of the king's elephants, which were no less than fifty-four, the African elephants are not able to cope with an equal number of Indians, either because they are inferior to them in size, (in which the Indian have much the advantage,) or in unyielding courage.

40. The king's line was more chequered with troops of many nations, dissimilar both in their persons and armour. There was a body of sixteen thousand men armed after the manner of the Macedonians, which were called a phalanx. This formed the centre, and was divided in front into ten parts. These parts were separated by two elephants placed between each two; the line of soldiers was thirty-two ranks deep from point to rear. This was the main strength of the king's army, and it exhibited a formidable sight, both in the other particulars of its appearance, and in the elephants towering so high among the soldiers. They were of huge bulk, and the caparisons of their foreheads and crests, and the towers fixed on their backs, with four armed men standing on each tower, besides the managers of the beasts, gave them a terrific appearance. On the right side of the phalanx, he placed five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen. To these he joined three thousand horsemen clad in complete armour, whom they call Cataphracti, or mailed. To these were added a brigade of near a thousand horse, which they called Agema. They were Medes, all picked men, with a mixture of horsemen from many other nations in that part of the world. Adjoining

these, a body of sixteen elephants was placed in reserve. On the same side, a little farther on towards the wing, was the royal cohort; these were called Argyraspides,[1] from the kind of armour which they wore. Next to these stood one thousand two hundred Dahan bowmen on horseback; then, three thousand light infantry, part Cretans and part Trallians, the number of each being equal; adjoining these, were two thousand five hundred Mysian archers. Four thousand Cyrtæan slingers and Elymæan archers mixed together covered the flank of the wing. Next to the left flank of the phalanx, stood one thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horse, and two thousand Cappadocians, (which were sent by king Ariarathes,) wearing the same kind of armour; then, auxiliaries of all kinds mixed together, two thousand seven hundred; then, three thousand mailed horsemen; then, one thousand other horsemen, being a royal cohort, equipped with lighter coverings for themselves and their horses, but, in other respects, not unlike the rest; they were mostly Syrians, with a mixture of Phrygians and Lydians. In the front of this body of cavalry were the chariots armed with scythes, and a kind of camels called dromedaries. These were ridden by Arabian archers, who carried thin swords four cubits long, that they might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height. Then followed another multitude, like that in the right wing, —first, Tarentines; then, two thousand five hundred Gallogræcian horsemen; then, one thousand new Cretans, and one thousand five hundred Carians and Cilicians, armed in the same manner; then, an equal number of Trallians, with three thousand targeteers (these were Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Lycians); then came brigades of Cyrtæans and Elymæans, equal to the auxiliaries placed on the right wing, and sixteen elephants, separated by a small interval. The king himself was in the right wing; the command of the left he gave to his son Seleucus, and Antipater, the son of his brother; the centre was intrusted to three, Minio, Zeuxis, and Philip, the master of the elephants.

41. A morning mist, which as the day advanced rose up in clouds, spread a general darkness; and the moisture issuing from it, and coming from the southward, wetted every thing. This circumstance, which was scarcely any inconvenience to

[1] Silver shield-bearers.

the Romans, was very disadvantageous to the king's troops. For the indistinctness of the light did not take away from the Romans the view of all parts of their line, since it was of moderate length; and the moisture tended but little to blunt their swords and javelins, as they were almost all heavy-armed troops. The king's soldiers, as the line was so extensive, could not even see their wings from the centre, much less could those at the extremities see one another; and then, the moisture relaxed the strings of their bows, their slings, and the thongs of their javelins. Besides, the armed chariots, by means of which Antiochus had trusted utterly to disorder the enemy's line, turned the terror of their operations on their owners. The manner in which they were armed was this: from the yoke, on both sides of the pole, they had lances[1] ten cubits long, projecting like horns, to transfix any thing that came in their way. At each extremity of the yoke, two scythe-blades projected, one on a line with the yoke, the other on its lower side, pointing to the ground; the former to cut through any thing that might come within its reach on the side, the other to catch such as fell, or endeavoured to go under it. At each extremity of the axle of the wheels, two scythe-blades were fastened in the same manner. The king, as we mentioned before, had placed the chariots so armed in the front, because if they were placed in the rear, or between the ranks, they must be driven through their own soldiers. Which when Eumenes saw, not being ignorant of the method of op-

[1] The difficulty, which Scheffer, Crevier, and Drakenborch apparently had, in interpreting this passage with the reading (decem cubita), seems to me to have arisen principally from their misinterpretation of the word cuspis; which in the classics is no where used as the edge of a cutting, but the point of a piercing instrument—differt a mucrone, quæ est acies gladii.—Facciolati. That the cuspides, here spoken of, must have been piercing, not cutting instruments, is likewise proved from the meaning of the word "transfigerent," which is never used in reference to a cutting instrument. Taking it for granted, then, that the "cuspitibus decem cubita" were spears ten feet long, fastened to the pole and extended from the yoke, I can easily understand how they, being so long, were likely to clear the way far in front of the horses, while the "falces" on either side were intended to cut down those that escaped the cuspides; and this being the case, I see no necessity for Scheffer's reading, "cubito," which Crevier also seems to favour, and Drakenborch's "duo" for "decem;" both of which seem to have been adopted, owing to the seeming improbability of cutting weapons so long, and proportionably heavy, being attached to the poles of chariots.

posing them, and knowing that aid of that sort might be rendered as dangerous to one side as the other, if an opponent should cast terror into the horses, rather than attack them in a regular battle, ordered the Cretan bowmen, and slingers, and javelin-bearers, with some troops of horse, not in a body, but scattering themselves as widely as possible, to rush forwards, and pour weapons on them from all sides at once. This storm, as it were, partly by the wounds made by the missile weapons thrown from every quarter, and partly by the discordant shouts raised, so terrified the horses, that immediately, as if unbridled, they galloped about at random. The light infantry, the lightly-accoutred slingers, and the active Cretans, quickly evaded their encounter. The horsemen, following them, increased the tumult and the terror of the horses and camels, which were likewise affrighted, the clamour being multiplied and increased by the rest of the crowd of bystanders. By these means, the chariots were driven out of the ground between the two lines. When this fruitless mimicry of war was over, both parties gave the signal, and advanced to a regular engagement.

42. But that futile affair was soon the cause of real loss. For the auxiliaries in reserve, which were posted next, being terrified at the turn and disorder of the chariots, betook themselves to flight, leaving all exposed as far as the post of the mailed horsemen; to whom when the Roman cavalry, after dispersing the reserves, approached, they did not sustain their first onset. Some fled, and others, being delayed by the weight of their coverings and armour, were put to the sword. The whole left wing then gave way, and the auxiliaries, posted between the cavalry and the phalanx, being thrown into confusion, the terror spread even to the centre. Here the ranks were broken, and by the flying soldiers rushing in between them, the use of their long spears, called by the Macedonians sarissas, was hindered. The Roman legions advanced and discharged their javelins among them in disorder. Even the elephants, standing in the way, did not deter the Roman soldiers, who had learned by experience in the African wars, both to evade the onset of the animal, and, getting at one side of it, either to ply it with darts, or, if they could come near enough, to wound its sinews with their swords. The front of the centre was now almost crushed, and the reserve, being surrounded,

was attacked on the rear, when the Romans perceived their troops in another quarter flying, and heard shouts of dismay almost close to their camp. For Antiochus, who commanded the right wing, having observed that the enemy, through confidence in the river, had placed no reserve there, except four troops of horse, and that these, keeping close to the infantry, left an open space on the bank of the river, made a charge on them, with a body of auxiliaries and mailed horsemen. He not only attacked them in front, but having surrounded the wing in the direction of the river, pressed them in flank also; until the routed cavalry first, and then the infantry that were next them, fled with precipitation to the camp.

43. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, son of Marcus Lepidus, who, in a few years after, became chief pontiff, had the charge of the camp. He, when he saw the troops flying, went out, with his whole guard, to meet them. He ordered them, first, to halt, and then to return to the fight; at the same time upbraiding them with cowardice and disgraceful flight. He then proceeded to threats,—that if they did not obey his orders, they would rush blindly on their own destruction. At last he gave orders to his own men to kill the foremost of the runaways, and with sword-wounds to drive the crowd of fugitives back against the enemy. The greater fear now overcame the less. Compelled by the danger on either side, they first halted, and then returned to the encounter, and Æmilius, with his guard, consisting of two thousand men of distinguished valour, gave a vigorous check to the furious pursuit of Antiochus. At the same time, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, came up in good time with two hundred horse from the right wing, by which the left of the enemy had been routed, at the beginning of the engagement, as soon as he observed the flight of his friends on the left, and the tumult near the camp. When Antiochus saw those men renewing the fight, whom, but just before, he had seen running away, and another large body advancing from the camp, with a third from the line, he turned his horse to flight. The Romans, thus victorious in both wings, advanced over heaps of slain, (which had been raised principally in the centre, where the strength of the bravest men and the armour by its weight had prevented flight,) to plunder the camp. The horsemen of

Eumenes first, and then the rest of the cavalry, pursued the enemy through all parts of the plain, and killed the hindmost as they overtook them. But the fugitives suffered more severe loss by the chariots, elephants, and camels intermixed, and by their own disorderly crowd; for, after they once broke their ranks, they rushed, as if blind, one upon another, and were trodden to death by the trampling of the beasts. In the camp also there was great slaughter committed, rather greater than even in the field; for the flight of the first generally tended to the camp. The guard, through confidence in the great number of these, defended their works with the more obstinacy. The Romans having been stopped at the gates and rampart, which they had expected to take at the first rush, when they did at length break through, actuated by rage, made the more dreadful carnage.

44. Up to fifty thousand foot and three thousand horse are said to have been killed that day; one thousand four hundred taken, with fifteen elephants and their drivers. Of the Romans, many were wounded, but no more than three hundred foot and twenty-four horsemen killed; and of the troops of Eumenes, twenty-five. That day the victors, after plundering the enemy's camp, returned with great store of booty to their own. On the day following, they stripped the bodies of the slain, and collected the prisoners. Ambassadors came from Thyatira and Magnesia, near Sipylus, with a surrender of those cities. Antiochus fled, with very few attendants; but greater numbers collecting about him on the road, he arrived at Sardis, with a tolerable body of soldiers, about the middle of the night. Then when he heard that his son Seleucus and several of his friends had gone on to Apamea, he likewise at the fourth watch set out for Apamea with his wife and daughter, having committed to Zeno the command of the city, and having placed Timon over Lydia; which being disregarded, ambassadors are sent to the consul, by the unanimous voice of the citizens and soldiers who were in the garrison.

45. About this time deputies came from Tralles, from Magnesia on the Mæander, and from Ephesus, to surrender those cities. Polyxenidas had quitted Ephesus, as soon as he heard of the battle; and, sailing with the fleet as far as Patara, in Lycia, where, through fear of the Rhodian fleet stationed at

Megiste, he landed, and, with a small retinue, pursued his journey, by land, into Syria. The several states of Asia placed themselves under the protection of the consul and the dominion of the Roman people. He was now at Sardis, whither Publius Scipio came from Elæa, as soon as he was able to endure the fatigue of travelling. Shortly after, a herald from Antiochus solicited through Publius Scipio, and obtained from the consul, permission for the king to send ambassadors. In a few days' time, Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia, and Antipater, the king's nephew, arrived. These, having first had a meeting with Eumenes, whom they expected to find most averse to peace, on account of old disputes, and seeing him better disposed than they or the king could have hoped, addressed themselves then to Publius Scipio, and through him to the consul: and a numerously attended council being granted to them at their request to declare their commission, Zeuxis said, "we have not any thing to propose ourselves, but rather to inquire from you, Romans, by what atonements we can expiate the error of our king, and obtain pardon and peace from our conquerors. You have ever pardoned, with the greatest magnanimity, vanquished kings and nations. With how much greater and more placable spirit ought you to act now, after your late victory, which has made you masters of the whole world! You ought now, like deities laying aside all disputes with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race." It had been determined, before the ambassadors came, what answer should be given them; and it was agreed that Africanus should deliver it. He is said to have spoken thus: "Of those things that are in the gift of the immortal gods, we, Romans, possess as much as the gods have been pleased to bestow. In every state of fortune we have had, and have, the same spirit for this, under the sway of our reason: prosperity has never elated, nor adversity depressed it. Of the truth of this, (to omit other instances,) I might produce your friend Hannibal as a convincing proof: but I can appeal to yourselves. We now conquerors offer to you conquered the same conditions which we offered to you when on an equal footing, at the time that you made proposals of peace, after we crossed the Hellespont, before we beheld the king's camp or army, when the chance of war was equal and the issue uncertain. Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia which

lies on this side of Mount Taurus. Then, towards the expenses of the war, ye shall pay fifteen thousand talents of Eubœa;[1] five hundred immediately, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people of Rome shall have ratified the peace, and one thousand annually for twelve years after. It likewise pleases us, that four hundred talents be paid to Eumenes, and the quantity of corn remaining unpaid, of what was due to his father. When we shall have settled these articles, it will be a sort of pledge, that we may consider it certain that you will perform them, if you give twenty hostages such as we shall choose. But it never will be clear to us that the Roman people will enjoy peace where Hannibal shall be. Him, therefore, we demand, above all. Ye shall also deliver up Thoas, the Ætolian, the fomenter of the Ætolian war, who armed you against us by the assurances of their support, and them by assurances of yours; and, together with him, Mnesilochus, the Acarnanian, and Philo, and Eubulidas, of Chalcis. The king will now make peace under worse circumstances on his side, because he makes it later than he might have done. If he now causes any delay, let him consider, that it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of kings from the highest to the middle stage, than it is to precipitate it from the middle to the lowest." The ambassadors were sent by the king with these instructions, that they should accede to any terms of peace. It was resolved, therefore, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. The consul distributed his army in winter quarters at Magnesia, on the Mæander, Tralles, and Ephesus. A few days after, the king brought the hostages to Ephesus to the consul; the ambassadors also, who were to go to Rome, arrived. Eumenes set out for Rome at the same time with the king's ambassadors, and they were followed by embassies from all the states of Asia.

46. Whilst these things are being transacted in Asia, two proconsuls arrived almost together at Rome, from their provinces, with hopes of triumphing: Quintus Minucius, from Liguria, and Manius Acilius, from Ætolia. After hearing their services, the senate refused a triumph to Minucius, but, with great unanimity, decreed one to Acilius, and he rode through the city in triumph over king Antiochus and the Ætolians. In the procession were carried, two hundred and

[1] About 2,900,000*l.*

thirty military ensigns; of unwrought silver, three thousand pounds' weight; of coin, one hundred and thirteen thousand Attic tetradrachms;[1] and two hundred and forty-eight thousand[2] cistophoruses;[3] of chased silver vessels, a great number, and of great weight. He bore, also, the king's silver, furniture, and splendid wardrobe; golden crowns, presents from the allied states, forty-five; with spoils of all kinds. He led thirty-six prisoners of distinction, generals of th Ætolian and royal armies. Damocritus, the Ætolian general, a few days before, when he had escaped out of prison in the night, being overtaken by the guards on the bank of the Tiber, stabbed himself with a sword before he was seized. Nothing was wanted but the soldiers, to follow the general's chariot; in every other respect the triumph was magnificent, both in the grandeur of the procession and the fame of his achievements. Sad intelligence from Spain diminished the joy of this triumph, viz. that in an unsuccessful battle in the territory of the Bastitani, under the command of Lucius Æmilius, the proconsul, at the town of Lycon, there fell six thousand of the Roman army against the Lusitanians; and that the rest, being driven in a panic within their rampart, found it difficult to defend the camp, and had retreated, by forced marches, as if flying, into a friendly country. Such were the accounts from Spain. Lucius Aurunculeius, the prætor, introduced to the senate the deputies of Placentia and Cremona, in Cisalpine Gaul. When they complained of the want of colonists, some having been carried off by the casualties of war, others by sickness, and several having left the colonies, through disgust at the vicinity of the Gauls; on this, the senate decreed, that "Caius Lælius, the consul, if he thought proper, should enrol six thousand families, to be distributed among these colonies, and that Lucius Aurunculeius, the prætor, should appoint commissioners to conduct the colonists." Accordingly, Marcus Atilius Serranus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Publius, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, son of Caius, were nominated to that office.

47. Not long after, as the time of the consular elections

[1] 14,596*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* [2] 4270*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

[3] A coin so called, from its bearing the image of a priest carrying in a box (cistus) the consecrated things, used in the mysteries of Ceres, and of other deities. Its value, 7½*d.*, was equal to four drachmas.

drew nigh, the consul, Caius Lælius, came home to Rome from Gaul. He not only enrolled the colonists, according to a decree of the senate, passed in his absence, as a supplement to Cremona and Placentia, but proposed,—and, on his recommendation, the senate voted,—that two new colonies should be established in the lands which had belonged to the Boians. At the same time arrived a letter from the prætor, Lucius Æmilius, containing intelligence of the sea-fight that took place at Myonnesus, and of Lucius Scipio the consul having transported his army into Asia. A supplication for one day was decreed, on account of the naval victory, and another, for the second day, in order that, as the Roman army had then for the first time pitched a camp in Asia, this circumstance might turn out prosperous and happy. The consul was ordered to sacrifice twenty of the greater victims on occasion of each supplication. The election of consuls was then held with a warm contest. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus sought the office under general censure, for having, in order to sue for the office, left his province of Sicily without having asked the senate for permission to do so. Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Marcus Valerius Messala, were his competitors for the office. Fulvius alone was elected consul, since the rest could not make up the number of centuries; and the next day, rejecting Lepidus, (for Messala had declined,) he declared Cneius Manlius his colleague. Then were chosen prætors, two of the name of Quintus Fabius, Labeo and Pictor, (the latter of whom had in that year been inaugurated flamen quirinalis,) Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, and Lucius Bæbius Dives.

48. Valerius Antias says, that at the time when Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Cneius Manlius Vulso were consuls, a rumour prevailed strongly at Rome, and was received as almost certain, that the consul, Lucius Scipio, and with him Publius Africanus, had been invited by the king to a conference, under pretence of restoring young Scipio, and were both seized, and that when the leaders were thus made prisoners, the enemy's army was immediately led up to the Roman camp, that this was stormed, and the forces entirely cut off; that in consequence of this, the Ætolians had taken courage and refused to obey orders; and that several of their

principal men had gone into Macedonia, Dardania, and Thrace, to hire auxiliaries; that Aulus Tarentius Varro, and Marcus Claudius Lepidus, had been sent by Aulus Cornelius, proprætor, from Ætolia, to carry this intelligence to Rome. To this story Valerius annexed that the Ætolian ambassadors were asked in the senate this question among others, from whom they had heard that the Roman generals were made prisoners by king Antiochus in Asia, and the army cut off; and that the Ætolians answered, that they had been informed of it by their own ambassadors, who were with the consul. As I have no other authority for this report, it has neither been confirmed in my opinion, nor has it been overlooked as groundless.

49. When the Ætolian ambassadors were brought to an audience of the senate, although their cause and their circumstances required, that they, by an ample confession, should suppliantly seek pardon for what was either their misfortune or their fault, yet having begun with enumerating their services to the Roman people, and talking reproachfully of their own valour in the war with Philip, they offended the ears of the senators by the insolence of their discourse. By calling up old and forgotten matters, they brought the affair to this, that the memory of many more injuries than services done by that nation occurred to the minds of the senate; and that they, who needed compassion, provoked anger and hatred. They were asked by one senator whether they yielded the disposal of themselves to the Roman people; then, by another, whether they would have the same allies and enemies as the Roman people: when they gave no answer, they were ordered to withdraw from the senate-house. The whole senate then, almost with one voice, cried out, that "the Ætolians were still entirely devoted to Antiochus; and that on that solitary hope their spirits depended. Wherefore the war ought to be carried on against such decided enemies, and their haughty spirits tamed." Another circumstance inflamed the resentment of the senate, because that, in the very moment in which they were soliciting peace from the Romans, they were making war on Dolopia and Athamania. A decree of the senate was passed, on the motion of Manius Acilius, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians, that "the Ætolian ambassadors should be ordered to leave the city that day, and

to quit Italy within fifteen days." Aulius Terentius Varro was appointed to escort them on the road; and a threatening notice was given to them, that, "if any embassy from the Ætolians should thenceforth come to Rome, unless with the permission of the general who might be in command of that province, and with a Roman deputy, all such would be treated as enemies."—In this manner were the Ætolians dismissed.

50. The consuls then consulted the senate concerning the provinces; and it was resolved that they should cast lots for Ætolia and Asia. To him who should obtain by lot Asia, was assigned the army which Lucius Scipio then had; and, as a reinforcement, four thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse, and of the allies and Latins eight thousand foot and four hundred horse: with which force he was to carry on the war with Antiochus. To the other consul was decreed the army in Ætolia; and he was allowed to raise, for a reinforcement, the same number of natives and allies as his colleague. The same consul was likewise ordered to equip and take with him the ships that had been fitted out the year before; and not only to wage war with the Ætolians, but also to pass over into the island of Cephallenia. Instructions were given to the same consul, that if he could do it to the advantage of the republic, he should come home to Rome to hold the elections; for, besides that the annual magistrates were to be replaced, it was resolved that censors also should be created; and if any particular business should detain him, he was then to acquaint the senate, that he could not attend at the time of the elections. Ætolia fell by lot to Marcus Fulvius; Asia, to Cneius Manlius. The prætors then cast lots, and Spurius Postumius Albinus obtained the city and foreign jurisdiction; Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Sicily; Quintus Fabius Pictor, the priest of Romulus, Sardinia; Quintus Fabius Labeo, the fleet; Lucius Plautius Hypsæus, Hither Spain; Lucius Bæbius Dives, Farther Spain. One legion, and the squadron which was then in Sicily, were decreed for that province; and it was ordered that the new prætor should levy on the Sicilians two tenths of the corn; one of which he was to send into Asia, the other into Ætolia. It was also ordered, that the same impost should be collected in Sardinia, and the corn sent to the same armies as the Sicilian

corn. A reinforcement was given to Lucius Bæbius, for Spain, one thousand Roman foot and fifty horse, with six thousand Latin foot and two hundred horse. To Plautius Hypsæus, for the Hither Spain, were assigned one thousand Roman foot, and two thousand Latins, with two hundred horse; so that with these supplies the two Spains should have each a legion. In the case of the magistrates of the preceding year, the command was prolonged to Caius Lælius for a year, with his present army, and to Publius Junius, the proprætor in Etruria, with the army which was then in the province, and Marcus Tuccius, the proprætor in Bruttium and Apulia.

51. Before the prætors went into their provinces, a dispute arose between Publius Licinius, chief pontiff, and Quintus Fabius Pictor, priest of Romulus; such as had happened in the recollection of their fathers, between Lucius Metellus and Postumius Albinus. Metellus, who was chief pontiff at the time, had detained, for the performance of the business of religion, Albinus, the consul, who was setting out with his colleague, Caius Lutatius, to the fleet at Sicily; and now Publius Licinius detained the prætor Fabius from going to Sardinia. The matter was agitated in stormy debates, both in the senate and before the commons: authoritative commands were issued on both sides, pledges were seized, fines imposed, the tribunes applied to, and appeals made to the people. At last religion prevailed, so that the flamen obeyed the order of the pontiff; and the fines were remitted by order of the people. The senate by their authority prevented the prætor when attempting to abdicate the magistracy through anger at the loss of his province, and decreed that he should dispense justice among foreigners. The levies being finished in a few days, (for the soldiers to be enlisted were not many,) the consuls and prætors repaired to their provinces. Then a report of the transactions in Asia spread vaguely without an author; and in a few days after, certain information, and a letter from the general, arrived at Rome; which occasioned joy, not so much from recent fear, (for they had ceased to fear him who was conquered in Ætolia,) as from former fame; because by them commencing this war he was considered as a very formidable enemy, both on account of his own strength and because he had Hannibal to direct the business of the war. The senate determined that no change should be made

in their sending the consul into Asia, and that no diminution of his forces should take place through apprehension of a war with the Gauls.

52. In a short time after, Marcus Aurelius Cotta, deputy from Lucius Scipio, with ambassadors from king Antiochus and king Eumenes, and the Rhodian delegates, arrived at Rome. Cotta, first in the senate, and then by their order in the assembly of the people, stated the services which were performed in Asia. Then a supplication for three days was decreed, and forty victims of the greater kinds ordered to be sacrificed. Then audience was given first to Eumenes. He, when he had briefly returned thanks to the senate, "because they had relieved him and his brother from a siege, and protected his kingdom from the unjust attacks of Antiochus;" and had congratulated them "because they had carried on affairs successfully by sea and land, and because they had utterly routed, driven out of his camp, and expelled king Antiochus, first from Europe, and then from all Asia on this side of Mount Taurus;" then said "he preferred that they should learn his own deserts from their generals and deputies, rather than from his mouth." All being pleased with his discourse, and desiring him to tell frankly, bashfulness being for the present laid aside, "what recompence he thought proper to be given by the senate and people of Rome;" assuring him that "the senate were inclined to act with greater zeal and more abundant liberality, if possible, according to his deserts." To this the king answered, "if the choice of rewards were offered him by others, if only permission to consult the Roman senate were given to him, he would have availed himself of the advice of that most noble body, lest he might appear to have been either immoderate in his desires or shameless in his requests. But now, when they themselves were the donors, it was much more proper that their munificence towards him and his brothers should be regulated by their own judgment." The senate were not discouraged by this answer from desiring him to speak; and when there had been a long contest of kindness on one side, and reserve on the other, whilst they deferred to one another with a politeness not more mutual than insuperable, Eumenes departed from the senate-house. The senate persisted in their resolution so far as to say, "that it was

absurd that the king should not know with what hopes or request he came. That he himself best knew what would be suitable to his own dominions. He was much better acquainted with Asia than were the senate. That he ought to be called back and compelled to state what were his wishes and sentiments."

53. The king, being brought back by the prætor into the senate-house, and desired to speak freely, began thus: "Conscript fathers, I should have persevered in being silent, but that I knew you would presently call in the Rhodian ambassadors, and that when they had been heard, the necessity of speaking would be imposed on me. And this my speech will be the more difficult on this account, because their demands will be of such a nature, that they will appear not only to make no demands which may be contrary to my interests, but not even to request any thing which may be intimately connected with themselves. For they will plead the cause of the Grecian states, and allege that they ought to be set free; which point being gained, to whom is it doubtful that they will alienate from us not only those states which shall be liberated, but likewise our ancient tributaries; and that after having bound them under so great an obligation, they will keep them under the denomination of allies, in reality subject to their government and entirely at their disposal? And, if it pleases the gods, while they will aspire to this so great power, they will pretend that this is no way connected with them; they will only say, that it is becoming you and conformable to your past conduct. You must be cautious, therefore, lest this speech deceive you; and lest by an unfair distribution, you not only depress some of your allies too much, while you exalt others beyond measure, but also put those who bore arms against you in a better state than your allies and friends. As to what regards myself in other cases, I should prefer to appear to any one to have yielded within the limit of my right, rather than to have struggled too obstinately in maintaining it; but in a contest of friendship and good-will towards you, and of the respect to be paid to you, I cannot with any patience bear to be outdone. This was the principal inheritance that I received from my father; who, of all the inhabitants of Asia and Greece, was the first who embraced your friendship; and this he maintained with

constant and invariable fidelity to the last hour of his life. Nor did he display merely a faithful and kind inclination towards you, but was actively engaged in all the wars which you waged in Greece, whether on land or sea; he aided you with all kinds of provisions in such a manner, that not one of your allies could vie with him in any respect; and finally, while he was exhorting the Bœotians to an alliance with you, having fainted in the middle of his discourse, he shortly expired. In his steps have I trodden; and though I could not surpass the warmth of his wishes, and his zeal in courting your friendship—for these could not be exceeded—yet fortune, the times, Antiochus, and the war waged in Asia, afforded me occasions of surpassing him in real acts and merits, and valuable services. Antiochus, king of Asia, and of a part of Europe, offered me his daughter in marriage; offered to restore immediately the states that had revolted from us, and gave great hopes of enlarging my dominions, if I would have carried on war in conjunction with him against you. I will not boast on this account, because I was guilty of no trespass against you; but I will rather mention those instances of conduct which are worthy of the very early friendship between our house and you. I assisted your commanders with forces by land and sea, so that not one of your allies can stand in competition with me. I supplied them with provisions by land and sea. I was present in all the naval engagements which are fought in many places; and I never was sparing of my labour and danger. I underwent a siege, the most dreadful suffering that can occur in war, being shut up in Pergamus, in the utmost danger both of my kingdom and of my life. Afterwards when liberated from the siege, although in one part Antiochus, in another Seleucus, were encamped about the citadel of my kingdom, having deserted my own affairs, I went with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to meet your consul Lucius Scipio, to assist in transporting his army. From the time that the army came over into Asia, I never quitted the consul; no Roman soldier was more regular in his attendance in your camp, than I and my brothers. No expedition, no cavalry action, was undertaken without me. In the field I took that post, and I maintained that ground, in which the consul wished me to be. I do not intend, conscript fathers, to say who

in that war can be compared to me in services towards you. I would not hesitate to compare myself to any of those nations or kings whom you hold in great honour. Masinissa was your enemy before he became your ally; nor did he repair to you with his auxiliaries when his kingdom was safe; but dethroned, exiled, and stripped of all his forces, he fled for refuge to your camp with one troop of horse. Nevertheless, because he faithfully and diligently adhered to your cause in Africa, against Syphax and the Carthaginians, you not only restored him to the throne of his father, but by adding to his domain the most opulent part of the kingdom of Syphax, rendered him the most potent of all the kings in Africa. What reward then, and what honour are we worthy of at your hands, who have never been foes, but always allies? My father, myself, my brothers, have carried arms in your cause by sea and land, not only in Asia, but in countries remote from our home; in Peloponnesus, in Bœotia, in Ætolia, during the wars with Philip, and Antiochus, and the Ætolians. Some one may say, what therefore do you demand? Conscript fathers, since I must obey you when you desire me to explain my wishes: if you have removed Antiochus beyond the mountains of Taurus with the intention of holding those countries yourselves, I wish for no other people to settle near me, no other neighbours than you; nor could I hope that my kingdom would be rendered safer or firmer by any other event. But if your purpose is to retire hence, and withdraw your armies, I may venture to affirm, that not one of your allies is more deserving than I am of possessing what you have acquired. But then it will be a glorious act to liberate states that are in slavery. I agree that it will, provided they have committed nothing hostile against you. But if they took part with Antiochus, is it not much more becoming your wisdom and equity, to consult the interest of your well-deserving friends than that of your enemies?"

54. The king's speech was pleasing to the senate, and it was very evident that they would do all things liberally, and with a desire to serve him. As one of the Rhodian ambassadors was absent, an embassy from Smyrna was next introduced, which was briefly disposed of. When the Smyrnæans were highly complimented because they had resolved to endure the last extremities rather than surrender to the king,

the Rhodians were next introduced. The chief of their embassy, after stating the commencement of their friendship with the Roman people and merits of the Rhodians, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, said: "Conscript fathers, there is nothing in the whole course of our affairs that gives us more trouble and uneasiness than that we should have a debate with Eumenes; with whom alone, of all the kings in the world, each of us as individuals has a private tie of hospitality, and, what weighs more with us, our state has a public one. But, conscript fathers, it is not our own inclinations that disunite us, but the nature of circumstances which exercise an all-powerful influence, so that we, being free ourselves, plead the cause of other men's freedom; while kings wish to have all things subservient and subject to their command. Yet, be that as it may, our respect towards the king is an obstacle to us, rather than that the debate is intricate, or likely to give you perplexity in your deliberations. For if no honour could be otherwise paid to the king, your friend and ally, who has merited highly in this very war, and concerning whose reward the consideration is, unless you should deliver free states into his power, the deliberation would be a difficult one, lest you should either send away a king, your friend, without due honour, or depart from your own institutions, and sully now, by the servitude of so many states, the glory which you have acquired in the war with Philip. But from this necessity of diminishing either your gratitude towards your friend, or your own glory, fortune completely frees you. For, through the bounty of the gods, your victory is not more glorious than it is rich, so that it can easily acquit you of that just as a debt. Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, with Pisidia, the Chersonese, and the adjoining parts of Europe, are all in your power; and any one of these, given to the king, can double his dominions; but if they were all conferred upon him, they would set him on a level with the greatest of kings. You have it, therefore, in your power to enrich your allies with the prizes of the war; and, not to depart from your usual line of policy, and to remember what motive you assigned as your cause of war, formerly against Philip, latterly against Antiochus; what you performed on the conquest of Philip; what is now desired and expected from you, not so much because you have

done it before, as because it becomes you to do it. For different persons look on different circumstances as specious and plausible motives for taking up arms. Some go to war to get possession of land, some of villages, some of towns, some of ports, and some of the sea-coast. Such things you never coveted, when you had them not; and you cannot covet them now, when the whole world is under your dominion. You ever fought for your dignity and glory, in the sight of the whole human race, which long since has learned to respect your name and empire next to that of the immortal gods. And to procure and acquire these was an arduous task. I know not whether it may be more difficult to retain them. You have undertaken to defend from the slavery of kings the liberty of a nation the most ancient and most highly distinguished, both by the fame of its exploits, and by universal praise for politeness and learning; it becomes you to make this patronage of an entire nation, received under your care and protection, perpetual. The cities standing on the original soil, are not more Grecian than their colonies, which formerly migrated thence into Asia; nor has change of country changed either their race or manners. Every state among us has ventured to contend in a respectful contest, in every good quality and virtue, with its parents and founders. Most of you have visited the cities in Greece, and those in Asia. We are surpassed in no other circumstance than that we are too far distant from you. We hear that the inhabitants of Marseilles (who, if nature, implanted, as it were, in their bosoms, could be overcome by the genus of the soil, would ere this have been rendered savage, by the many barbarous tribes surrounding them) are deservedly held in as high honour and esteem by you as if they were inhabitants of the very centre of Greece. For they have preserved, not only the sound of the language, the mode of dress, and the habit; but, above all, the manners, the laws, and a mind pure and untainted by contagion from their neighbours. The boundary of your empire, at present, is Mount Taurus. Nothing within that line ought to be thought remote. To whatever extent your arms have reached, let justice, emanating from Rome, spread. Let barbarians, with whom the commands of masters have always served instead of laws, have kings, in which government they delight; the Greeks endure their own fortune; they have a spirit like your

own. They too, in former times, grasped at empire by their internal strength. They now pray that empire may remain to eternity where it is at present. They consider it sufficient that their liberty should be defended by your arms, since they are unable to protect it by their own. But it is objected, that some of their states sided with Antiochus. So did others, before, with Philip; so did the Tarentines with Pyrrhus. Not to enumerate other nations, Carthage enjoys liberty and its own laws. Consider, conscript fathers, how much you owe to this example, set by yourselves. You will surely make up your mind to refuse to the ambition of Eumenes, what you refused to your own most just resentment. With what brave and faithful exertions we, Rhodians, have assisted you, both in this late war, and in all the wars that you have waged in that part of the world, we leave to your own judgment. We now, in peace, offer you such advice, that if you conform to it, all the world will judge that you used your victory with more honour to yourselves, than that with which you gained it." Their arguments seemed well adapted to the Roman grandeur.

55. After the Rhodians, the ambassadors of Antiochus were called. These, after the common practice of petitioners for pardon, acknowledged the king's error, and besought the conscript fathers to deliberate, mindful rather of their own mercy than of the misconduct of the king, who had suffered enough and more than enough of punishment; in fine, to ratify, by their authority, the peace granted by their general, Lucius Scipio, with the conditions on which he had given it. The senate voted, that the peace should be observed; and the people, a few days after, ordered it. The treaty was concluded in the Capitol with Antipater, chief of the embassy, and son of the brother of king Antiochus. Then the other embassies from Asia were heard, to all of whom was returned the same answer, that "the senate, in conformity with the usage of their ancestors, would send ten ambassadors to examine and adjust the affairs of Asia. That the general plan was to be this: that the places on this side of Mount Taurus, which had been within the limits of the realm of Antiochus, should be assigned to Eumenes, excepting Lycia and Caria, as far as the river Mæander; and that these last-mentioned should become the property of the Rhodians. That the other

states of Asia, which had been tributary to Attalus, should likewise pay tribute to Eumenes; and such as had been tributary to Antiochus, should be free and independent." They appointed ten ambassadors, Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius Thermus, Appius Claudius Nero, Cneius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Junius Brutus, Lucius Aurunculeius, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Ælius Tubero.

56. To these full instructions were given to decide whatever required an examination of the place. Concerning the general plan the senate voted: that "all Lycaonia, both the Phrygias, and Mysia, the royal forests, and Lydia, and Ionia, excepting those towns which had been free on the day whereon the battle was fought with Antiochus, and excepting by name Magnesia at Sipylus; then the city of Caria, called also Hydrela, and the territory of Hydrela, stretching towards Phrygia, and the forts and villages on the river Mæander, and likewise the towns, excepting such as had been free before the war, and excepting by name, Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, and the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; all these which are written above, were ordered to be given to king Eumenes. Lycia was given to the Rhodians, excepting the same Telmissus, and the fort of Telmissium, with the lands which had belonged to Ptolemy of Telmissus; these were withheld both from Eumenes and the Rhodians. To the latter was given also that part of Caria which lies beyond the river Mæander nearest to the island of Rhodes, with its towns, villages, forts, and lands, extending to Pisidia, excepting those towns which had been in a state of freedom on the day before that of the battle with Antiochus." The Rhodians, after returning thanks for these favours, mentioned the city of Soli in Cilicia, "the inhabitants of which," they said, "as well as themselves, derived their origin from Argos; and, in consequence of this relation, a brotherly affection subsisted between the two states. They, therefore, requested the senate, as an extraordinary favour, to exempt that city from subjection to the king." The ambassadors of Antiochus were called in, and the matter was proposed to them, but their consent could not be obtained; Antipater appealing to the treaty, in opposition to which, not only Soli, but Cilicia was sought by the Rhodians, and they were

passing the summits of Taurus. The Rhodians being summoned again before the senate, the fathers, after they had stated how earnestly the king's ambassador opposed the measure, added, that "if the Rhodians were of opinion that the affair particularly affected the dignity of their state, the senate would try by all means to overcome the obstinacy of the ambassadors." Hereupon the Rhodians, with greater warmth than before, returned thanks, and declared, that they would rather give way to the arrogance of Antipater, than afford any reason for disturbing the peace. So no change was made with respect to Soli.

57. During the time in which these things were transacted, deputies from Marseilles announced that Lucius Bæbius, the prætor, on his way into his province of Spain, had been surrounded by the Ligurians; that a great part of his retinue being slain, he himself, wounded, had made his escape, without his lictors, and with but few attendants, to Marseilles, and in three days after expired. The senate, on hearing of this misfortune, decreed, that Publius Junius Brutus, who was the proprætor in Etruria, having delivered the province and army to whichsoever of the lieutenants he should think proper, should go himself into Farther Spain, which was to be his province. This decree of the senate and a letter was sent by the prætor, Spurius Posthumius, into Etruria; and Publius Junius, the proprætor, set out for Spain, in which province, long before a successor could arrive, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, who afterwards with great glory conquered king Perseus, though he had carried on matters unsuccessfully the year before, having raised an army by a hasty levy, fought a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. The enemy were routed, and put to flight; eighteen thousand were killed, three thousand three hundred taken, and their camp stormed. The fame of this victory made matters more tranquil in Spain. In the same year, on the third day before the calends of January, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Lucius Valerius Tappo, triumvirs, settled a Latin colony at Bononia, according to a decree of the senate. Three thousand men were led to that place. Seventy acres were given to each horseman, fifty to each of the other colonists. The land had been taken from the Boian Gauls, who had formerly expelled the Tuscans.

58. In the same year, many distinguished men strove for the censorship; and this business, as if it furnished in itself insufficient grounds for dispute, gave rise to another contest of a much more violent nature. The candidates were, Titus Quintius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Manius Acilius Glabrio, who had defeated Antiochus and the Ætolians at Thermopylæ. The favour of the people inclined to the last in particular, because he had given many largesses, by which he had bound a great number of men to him. When so many nobles could ill brook that a man of no family should be so much preferred to them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus and Caius Sempronius Rutilus, tribunes of the people, commenced a prosecution against him, on a charge, that he had neither exhibited in his triumph, nor lodged in the treasury, a large part of the royal treasure, and of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus. The depositions of the lieutenants-general and military tribunes were at variance. Beyond all the other witnesses, Marcus Cato was remarkable, whose authority, acquired by the uniform tenor of his life, the fact of his being a candidate diminished. He, when a witness, affirmed, that he had not observed, in the triumph, the gold and silver vessels which, on the taking of the camp, he had seen among the other spoils of the king. At last Glabrio declared, that he declined the election, chiefly to throw odium on Cato; since he, a candidate of an origin as humble as his own, by an abominable perjury, attacked that which men of noble birth bore with silent indignation. A fine of one hundred thousand *asses*[1] was proposed to the people against him. Twice there was a contest on the subject. On the third hearing, as the accused had declined the election, and the people were unwilling to vote about the fine, the tribunes also dropped the business. The censors elected were, Titus Quintius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

59. At the same time, when an audience of the senate, in the temple of Apollo outside the city, was granted to Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who, with the fleet, had defeated the admiral of king Antiochus; after hearing the recital of his services, with what great fleets of the enemy he had engaged, how many of their ships he had sunk or taken, a naval tri-

[1] 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

umph was voted him by the unanimous consent of the fathers. He triumphed on the calends of February. In this procession were carried forty-nine golden crowns; the quantity of money was by no means so great considering the appearance of the triumph over the king, being only thirty-four thousand seven hundred Attic tetradrachms,[1] and one hundred and thirty-two thousand three hundred cistophoruses.[2] Supplications were then performed, by order of the senate, in consideration of the successful services to the state, achieved in Spain by Lucius Æmilius Paulus. Not long after, Lucius Scipio arrived in the city; and, that he might not be inferior to his brother in point of a surname, he chose to be called Asiaticus. He spoke largely of his services both before the senate and a general assembly. There were some who judged that the war was greater by fame than by real difficulty; for it was terminated entirely by one memorable engagement; and that the glory of that victory had been stripped of its bloom at Thermopylæ. But, to any person judging impartially, it must appear, that the fight at Thermopylæ was with the Ætolians, rather than with the king. For with how small a portion of his own strength did Antiochus engage in that battle! whereas, in the other, in Asia, the strength of the whole Asiatic continent stood combined; for he had collected auxiliaries of all nations from the most remote quarters of the east. Justly, therefore, were the greatest possible honours paid to the immortal gods, for having rendered a most important victory easy in the acquisition; and a triumph was decreed to the commander. He triumphed in the intercalary month, the day before the calends of March; which triumph was greater in the display to the eye than that of Africanus his brother, yet if we recall to our memory the circumstances, and estimate the dangers and difficulty, it was no more to be compared to it, than if you would contrast one general with the other, Antiochus with Hannibal. He carried, in his triumph, military standards, two hundred and thirty-four; models of towns, one hundred and thirty-four; elephants' teeth, one thousand two hundred and thirty; crowns of gold, two hundred and twenty-four: pounds-weight of silver, one hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty; Attic tetradrachms, two hundred and twenty-four thousand;[3] cisto-

[1] 4482*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* [2] About 2260*l.* [3] 28,984*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

phoruses, three hundred and thirty-one thousand and seventy; gold pieces, called Philippians, one hundred and forty thousand;[2] silver vases, all engraved, to the amount of one thousand four hundred and twenty-four pounds' weight; of golden vases, one thousand and twenty-four pounds' weight; and of the king's generals, governors, and officers at court, thirty-two were led before his chariot. Twenty-five denariuses[3] were given to each of his soldiers, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; and after the triumph, their pay and allowance of corn were doubled. He had already doubled them after the battle in Asia. He triumphed about a year after the expiration of his consulship.

60. Cneius Manlius, the consul, arrived in Asia, and Quintus Fabius Labeo, the prætor, reached the fleet, nearly at the same time. The consul did not want reasons for war against the Gauls; the sea was subjected to the Romans since the conquest of Antiochus. It appeared best to Quintus Fabius, considering to what thing in particular he should apply himself, lest he might seem to have had a province in which there was no employment, to sail over to the island of Crete. The Cydonians were engaged in war against the Gortynians and Gnossians; and a great number of Roman and Italian captives were said to be in slavery in different parts of the island. Having sailed with the fleet from Ephesus, as soon as he touched the shore of Crete, he despatched orders to all the states to cease from hostilities, and to search each of them for the captives in its own cities and territory, and bring them to him; also, to send ambassadors to him, to treat of matters belonging alike to the Romans and Cretans. These orders had little influence on the Cretans. Excepting the Gortynians, none of them restored the captives. Valerius Antias relates, that as many as four thousand captives were restored out of the whole island, because the Cretans feared his threats of war; and that this was deemed a sufficient reason for Fabius obtaining from the senate a naval triumph, although he performed no other exploit. From Crete Fabius returned to Ephesus: having despatched three ships from the latter place to the coast of Thrace, he ordered the garrisons of Antiochus to be withdrawn from Ænos and Maronea, that these cities might be left at liberty.

[1] 5699*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* [2] 77,629*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* [3] 16*s.* 1½*d.*

BOOK XXXVIII.

Marcus Fulvius the consul besieged Ambracia, in Epirus, and received its surrender; he reduced Cephallenia, and granted peace to the Ætolians, on their complete subjection. Cneius Manlius the consul, his colleague, conquered the Gallogræcians, including the Tolistoboii, Tectosagi, and Trocmi, who, under the command of Brennus, had crossed over into Asia, since they were the only refractory nation on this side of Mount Taurus. Their origin is related, and likewise the manner in which they became masters of the territories which they now hold An instance, also, of virtue and chastity in a woman is recorded: for when the wife of Ortiagon, king of the Gallogræcians, was a captive, she slew a centurion who was sentinel over her, because he offered her violence. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and twenty-eight citizens were rated. A treaty of amity was entered into with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Cneius Manlius, although the ten ambassadors by whose advice he had written the terms of the treaty with Antiochus, opposed him, pleaded his cause in person in the senate, and triumphed over the Gallogræcians. Scipio Africanus, a day of trial being appointed him, as some say, by Quintus Petillius, tribune of the people, as others say, by Nævius, on the charge of having fraudulently deprived the treasury of the plunder taken from Antiochus, when the day of trial came on, was summoned to the rostrum, and said, "On this day, Romans, I conquered Carthage;" and, followed by the people, ascended the Capitol. Subsequently, that he might not receive any further annoyance from the injuries done him by the tribunes, he retired into voluntary exile at Liternum: it is uncertain whether he died there or at Rome, for monuments were erected to his memory in both places. Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, brother of Africanus, was accused and condemned on the same charge of embezzlement as his brother: when he was being led to prison, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the commons, who had been previously on unfriendly terms with the Scipios, vetoed it; and in return for that kindness, received in marriage the daughter of Africanus. When the quæstors were sent to take public possession of the property of Lucius Scipio, not only was no trace of the king's money apparent in it, but not even so much was raised thereby as the amount in which he was fined. He would not receive the countless sum collected by his relations and friends: the mere necessaries of life were purchased back.

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1. WHILE the war is being carried on in Asia, matters were not even then tranquil among the Ætolians, a com-

mencement of these disturbances having originated with the nation of the Athamanians. At that period, since the expulsion of Amynander, Athamania was kept in subjection by royal garrisons, under governors appointed by Philip, who by their haughty and overbearing exercise of power, had made the people regret the loss of Amynander. The hope of recovering the kingdom was presented to Amynander, then an exile in Ætolia, by the letters of his partisans, who informed him of the state of Athamania: and messengers were sent to Argithea, (for that was the chief city of Athamania,) to inform the principal men, that, if they were sufficiently assured of the inclinations of their countrymen, he, having obtained succours from the Ætolians, would come into Athamania with a chosen body of Ætolians, who constituted the council of that nation, and their prætor, Nicander. And, when he found that they were prepared for every thing, he gave them notice, immediately after, of the day on which he would enter Athamania at the head of an army. At first there were four conspirators against the Macedonian garrison; then each of these took as associates six assistants for the execution of the business; but, afterwards, distrusting their small number, which was rather calculated for the concealment than for the execution of the design, they took in a number of associates, equal to the former. Being thus increased to fifty-two, they divided themselves into four parties, one of which repaired to Heraclea, another to Tetraphylia, where the royal treasure used to be kept, a third to Theudoria, and the fourth to Argithea. It was agreed that they should at first appear in the forum publicly, without any bustle, as if they had come about their own ordinary concerns; and then, on a certain day, raise the whole populace, so as to dislodge the Macedonian garrisons from the citadels. When the day came, and Amynander with a thousand Ætolians was on the frontiers, by the preconcerted plan the Macedonian garrisons were driven from the four places at once, and letters were despatched to all the other cities, calling on them to rescue themselves from the exorbitant tyranny of Philip, and to reinstate their hereditary and lawful prince. Accordingly, the Macedonians were, every where, expelled. The town of Theium, (in consequence of the letters being intercepted by Teno, commander of the garrison, and owing to the citadel being occupied by the king's troops,) stood a siege of a few

days, and then surrendered to Amynander, who had now all Athamania in his power, except the fort of Athenæum, on the borders of Macedonia.

2. When Philip heard of the defection of Athamania, he set out, at the head of six thousand men, and proceeded, with the utmost speed, to Gomphi. Having left the greater part of his force, as they would not have been equal to such long marches, he went forward, with two thousand, to Athenæum, the only place which had been retained by his troops. Then, having made attempts on the nearest places, when he clearly perceived that all the rest of the country was hostile to him, he retreated to Gomphi, and returned with the whole of his army into Athamania. He then sent Zeno, at the head of one thousand foot, with orders to seize on Ethopia, which stands advantageously for commanding Argithea; and, as soon as he understood that this post was in possession of his party, he himself encamped near the temple of Acræan Jupiter. Here he was detained one whole day, by a tremendous storm; and on the next, proceeded to lead them towards Argithea. On the troops commencing their march the Athamanians immediately appeared hastening to the hills which overlooked the road. On the sight of whom, the foremost battalions halted, while fear and confusion spread through the whole army, and every one began to consider what might have been the consequence, if the troops had gone down into the valleys commanded by those cliffs. This confusion compelled the king, who wished, if his men would follow him, to push on rapidly through the defile, to call back the foremost, and return by the same road by which he came. The Athamanians at first followed at a distance, without making any attempt: after the Ætolians joined them, they left these to harass the rear, and extended themselves on both flanks. Some of them, by taking a shorter way, through known paths, seized the passes; and such terror was struck into the Macedonians, that they repassed the river in a manner more like a hasty flight than a regular march, leaving behind many of their men and arms. Here was the end of the pursuit, and the Macedonians, in safety, returned to Gomphi, and from Gomphi into Macedonia. The Athamanians and Ætolians ran together, from all sides, to Ethopia, to crush Zeno and his thousand Macedonians. The Macedonians, distrusting their position,

removed from Ethopia, to a hill which was higher and steeper on all sides; from which the Athamanians, having found access in several places, dislodged them; and while they were dispersed, and unable to find the road for flight, through impassable and unknown rocks, slew part of them and made part prisoners. Great numbers, in their panic, tumbled down the precipices; very few, with Zeno, effected their escape to the king. Afterwards, permission to bury their dead was given to them during the truce.

3. Amynander, on recovering possession of his kingdom, sent ambassadors, both to the senate at Rome and to the Scipios in Asia, who, since the grand battle with Antiochus, stayed at Ephesus. He requested a treaty of amity, and apologized for having had recourse to the Ætolians, for the recovery of his hereditary dominions. He made many charges against Philip. The Ætolians from Athamania proceeded into Amphilochia, and, with the consent of the greater part of the inhabitants, reduced that nation under their power and dominion. After the recovery of Amphilochia, for it had formerly belonged to the Ætolians, they passed on, with hopes of equal success, into Aperantia. That also, for the most part, surrendered to the Ætolians without a contest. The Dolopians had never been subject to the Ætolians, but they were to Philip. These, at first, ran to arms; but when they were informed of the Amphilochians taking part with the Ætolians, of Philip's flight from Athamania, and the destruction of his detachment, they also revolted from Philip to the Ætolians. Whilst the Ætolians believed that they were now secured against the Macedonians on all sides, by these nations surrounding them, the report is brought to them that Antiochus was conquered in Asia by the Romans. Not very long after, their ambassadors came home from Rome, without the prospect of peace, announcing that the consul Fulvius, with his army, had already crossed the sea. Dismayed at these accounts, they send the chief men of the state to Rome to try the last hope, having previously solicited embassies from Rhodes and Athens, that, through the influence of those states, their petitions, lately rejected, might meet with a more favourable reception from the senate: they took no kind of precaution to avert the war, before it was almost within sight. Marcus Fulvius, having brought over his army

to Apollonia, was, at this time, consulting with the Epirot chiefs where he should commence his operations. It was the opinion of the Epirots that he should attack Ambracia, which had lately united itself to Ætolia; alleging, that, "in case the Ætolians should come to its relief, there were open plains around it, to fight in; or that if they should avoid a battle, there would be no great difficulty in the siege, for there were at hand abundant materials for raising mounds and other works, while the Arachthus, a navigable river, well adapted to convey every thing requisite, flowed by the walls; besides, the summer was just approaching, the fittest season for the enterprise." By these arguments they persuaded him to march on through Epirus.

4. To the consul, on his arrival at Ambracia, the siege appeared to be a work of no small difficulty. Ambracia stands at the foot of a rocky hill, called by the natives Perranthe: the city, where the wall faces the plain and the river, looks towards the west; the citadel, which is seated on the hill, towards the east. The river Arachthus, which rises in Athamania, falls here into a gulf of the sea, called the Ambracian, from the name of the adjacent city. Besides that the river defended it on one side and the hills on the other, it was also surrounded by a strong wall, extending in circuit somewhat more than three miles. Fulvius formed two camps at a short distance from each other, and one fort on the high ground opposite to the citadel; all which he intended to join together by a rampart and trench, in such a manner that there should be no exit from the city for the besieged, nor entrance for the introduction of assistance from without. The Ætolians, on the report of the siege of Ambracia, were by this time assembled at Stratus, in obedience to an edict of their prætor, Nicander. At first they intended to have marched hence, with their whole force, to raise the siege; afterwards, when they heard that the place was already, in a great measure, surrounded with works, and that the Epirots were encamped on level ground, on the other side of the river, they resolved to divide their forces. Eupolemus, with one thousand light troops, marching to Ambracia, made his way into the city, though the works were joined to each other. Nicander's first plan was to have attacked the camp of the Epirots in the night, with the rest of the troops, as assistance

could not be easily received from the Romans, because the river ran between them. Afterward, judging it too dangerous an undertaking, lest the Romans should by any means discover it, and his retreat become unsafe, he was deterred from this design, and marched away to ravage the country of Acarnania.

5. The consul having now finished the intrenchments with which it was necessary to surround the city, and likewise the works which he was preparing to bring forward to the walls, attacked the city in five different places; three attacks, at equal distances from each other, he directed against the quarter which they called Pyrrheum, as the approach was easier from the plain; one opposite to the temple of Æsculapius, and one against the citadel. He broke down the walls with battering-rams, and tore down the battlements with poles armed with scythes. At first, terror and dismay seized the townsmen, at the formidable appearance of the works, and the shocks given to the walls, which were attended with a dreadful noise: afterwards, when they beheld them contrary to their hopes standing, having again resumed courage, they, by means of cranes, threw down upon the battering-rams weighty masses of lead, or stone, or beams of timber; dragging the armed poles, with iron grapples, within the walls, they broke off the hooks; besides, by sallies, both by night against the watch-guards of the engines, and by day against the advanced posts, they kept the besiegers in a state of continual alarm. While affairs at Ambracia were in this state, the Ætolians had returned from ravaging Acarnania, to Stratus. Their prætor, Nicander, having conceived hopes of raising the siege by a bold effort, sent a person called Nicodamus, with five hundred Ætolians, into Ambracia, and appointed a certain night, and even the time of the night, on which, from within the city, they were to assault the works of the enemy, opposite to the Pyrrheum, while he himself should alarm the Roman camp. He supposed that, in consequence of the alarm on both sides, and night increasing the terror, something memorable might be achieved. And Nicodamus, in the dead of the night, (when he had escaped the notice of some of the parties on watch, and broken through others by his determined onset,) having passed the intrenchment, penetrated into the city; and gave the besieged considerable hope and courage for any enterprise; and as

soon as the appointed time arrived, according to the plan preconcerted, he made a sudden assault on the works. This undertaking was more formidable in the attempt than in the effect, because no attack was made from without; for the prætor of the Ætolians had either been deterred by fear, or had judged it more advisable to carry succours to Amphilochia, which had been lately reduced; which Perseus, the son of Philip, who was sent to recover Dolopia and Amphilochia, was besieging with the greatest vigour.

6. The works of the Romans against the Pyrrheum were carried on in three different places, as has been mentioned before, all which works the Ætolians assaulted at once, but not with similar weapons or similar force. S me advanced with burning torches, others carrying tow and pitch, and fire-darts, their entire line being illuminated by the blaze. At the first assault they cut off many of the men on guard. Afterwards, when the shout and uproar reached the camp, and the signal was given by the consul, the troops took arms and poured out of all the gates to succour their friends. In one place the contest was carried on with fire and sword; from the other two, the Ætolians retired with disappointment, after essaying rather than supporting a fight. The whole brunt of the battle fell on the one quarter with great fury. Here the two commanders, Eupolemus and Nicodamus, in their different posts, encouraged their men and animated them with hope amounting almost to certainty, that Nicander would, according to his agreement, come up speedily and attack the enemy's rear. This expectation for some time supported their courage in the fight. But at last, as they did not receive the concerted signal from their friends, and saw the number of their enemies continually increasing, they pressed on with less energy, as if deserted; finally, having abandoned the attempt, their retreat now becoming almost impracticable, they were driven in flight into the city, after having burned a part of the works, however, and killed a much greater number than they lost themselves. If the affair had been conducted according to the plan concerted, there was no reason to doubt but that one part at least of the works might have been stormed with great havoc of the Romans. The Ambracians and the Ætolians, who were within, not only renounced the enterprise of that night, but supposing themselves betrayed by their friends, became

much less spirited. None of them any longer sallied out, as before, against the enemy's stations, but posted on the walls and towers, fought without danger.

7. Perseus, on hearing of the approach of the Ætolians, having raised the siege of the city in which he was employed, and having ravaged the country, quitted Amphilochia, and returned into Macedon. The devastation of their sea-coast called away the Ætolians from this region. Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, entered the Corinthian gulf with sixty barks, and having formed a junction with the ships of the Achæans lying at Patræ, wasted the maritime parts of Ætolia. Against these one thousand Ætolians were sent, who, by taking short routes, met the fleet wherever it, while sailing around the indentations of the coast, attempted a landing. The Romans at Ambracia, by the battering of their rams in many places at once, laid open a great part of the city; but nevertheless were unable to penetrate into the heart of it. For instead of the wall knocked down a new one was raised with proportionate speed, while the armed men standing on the ruins, formed a kind of bulwark. The consul, therefore, when he made no progress by open force, resolved to form a secret mine, covering the ground first with his machines. And for a long time his workmen, though employed both night and day, not only in digging under the ground but also in carrying away the earth, escaped the observation of the enemy. A heap of it, however, rising suddenly, gave the townsmen intimation of their work, and terrified lest, the wall being undermined, a passage should be opened into the city, they determined to draw a trench within, opposite to the work that was covered with machines. In which when they reached such a depth as the bottom of the mine could well be, then keeping profound silence, having applied their ears to several different places, they endeavoured to catch the sound of the miners; which being heard, they opened a way directly towards them. Nor did it require much exertion, for they came in a short time to an open space where the wall was supported with props by the enemy. The works joining here, as the passage was open from the trench to the mine, the parties began to fight in the dark under ground, first of all with the tools which they had used in the works, but afterwards armed men came quickly up. Subsequently the contest became less spirited; as the besieged

stopped the passage, sometimes by stretching strong hair-cloths across it, sometimes by hastily placing doors in the way of their antagonists. A new engine, requiring no great labour, was invented against those who were in the mine. The besieged bored a hole in the bottom of a cask, by which a moderate-sized pipe could be inserted, and made an iron pipe and iron head for the cask, which was perforated in many places. They placed this cask, filled with small feathers, with its mouth turned towards the mine. Through the holes in the head of the cask projected those very long spears, which they call sarissas, to keep off the enemy. They kindled a small spark of fire, placed among the feathers, by blowing with a smith's bellows, inserted into the end of the pipe. After that the smoke arising from this, not only in great quantities, but also more offensive from the nauseous stench proceeding from the burnt feathers, had filled the mine, scarcely any one could stay within.

8. Whilst affairs at Ambracia were in this state, Phæneas and Damoteles came to the consul, as ambassadors from the Ætolians, invested with full powers by a decree of the general assembly of that nation. For when their prætor saw on one side Ambracia besieged; on another, the sea-coast infested by the enemy's ships; on a third, Amphilochia and Dolopia ravaged by the Macedonians, and that the Ætolians were incapable of meeting the three enemies at once, having summoned a council, he consulted the chiefs on what was to be done. The opinions of all tended to one point: "that peace should be solicited on equal terms if possible; if not, on any terms that could be borne. That the war was undertaken in reliance on Antiochus. Since Antiochus was vanquished by land and sea, and driven beyond the mountains of Taurus, almost out of the world, what hope remained of their being able to support it? That Phæneas and Damoteles, since the emergency was so great, should do whatever they might judge to tend to the interest of the Ætolians and their own honour. For what counsel, what option had been left them by fortune?" Ambassadors were despatched with instructions, to beseech the consul to "have mercy on the city, and to take compassion on a nation once acknowledged as an ally; and driven to madness, they would not say by ill treatment, but undoubtedly by their sufferings." That the Ætolians "had

not in Antiochus' war deserved a larger share of punishment than they had of reward in that against Philip. That neither then was compensation liberally made them, nor ought punishment now to be inflicted on them in an immoderate degree." To this the consul answered, that "the Ætolians had sued for peace often, rather than ever with sincere intentions. Let them in soliciting peace imitate Antiochus, whom they had drawn into the war. He had ceded, not the few cities whose liberty was the ground of the dispute, but an opulent kingdom, all Asia on this side Mount Taurus. That he (the consul) would not listen to the Ætolians, treating concerning peace, unless they laid down their arms. That, in the first place, their arms and all their horses must be delivered up; and in the next place, one thousand talents[1] of silver must be paid to the Roman people; half of which sum must be laid down immediately, if they wished for peace. To these articles he would add when concluding the treaty, that they must have the same allies and the same enemies as the Roman people."

9. To which demands the ambassadors having made no reply, both because they were severe, and because they knew the spirit of their country to be unbroken and changeable, returned home, that they might again and again, while the thing was undecided, consult the prætor and chiefs as to what was to be done. They were received with clamour and reproaches, and were asked "how long would they protract the matter, though commanded to bring with them a peace of some kind or other?" But as they were going back to Ambracia, they were caught in an ambuscade, laid near the road by the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and carried to Thyrium to be confined. The delay arising from this incident interrupted the negotiations. When the ambassadors of the Athenians and Rhodians, who had come to intercede for them, were now with the consul, Amynander also, king of Athamania, having obtained a safe-conduct, had come into the Roman camp, being more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had spent the greatest part of his exile, than for the nation of the Ætolians. When the consul was informed by them of the accident which had befallen the ambassadors, he ordered them to be brought from Thyrium; and on their arrival they began to treat concerning peace. Amynander, as that was his

[1] 193,750*l.*

principal object, laboured assiduously to persuade the Ambracians to capitulate. When he made but little progress in this, while he was coming under the walls and conferring with their chiefs, he at last, with the consul's permission, went into the city; where, partly by arguments, partly by entreaties, he prevailed on them to surrender themselves to the Romans. Caius Valerius, the son of Lævinus, who was the first that had made a treaty of alliance with that nation, the brother of the consul, born of the same mother, eminently aided the Ætolians. The Ambracians, having first stipulated that they might send away the auxiliary Ætolians in safety, opened their gates. Then the Ætolians stipulated that "they should pay five hundred Euboic talents,[1] two hundred of this sum at present, and three hundred at six equal annual payments; that they should deliver up to the Romans the prisoners and deserters; that they should not subject any city to their jurisdiction, which, since the first coming of Titus Quintius into Greece, had either been taken by the arms of the Romans, or voluntarily entered into alliance with them: and that the island of Cephallenia should be excluded from the treaty." Although these terms were more moderate than they themselves had expected, yet the Ætolians begged permission to lay them before the council, which request was granted. A short discussion about the cities engaged the council. Since they had been for some time under their laws, they bore with pain that they should be torn off, as it were, from their body. However, they unanimously voted that the terms of peace should be accepted. The Ambracians presented the consul with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds' weight. The brazen and marble statues and paintings, with which Ambracia was more richly decorated than any other city in that country, since it was the royal residence of Pyrrhus, were all removed and carried away; but nothing else was injured or even touched.

10. The consul, marching into the interior parts of Ætolia, encamped at Amphilochian Argos, twenty-two miles from Ambracia. Here, at length, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived, the consul in the mean time wondered at the cause of their delay. Then, after he heard that the council of the Ætolians had approved of the terms of peace, having ordered them to go to

[1] About 96,000*l.*

Rome to the senate, and having permitted the Athenian and Rhodian mediators to go with them, and appointed his brother, Caius Valerius, to accompany them, he himself passed over to Cephallenia. The ambassadors found the ears and minds of all the principal people at Rome prepossessed by charges made against them by Philip, who, by complaining both by ambassadors and by letters, that Dolopia, Amphilochia, and Athamania had been forcibly taken from him, that his garrison, and at last even his son Perseus, had been driven out of Amphilochia, had turned away the senate from their entreaties. The Athenians and Rhodians were, nevertheless, heard with attention. An Athenian ambassador, Leon, son of Icesias, is said to have even affected them much by his eloquence. Making use of a common simile, and comparing the multitude of the Ætolians to a calm sea, when it comes to be ruffled by the winds, he said, that "as long as they faithfully adhered to the alliance with Rome, they rested in the calm state natural to nations; but that when Thoas and Dicæarchus began to blow from Asia, Menetas and Damocrites from Europe, then was raised that storm which dashed them on Antiochus as on a rock."

11. The Ætolians, after being a long time buffeted about, at length prevailed to have articles of peace concluded. They were these:—"Let the Ætolian nation, without fraud or deceit, maintain the empire and majesty of the Roman people; let them not suffer to pass through their territories, nor, in any manner whatever, aid or assist any army that shall march against the allies and friends of the Romans; let them have the same enemies as the Roman people; let them bear arms against them, and take a share in their wars; let them deliver up the deserters, fugitives, and prisoners, to the Romans and their allies, excepting such as were prisoners before, who having returned home, were afterwards captured; and also such as, at the time of their being taken, were enemies to Rome, while the Ætolians were in the Roman army. Let such of the others as can be found be delivered up, without reserve, to the magistrates of Corcyra, within one hundred days; and such as cannot now be found, as soon as they shall be discovered. Let them give forty hostages at the discretion of the Roman consul, none younger than twelve years nor older than forty; let neither the prætor, nor the general of the horse, nor the public secretary, be a hostage;

nor any person who has before been a hostage in the hands of the Romans. Let Cephallenia be excluded from these articles." With respect to the sum of money which they were to pay, and the mode of payment, no alteration was made in the arrangement which had been made by the consul. If they chose to give gold instead of silver, it was agreed that they might do so, provided that one piece of gold should be deemed equivalent to ten of silver of the same weight. "Whatever cities, whatever lands, whatever men have been formerly under the jurisdiction of the Ætolians, and have, either in the consulate of Titus Quintius and Publius Ælius, or since their consulate, been subdued by the arms of the Roman people, or have made a voluntary submission to them, the Ætolians are not to reclaim. The Œnians, with their city and lands, are to belong to the Acarnanians." On these conditions was the treaty concluded with the Ætolians.

12. Not only in the same summer, but almost at the very time in which these acts were performed by Marcus Fulvius the consul in Ætolia, the other consul, Cneius Manlius, carried on war in Gallogræcia; the progress of which I shall now relate. In the beginning of spring the consul came to Ephesus, and having received the command of the army from Lucius Scipio, and reviewed the troops, he made an harangue to the soldiers; in which, having praised their bravery in having completely conquered Antiochus in a single battle, he encouraged them to undertake a new war against the Gauls, who had supported Antiochus with auxiliaries, and were, besides, of such untractable tempers, that Antiochus was to no purpose removed beyond the range of Mount Taurus, unless the power of the Gauls was broken; he then spoke briefly of himself, in terms neither ill-grounded nor extravagant. The delighted soldiers heard the consul with frequent bursts of applause, considering the Gauls as having been a part of the strength of Antiochus; and that, since that king had been vanquished, there would be no power in the forces of the Gauls, by themselves. The consul judged that Eumenes was absent at an unseasonable time, (he was then at Rome,) as he was well acquainted with the nature of the country and of the inhabitants, and as it was his interest that the power of the Gauls should be broken. He therefore sends for his brother Attalus, from Pergamus, and having exhorted him to

undertake the war in conjunction with him, he sends him, away to make preparations, after promising his own exertions and those of his countrymen. A few days after, Attalus with one thousand foot and two hundred horse, having ordered his brother Athenæus to follow with the rest of the troops, and committed the care of Pergamus to persons whom he knew to be faithful to his brother and to his government, met the consul, who had marched from Ephesus to Magnesia. The consul, after highly commending the young prince, having advanced with all his forces, encamped on the bank of the Mæander, for as that river could not be forded, it was necessary to collect shipping for carrying over the army.

13. Having passed the Mæander, they came to Hiera Come.[1] In this place there is a magnificent temple, and oracle of Apollo; the priests are said to deliver their responses in verses by no means inelegant. Hence, in two days' march they reached the river Harpasus; whither came ambassadors from Alabandæ, entreating the consul, either by his authority or his arms, to compel a fort, which had lately revolted from it, to return to its former allegiance. To the same place came Athenæus the brother of Eumenes, and Attalus, with Leusus, a Cretan, and Corragos, a Macedonian commander. They brought with them one thousand foot and three hundred horse, composed of various nations. The consul, having sent a military tribune with a small party, took the fort by assault, and restored it to the Alabandians. He himself, not deviating from his route, pitched his camp at Antioch on the Mæander. The source of this river is in Celænæ, which city was formerly the metropolis of Phrygia. The inhabitants afterwards removed to a spot not far distant from Old Celænæ, and the name of Apama was given to their new city, from Apama the sister of king Seleucus. The river Marsyas also, rising at a little distance from the head of the Mæander, falls into the latter river, and report so has it, that at Celænæ Marsyas contended with Apollo in the music of the pipe. The Mæander, springing up in the highest part of the citadel of Celænæ, runs down through the middle of the city, then through Caria, afterwards through Ionia, and empties itself into a bay which lies between Priene and Miletus. Seleucus, son of Antiochus, came into the consul's camp at Antioch, to furnish corn for

[1] Holy Town.

the troops, in conformity with the treaty with Scipio. Here a small dispute arose, concerning the auxiliary troops of Attalus; for Seleucus affirmed, that Antiochus engaged to supply corn to the Roman soldiers only. This difference was terminated by the firmness of the consul, who gave orders to a tribune despatched by him, that the Roman soldiers should receive none, until the auxiliaries under Attalus should have received their share. From hence the army advanced to Gordiutichos,[1] as they call it: from which place it marched, in three days, to Tabæ. This city stands on the confines of Pisidia, in that part which verges to the Pamphylian sea. Whilst the strength of that country was unimpaired, it produced valiant warriors: and even on this occasion, their horsemen, sallying out on the Roman troops, caused by their first onset no small confusion; then, as soon as it appeared that they were not equal to them either in numbers or bravery, being driven back to the city, they begged pardon for their transgressions, and offered to surrender the city. They were ordered to pay twenty-five talents of silver,[2] and ten thousand bushels of wheat; and on these terms their surrender was accepted.

14. On the third day after their leaving this place, the army reached the river Chaus, and proceeding thence, took the city of Eriza at the first assault. They then came to Thabusios, a fort standing on the bank of the river Indus, to which an elephant's guide thrown from the animal had given its name. They were now not far from Cibyra, yet no embassy appeared from Moagetes, the tyrant of that state; a man faithless and tyrannical in every respect. The consul, in order to sound his intentions, sent forward Caius Helvius, with four thousand foot and five hundred horse. Ambassadors met this body on their entrance into his territories, declaring, that the king was ready to execute their commands. They entreated Helvius to enter their confines in a friendly manner, and to restrain his soldiers from pludering the land; and they brought with them in lieu of a golden crown fifteen talents. Helvius, having promised to keep their lands safe from plunderers, ordered the ambassadors to go on to the consul. And when they delivered the same message to him, the consul said, "We Romans have not any sign of the ty-

[1] The Gordian wall. [2] 4843*l.* 15*s.*

rant's good will towards us, and we are agreed that he is such a person that we ought rather to think of punishing him than of contracting friendship with him." Struck with astonishment at such a reception, the ambassadors requested nothing more than that he should receive the present, and give permission to the tyrant to come to him, and an opportunity to speak and excuse himself. By the permission of the consul, the tyrant came next day into the camp. His dress and retinue were scarcely equal to the style of a private person of moderate fortune; while his discourse was humble and incoherent, depreciating his own wealth and complaining of the poverty of the cities under his sway. He had under his dominion, (beside Cibyra,) Syleum, and the city called Alimne. Out of these he promised (in such a manner as if he were diffident that he could strip himself and his subjects of so much) to raise twenty-five talents.[1] "Truly," said the consul, "this trifling cannot be borne. It is not enough for you that you did not blush, though absent, when you were imposing on us by your ambassadors; but even when present you persist in the same effrontery. Is it that twenty-five talents would exhaust your dominions? If within three days you do not pay down five hundred talents,[2] expect the devastation of your lands and the siege of your city." Although terrified by this menace, he persisted obstinately in his plea of poverty; gradually by illiberal advances, (sometimes cavilling, sometimes recurring to prayers and counterfeit tears,) he was brought to agree to the payment of one hundred talents,[3] to which were added ten thousand bushels of corn. All this was done within six days.

15. From Cibyra the army was led through the territory of the Sindensians, and, after crossing the river Caularis, encamped. Next day they marched along the side of the lake of Caralitis, and passed the night at Mandropolis. As they advanced to the next city, Lagos, the inhabitants fled through fear. The place being deserted, yet filled with abundance of every thing, was pillaged by the soldiers. From this they marched to the sources of the river Lysis, and on the next day to the river Cobulatus. At this time the Termessians were besieging the citadel of the Isiondensians, after having taken the city. The besieged, when they had no other hope of aid, sent ambassadors to the

[1] 4843*l.* 15*s.* [2] 96,875*l.* [3] 19,375*l.*

consul, imploring succour; adding, that, "being shut up in the citadel, with their wives and children, they were in daily expectation of suffering death, either by the sword or famine." An occasion for turning aside to Pamphylia was thereby offered to the consul, who was very desirous of it. By his approach he raised the siege of Isionda. He granted peace to Termessus on receiving fifty talents of silver;[1] and, likewise, to the Aspendians and other states of Pamphylia. Returning from Pamphylia he pitched his camp, the first day, at the river Taurus, and the second at Come Xyline,[2] as they call it. Departing from which, he proceeded, by uninterrupted marches, to the city of Cormasa. The next city was Darsa, which he found abandoned by the inhabitants through fear, but filled with abundance of every thing useful. Ambassadors from Lysinoe, with the surrender of that state, met him while marching along the marshes. He then came into the Sagalassenian territory, rich and abounding in every kind of production. The inhabitants are Pisidians, the best soldiers, by far, of any in that part of the world. This circumstance, as well as the fertility of their soil, the multitude of their people, and the situation of their city, pre-eminently fortified, gave them boldness. The consul sent a party to ravage the country, because no embassy attended him on the frontiers. Then, at length, their obstinacy was overcome, as soon as they saw their property carried off and driven away. After sending ambassadors, and agreeing to pay fifty talents, with twenty thousand bushels of wheat and twenty thousand of barley, they obtained peace. The consul then marched to the source of the Obrima, and encamped at a village called Come Acaridos.[3] Hither Seleucus came, next day, from Apamea. Then when the consul had sent the sick and the useless baggage to Apamea, having received guides from Seleucus, he marched that day into the plain of Metropolis, and advanced on the day following to Diniæ in Phrygia, and thence to Synnas: all the towns on every side being deserted by the inhabitants through fear. And now, bringing along his army encumbered with the spoil of those cities, after scarcely completing in a whole day a march of five miles, he arrived at a town called Old Beudi. Next day he encamped at Anabura; on the following, at the source of the Alander, and on the

[1] 9687*l.* 10*s.* [2] The wood town. [3] The town of Acaris.

third at Abassus, where he halted for several days, because he arrived at the borders of the Tolistoboians.

16. These Gauls, in a very numerous body, induced either by scarcity of land or hopes of plunder, and thinking that no nation through which they were to pass would be a match for them in arms, made their way under the command of Brennus into Dardania. There a dissension arose, and about twenty thousand men under the chieftains Leonorius and Lutarius, a secession being made from Brennus, turned their route to Thrace. Then when, fighting with such as resisted them, and imposing a tribute on such as sued for peace, they had arrived at Byzantium, they held possession for a long time of the cities in that quarter, laying the coast of the Propontis under contribution. Then a desire of passing over into Asia seized them, hearing in the neighbourhood how great the fertility of that continent was; and, having taken Lysimachia by treachery, and possessed themselves of the whole Chersonesus by force of arms, they went down to the Hellespont. When they there beheld Asia separated from them by a narrow strait, their wishes to pass into it were much more highly inflamed, and they despatched envoys to Antipater, governor of that coast, to treat of a passage. And when, business being protracted to a greater length than they expected, a new quarrel broke out between their chieftains, Leonorius, with the greater part of the people, went back to Byzantium, whence they came: Lutarius takes two decked ships and three barks from some Macedonians, sent by Antipater, under the pretext of an embassy, to act as spies. By carrying over in these galleys detachment after detachment, day and night, he transported all his troops within a few days. Not long after, Leonorius, with the assistance of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, passed over from Byzantium. The Gauls then re-united their forces, and assisted Nicomedes in a war which he was carrying on against Zybœta, who held possession of a part of Bithynia. By their assistance chiefly Zybœta was subdued, and the whole of Bithynia reduced under the dominion of Nicomedes. Then leaving Bithynia, they advanced into Asia; and although, of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten thousand carried arms, yet such a degree of terror did they strike into all the natives, dwelling on this side of Taurus, that those which they visited, and those which they did not visit, the most re-

mote as well as the nearest, submitted to their authority. At length, as there were three tribes of them, the Tolistoboians, the Trocmians, and the Tectosagians, they made a division of Asia into three provinces, according to which it was made tributary to each of their states. The coast of the Hellespont was assigned to the Trocmians; the Tolistoboians obtained of the allotment Æolia and Ionia; the Tectosagians received the inland parts of Asia. They levied tribute throughout every part of Asia on this side Mount Taurus; but chose their own residence on the banks of the river Halys; and so great was the terror of their name, their numbers, too, increasing by a rapid population, that at last even the kings of Syria did not refuse to pay them tribute. The first of all the inhabitants of Asia who refused, was Attalus, the father of king Eumenes; and beyond the expectation of all, fortune favoured his bold resolution, and he defeated them in a pitched battle; yet he did not so effectually break their spirits, as to make them give up their pretensions to empire. Their power continued the same until the war between Antiochus and the Romans; and, even then, after Antiochus was expelled the country, they still entertained a hope, that, as they lived remote from the sea, the Roman army would not come so far.

17. As the troops were about to act against this enemy, so terrible to all in that part of the world, the consul, in an assembly, addressed the soldiers for the most part to this effect: "It does not escape me, that, of all the nations inhabiting Asia, the Gauls are pre-eminent for military fame. A fierce nation, after overrunning the face of the earth with its arms, has fixed its abode in the midst of a race of men the gentlest in the world. Their tall persons, their long red hair, their vast shields, and swords of enormous length; their songs also, when they are advancing to action, their yells and dances, and the horrid clashing of their armour, while they brandish their shields in a peculiar manner, practised in their original country; all these circumstances are preconcerted to inspire terror. But let Greeks, and Phrygians, and Carians, to whom these things are unusual and strange, be frightened by such acts: to the Romans, accustomed to Gallic tumults, even these vain efforts to strike terror are known. Once our ancestors fled from them, but it was long ago, when they first met them at the Allia. Ever since that time, for, now, two hundred years,

the Romans drive them before them in dismay, and kill them like cattle; there have, indeed, been more triumphs celebrated over the Gauls, than over almost all the rest of the world. It is now well known by experience, that if you sustain their first onset, which they make with fiery eagerness and blind fury, their limbs are unnerved with sweat and fatigue; their arms flag; and, though you should not employ a weapon on them, the sun, dust, and thirst prostrate their enervated bodies and minds when their fury has ceased. We have tried them, not only with our legions against theirs, but in single combat, man to man. Titus Manlius and Marcus Valerius have demonstrated how far Roman valour surpasses Gallic fury. Marcus Manlius, singly, thrust back the Gauls who were mounting the Capitol in a body. Our forefathers had to deal with genuine Gauls, born in their own lands; but they are now degenerate, a mongrel race, and, in reality, what they are named, Gallogræcians; just as is the case of vegetables and cattle, the seeds are not so efficacious in preserving their original constitution, as the properties of the soil and climate under which they are reared, are in changing it. The Macedonians who settled at Alexandria in Egypt, or in Seleucia, or Babylonia, or in any other of their colonies scattered over the world, have sunk into Syrians, Parthians, or Egyptians. Marseilles, owing to its situation in the midst of Gauls, has contracted somewhat of the disposition of its adjoining neighbours. What of the hardy, rugged discipline of Sparta hath remained to the Tarentines? Every thing is produced in higher perfection in its own native soil; whatever is planted in a foreign land, by a gradual change in its nature, degenerates into that by which it is nurtured. Therefore you, victorious, will slay the conquered Phrygians, though laden with Gallic armour, as you slew them in the ranks of Antiochus. I am more apprehensive of our gaining but little honour from the victory, than of the struggle being a severe one. King Attalus often routed and put them to flight. Do you think that brutes only, when taken, retain at first their natural ferocity, and subsequently grow tame, after being long fed by the hands of men; and that nature does not exert the same power in softening the savage disposition of men. Do you believe these to be of the same kind that their fathers and grandfathers were? Exiles from home through scarcity of land, they

marched along the craggy coast of Illyricum, then traversed Pæonia and Thrace, in a continual struggle against the fiercest nations, and took possession of these countries. A land which could glut them with plenty of every thing, received them hardened and infuriated by so many evils. By the very great fertility of the soil, the very great mildness of the climate, and the gentle dispositions of the neighbouring nations, all that fierceness with which they came has been quite mollified. You, by Hercules, who are the sons of Mars, ought to guard against the seductions of Asia, and shun them from the very first; so great is the power of those foreign pleasures in extinguishing the vigour of the mind, so strong the contagion from the relaxed discipline and manners of the people about you. One thing has happened fortunately; that though they will not bring against you a degree of strength by any means equal to what they formerly possessed, yet they still retain a character among the Greeks equal to what they had at their first coming; consequently you, when victors, will acquire the same warlike renown, as if you had conquered the Gauls still acting up to their ancient standard of courage."

18. Having then dismissed the assembly, and having despatched ambassadors to Eposognatus, (who alone of all the petty princes had remained in friendship with Eumenes, and refused to assist Antiochus against the Romans,) he proceeded on his march. He came the first day to the river Alander, and the next to a village called Tyscos. When ambassadors of the Oroandensians had come to that place, seeking amity, two hundred talents[1] were levied on them; and on their requesting that they might bear this announcement home, permission to do so was given. The consul then led the army to Plitendos; then the Roman camp was pitched at Alyatti. The persons sent to Eposognatus returned to him here, and with them ambassadors from that chieftain, who entreated him not to make war on the Tolistoboians, for that Eposognatus himself would go among that people and persuade them to submit. This request of the prince was complied with. The army then began to march through the country called Axylos:[2] which derives its name from the nature of the place; for it not only does not produce timber, but not even brambles, or any species of fire-wood. The inhabitants,

[1] 38,750*l*. [2] Woodless.

instead of wood, use cow dung. While the Romans were encamped at Cuballum, a fort of Gallogræcia, the enemy's cavalry appeared with great tumult. They not only disordered by their sudden charge the advanced guards of the Romans, but killed several of the men; and when this alarm was spread to the camp, the Roman cavalry, pouring out hastily by all the gates, routed and dispersed the Gauls, and killed many as they fled. The consul, now perceiving that he had reached the enemy's country, marched henceforth exploring his route and carefully bringing up his rear. When by continued marches he had arrived at the river Sangarius, he set about constructing a bridge, because no where was there a passage by a ford. The Sangarius, running from the mountain of Adoreus, through Phrygia, joins the river Thymbris at the confines of Bithynia. After doubling its quantity of water by this junction, it proceeds in a more copious stream through Bithynia, and empties itself into the Euxine Sea. Yet it is not so remarkable for the size of its current, as for the vast quantity of fish which it supplies to the people in its vicinity. When the bridge was finished, and the army had passed the river, as they were marching along the bank, the Gallic priests of the Great Mother, coming from Pessinus with the symbols of their office, met them; who, in inspired rhymes, foretold that the goddess would grant the Romans a safe passage, success in the war, and the empire over that country. When the consul had said that he embraced the omen, he pitched his camp on that very spot. On the following day he arrived at Gordium. This is not a large town, but a mart more frequented and noted than an inland town generally is. It has three seas nearly at equal distances from it, that at the Hellespont, that at Sinope, and that at the shore of the opposite coast, in which the maritime Cilicians dwell. It is also contiguous to the borders of many and great nations, the commerce of which has been centred by mutual convenience principally in this place. The Romans found the town deserted owing to the flight of the inhabitants, yet at the same time filled with plenty of every thing. While they halted here, ambassadors came from Eposognatus, with information that "he had applied to the petty princes of the Gauls, and had been unable to bring them to reason; that they were removing in crowds from the villages and lands in the open

country; and, with their wives and children, carrying and driving whatever could be carried or driven, were going to Mount Olympus, that there they might defend themselves by their arms and the nature of the ground."

19. Deputies from the Oroandensians afterwards brought more particular intelligence; that "the state of the Tolistoboians had seized Mount Olympus, but that the Tectosagians, taking a different route, were gone to another mountain called Magaba; and that the Trocmians, leaving their wives and children in charge with the Tectosagians, had resolved to carry their armed force to the assistance of the Tolistoboians." The chieftains of the three states were at that time, Ortiagon, Combolomarus, and Gaulotus; and this was their reason in particular for choosing this mode of warfare, because as they had possession of the highest mountains in that part of the world, and had conveyed thither stores of every kind, sufficient for their consumption during the time, although long, they thought that they would weary out the enemy by the tediousness of the enterprise: "for neither would they dare to climb over places so steep and uneven; and if they should attempt it, they could be prevented and driven down, even by a small band; nor would they, sitting in inactivity at the foot of the frosty mountains, endure cold and hunger." Although the height of their posts was in itself a strong defence, yet they drew, besides, a trench and other fortifications round the summits which they occupied. The least part of their care was employed in providing a stock of missile weapons; for they trusted that the rocky ground itself would furnish stones in abundance.

20. The consul, as he had foreseen that the fight would not be hand to hand, but at a distance, in the attack of the enemy's post, had prepared an immense quantity of javelins, light infantry, spears, arrows, balls of lead, and small stones, fit to be thrown with slings. Furnished with this stock of missile weapons, he marched towards Mount Olympus, and encamped within five miles of it. On the next day, as he was advancing with four hundred horse, and Attalus, to examine the nature of the mountain and situation of the camp of the Gauls; a party of the enemy's cavalry, double in number to his, sallying from the camp, forced him to take to flight. A few of his soldiers were killed in the flight,

and several wounded. On the third day, marching to explore the ground at the head of all his cavalry, as none of the enemy advanced beyond their fortifications, he rode round the mountain with safety, and saw that on the south side the hills were composed of earth, and rose to a certain height, with a gentle slope, but that on the north there was nothing but steep and almost perpendicular cliffs; and that there were but three practicable ways, almost all the others being impassable; one at the middle of the mountain, where the ground was earthy, and two others, both very difficult, one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west. After taking a full view of all these places, he pitched his camp that day close to the foot of the mountain. On the day following, after that, offering sacrifice, he had received favourable auspices with the first victims, he proceeds to lead his army, in three divisions, against the enemy. He himself, with the greatest part of the forces, marched up where the mountain afforded the easiest ascent. He ordered his brother, Lucius Manlius, to ascend on the south-east side, as far as the ground allowed him to do so with safety; but if any dangerous and steep precipices should lie in his way, then not to contend with the unfavourable nature of the place, or attempt to conquer insuperable obstacles, but by a slope across the mountain to incline towards him, and join the body under his command; and he directed Caius Helvius, with the third division, to march round leisurely, by the foot of the mountain, and to climb the hill on the north-east. The auxiliary troops of Attalus he distributed equally among the three divisions, ordering the young prince to accompany him. The cavalry and elephants he left in the plain, at the foot of the hills; orders were given to the prefects to watch attentively every thing that should happen, and to be expeditious in bringing succour wherever circumstances should require it.

21. The Gauls, (thoroughly satisfied that the ground on their two flanks was impassable,) in order to secure, by arms, the ascent on the side which was situated towards the south, sent about four thousand soldiers to keep possession of a hill which hung over the road, at the distance of near a mile from their camp; hoping that they might stop the enemies' progress by this as by a fortress. Which when the Romans saw, they prepared for battle. The light infantry marched a little in

advance of the line, supported by draughts from Attalus's troops, composed of the Cretan archers and slingers, the Trallians and Thracians. The battalions of infantry, as the ground was steep, marched at a slow pace, holding their shields before them, merely to ward off missile weapons, as they did not seem likely to fight in a close engagement. The fight commenced with the missile weapons, at the proper interval, and was at first equal, as the situation aided the Gauls, the variety and abundance of weapons, the Romans. But, as the contest advanced, there was no longer any equality: their shields, long, but too narrow for the breadth of their bodies, and besides being flat, ill protected the Gauls. Nor had they now any other weapons except their swords, which they had no opportunity of using, as the enemy did not come to close action. They used stones, and these not of a proper size, as they had not previously laid them up, but whatever came to the hand of each in his haste and confusion, as persons unaccustomed generally do, aiding the blow neither by skill nor strength. Incautiously exposing themselves, they were transfixed on all sides by arrows, leaden balls, and darts; nor did they know what to do, their minds being paralysed by rage and fear; and they were engaged in a kind of fight for which they were least of all qualified. For, as in a close encounter, where they can receive and give wounds in turn, rage inflames their courage; so when they are wounded at a distance, with light weapons from unknown hands, and have no object on which they can rush in their blind fury, they rush forward at random, like wounded wild beasts, often upon their own party. Their wounds were more conspicuous because they always fight naked, and their bodies are large and white, since they are never stripped except in battle; thus more blood was poured from their large persons, and the cuts appeared the more shocking, while the whiteness of their skins offered a stronger contrast to the black blood. But they were not much moved by open wounds. Sometimes they even cut off the skin, when the wound was more broad than deep, thinking that in this condition they fought with the greater glory. But when the point of an arrow or a ball, sinking deep in the flesh, tormented them, with a wound small in appearance, and the weapon did not come forth, although they used every effort to extract it, then they fell into fits of phrensy and shame, at being destroyed by so small a

hurt; and dashing themselves on the ground, they lay scattered over the place. Some rushing against the enemy were overwhelmed with darts; and when any of them came near, they were slain by the swords of the light infantry. A soldier of this description carries a shield three feet long, and, in his right hand, javelins, which he throws at a distance. He is begirt with a Spanish sword, and when he must fight in close encounter, having shifted his spears into his left hand, he draws it. There were few of the Gauls now left; and these, seeing themselves overpowered by the light infantry, and the battalions of the legions advancing, fled in confusion to the camp, now full of tumult and dismay, as the women, children, and others unfit to bear arms, were all crowded together there. The hills, thus abandoned by the enemy, were seized by the victorious Romans.

22. At this juncture, Lucius Manlius and Caius Helvius, having marched up as high as the sloping hills allowed them to do, after they came to insuperable steeps, turned towards that side of the mountain which alone had a practicable ascent; and began, as if by concert, to follow the consul's party at a moderate distance; being driven by necessity to adopt the plan, now, which would have been the best at the beginning. For in such disadvantageous ground reserves have often been of the utmost use; for instance, should the first line happen to be repulsed, the second may both cover their retreat, and, being fresh, succeed to their place in the fight. The consul, as soon as the vanguard of the legions reached the hills taken by the light infantry, ordered the troops to halt and take breath; at the same time he showed them the bodies of the Gauls spread about the hills, asking them, "Since the light troops had fought such a battle, what might be expected from the legions, from a regular army, and from the spirit of the bravest soldiers? They ought certainly to take the camp into which the enemy had been driven in confusion by the light infantry." He then orders the light infantry to go forward, who, while the army halted, had not spent their time in idleness, but in gathering weapons about the hills, that there might be a sufficient supply of missiles. They now approached the camp. The Gauls, lest their fortifications might not give them sufficient protection, had posted themselves, in arms, on the outside of the rampart. Then being

overwhelmed with weapons of every description, since in proportion as they were more numerous and crowded together, the less likely were the weapons to fall between them without effect, they were driven in an instant within their trenches, leaving only strong guards at the entrances of the gates. Against the crowd that fled into the camp a vast quantity of missile weapons was discharged, and the shouts, intermixed with lamentations of the women and children, showed that great numbers were wounded. The first line of the legions hurled their javelins against those who were posted to guard the gate; these, however, were not wounded, but most of them, having their shields pierced through, were entangled and fastened together, nor did they longer withstand the attack.

23. The gates being now open, a flight of the Gauls in every direction from the camp took place before the victors could burst in. They rushed on blindly through passable and impassable places; no craggy cliffs, nor even perpendicular rocks, stopped them; they feared nothing but the enemy. Great numbers, therefore, falling down precipices of vast height, were either maimed or killed. The consul, taking possession of the camp, restrained the soldiers from plunder and booty; he orders every one to pursue with his utmost speed, to press on the enemy, and to increase their panic while they were in dismay. The other party, under Lucius Manlius, now came up. These he did not suffer to enter the camp, but sent them forward in the pursuit, and followed shortly in person, after committing the guard of the prisoners to some military tribunes: for he thought that the war would be finished, if in that consternation the greatest possible number should be slain or taken prisoners. After the consul's departure, Caius Helvius arrived, with the third division: he was not able to prevent their sacking the camp; and, by a most unjust dispensation, the booty fell into the hands of men who had not had any concern in the action. The cavalry stood for a long time ignorant of the fight, and of the success of their army. At last, they also, as far as they could ascend the hills on horseback, pursuing the Gauls, (who were now dispersed round the foot of the mountain,) either killed or made prisoners of them. The number of the slain could not easily be ascertained, because the flight and slaughter were widely ex-

tended through all the windings of the mountains; and a great number fell from impassable cliffs into cavities of prodigious depth; others were killed in the woods and thickets. Claudius, who mentions two battles on Mount Olympus, asserts, that forty thousand fell in them; yet Valerius Antias, who is generally addicted to great exaggeration on the point of numbers, says, not more than ten thousand. The number of prisoners undoubtedly amounted to forty thousand, because the Gauls had dragged along with them a crowd of people of all descriptions and of all ages, like men removing to another country, rather than going out to war. The consul, having burnt the arms of the enemy collected in one heap, then ordered all to bring together the rest of the booty, and either sold that portion which was to be applied to the use of the public, or distributed the remainder among the soldiers, taking care that the shares should be as just as possible. They were all praised in a public assembly, and presented with gifts each according to his merit; Attalus was distinguished above all, with the general approbation of the rest. For not only were the courage and activity of that young prince conspicuous in undergoing dangers and fatigue, but also the modesty of his deportment.

24. The war with the Tectosagians remained still in its original state. The consul, marching against them, arrived, on the third day, at Ancyra, a city remarkable in those parts, from which the enemy were but a little more than ten miles distant. While his camp lay there, a memorable action was performed by a female. Among many other captives, the wife of the Gallic chieftain Ortiagon, a woman of exquisite beauty, was strictly guarded, and a centurion, possessing the lust and avarice usual among military men, commanded this guard. He, first, endeavoured to learn her sentiments; but, finding that she abhorred the thought of voluntary prostitution, he offered violence to her person, which by the decree of fortune was his slave. Afterwards, in order to soothe her indignation at the insult, he gives the lady hope of a return to her friends; and not even that gratuitously, like a lover. He stipulated for a certain weight of gold, but, being unwilling to have any of his countrymen privy to it, he gave her leave to send any one of the prisoners, whom she chose, as a messenger to her friends. He appointed a spot near the river, to which two of this woman's friends, and not more, were to come with the

gold in the night following, to receive her. It happened that among the prisoners under the same guard was a servant of the lady; the centurion, as soon as it grew dark, conveyed this messenger beyond the advanced posts. Her friends came to the place at the appointed time, likewise the centurion with his prisoner. Here, on their producing the gold, which amounted to an Attic talent, for he had stipulated for that sum, the lady in her own language ordered them to draw their swords, and kill the centurion, while he was weighing the gold. She herself, bearing wrapped up in her garment the head of the slain centurion, detached from the trunk, reached her husband Ortiagon, who had fled home from Olympus. And before she would embrace him, she threw down the centurion's head at his feet; and on his asking, with astonishment, whose head it was, and what was the meaning of such a proceeding, so unaccountable in a female, she acknowledged to her husband the injury committed on her person, and the vengeance she had taken for the forcible violation of her chastity. She maintained to the last, as it is said, by the purity and strictness of the rest of her life, the glory of this achievement, so honourable to her sex.

25. Envoys from the Tectosagians met the consul at Ancyra, entreating him not to decamp until he had held a conference with their kings; that any conditions of peace were in their opinion preferable to war. The time fixed was the next day, and the place that which seemed the most central between the camp of the Gauls and Ancyra. The consul came thither at the appointed hour, with a guard of five hundred horse, but seeing none of the Gauls there, returned into his camp: after which the same envoys came again, with an apology, that their kings could not come, since religious feelings deterred them; but that the principal men of the nation would attend, and that the business might be as well transacted by them. To which the consul answered, that he would send Attalus on his part. To this meeting both parties came. When Attalus had brought with him as an escort three hundred horse, the terms of peace were proposed. As there could not be a conclusion to the affair in the absence of the leaders, it was agreed, that the consul and the kings should meet in the same place on the following day. The delay of the Gauls had the following objects: first, to waste time, that they

might remove their effects, which they were unwilling to risk, and also their wives and children, to the other side of the river Halys; and, secondly, because they were framing a plot against the consul, who took no precautions against treachery in the conference. They chose for this purpose, out of all their number, one thousand horsemen of approved intrepidity; and their treachery would have taken effect, had not fortune exerted herself in favour of the law of nations, in violation of which their plan was laid. The Roman parties, who went out for forage and wood, were led towards that quarter where the conference was to be held; for the tribunes judged that to be the safest course, as they would have the consul's escort, and himself, as a guard opposed to the enemy. However, they posted another guard of their own, of six hundred horse, nearer to the camp. The consul, being assured by Attalus that the kings would come, and that the business might be concluded, having set out from his camp with the same attendants as before, when he had advanced about five miles, and was not far from the place appointed, he saw, on a sudden, the Gauls coming on with hostile fury, and with their horses at full gallop. He halted, and ordering his horsemen to make ready their arms, and recall their courage, received the enemy's first charge with firmness, nor gave way. At length, when their numbers were overpowering him, he began to retreat leisurely, without disturbing the order of the troops, but at last, when there was more danger in delay than protection in keeping their ranks, they all fled in hurry and disorder. Then truly the Gauls pressed hard on them, dispersed, and killed several; and a great part of them would have been cut off, had not the six hundred horse, the guard of the foragers, come up to meet them. These, on hearing, at a distance, the shout of dismay raised by their friends, made ready their weapons and horses, and, being quite fresh, renewed the fight after it was almost over. The fortune of the battle, therefore, was instantly reversed, and dismay recoiled from the conquered on the conquerors. At the first charge the Gauls were routed; at the same time the foragers from the fields ran together towards the spot, and an enemy was on every side of the Gauls in such a manner that they could not have an easy or safe retreat, especially as the Romans pursued on fresh horses, while theirs were fatigued. Few therefore escaped; yet not one was taken;

by far the greater part paid their lives as a forfeit for having violated the faith of a conference. The whole army of the Romans, with minds burning with rage, marched up, next day, close to the enemy.

26. The consul, that no particular should escape his knowledge, spent two days in examining the nature of the mountain with his own eyes. On the third day, after taking the auspices, and then offering sacrifice, he formed his troops in four divisions, that he might lead two up the middle of the mountain, and direct the other two, one on each side, against the wings of the Gauls. The main strength of the enemy, the Tectosagians and Trocmians, amounting to fifty thousand men, formed the centre of their line. They dismounted their cavalry, in number ten thousand men, because horsemen could not act among the uneven rocks, and placed them on the right wing. The Cappadocians of Ariarathes, with the auxiliary troops of Morzes, on the left, made up almost four thousand. The consul, having placed his light troops in the van, as he had done before at Mount Olympus, took care that they should have ready at hand the same abundance of weapons of every sort. When they approached the enemy, all circumstances, on both sides, were the same as in the former battle, excepting their spirits; those of the victors being elated by their success, and those of the Gauls depressed; because, though they themselves had not been defeated, yet they considered as their own, the overthrow of people of their own race. The battle, therefore, commencing under similar circumstances, had the same issue. The cloud, as it were, of light weapons that were thrown, overwhelmed the army of the Gauls; and, as none of them dared to charge forward from their ranks, for fear of exposing all parts of their bodies to the blows, so while they stood still, the closer they were together the more wounds they received, as the assailants directed their weapons as if at a mark. The consul now judged, that if he should once shew the standards of the legions to them already disordered, they would instantly turn about and fly; receiving, therefore, the light infantry, and the rest of the auxiliaries, between the ranks, he ordered the line to advance.

27. The Gauls, discouraged by the memory of the defeat of the Tolistoboians, and carrying weapons sticking in their flesh, fatigued also by long standing and wounds, were not able to

support even the first shout and onset of the Romans. Their flight was directed towards their camp; only a few of them entered the trenches; the greater part, passing by, on the right and left, fled whichever way each man's giddy haste carried him. The conquerors, following them to the camp, cut off their rear; but then, through greediness for booty, they stopped in the camp, and not one of them continued the pursuit. The Gauls in the wings stood some time longer, because the Romans reached them at a later period. But they did not endure even the first discharge of weapons. The consul, as he could not draw off the men who had got into the camp for plunder, sent forward those, who had been in the wings, to pursue the enemy. They, accordingly, followed them a considerable way; yet, in the pursuit, for there was no fight, they killed not more than eight thousand men: the rest crossed the river Halys. A great part of the Romans lodged that night in the enemy's camp; the consul led back the rest to his own. Next day, he took a review of the prisoners, and of the booty, the quantity of which was as great as a nation most greedy of rapine could amass, after holding possession, by force of arms, of all the country on this side Mount Taurus, during a space of many years. The Gauls, after this scattered and confused flight, reassembled in one place, a great part of them being wounded or unarmed, and as all were destitute of every kind of property, they sent deputies to the consul, to supplicate for peace. Manlius ordered them to attend him at Ephesus; and, being in haste to quit those cold regions, in the vicinity of Mount Taurus, as it was now the middle of autumn, he led back his victorious army into winter quarters on the sea-coast.

28. During the time of those transactions in Asia, affairs were tranquil in the other provinces. At Rome, the censors, Titus Quintius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, read over the roll of the senate; Publius Scipio Africanus was, a third time, declared prince of the senate, and only four members were struck out, none of whom had held any curule office. In their review of the knights, also, their censorship was very mild. They contracted for the erection of a building in the Æquimælium, on the capitoline mount, and for paving, with flint, a road from the gate Capena to the temple of Mars. The Campanians consulted the senate respecting the place where they should have their census; and an order was passed that

they should be rated at Rome. Extraordinary quantities of rain fell this year; twelve times the Tiber overflowed the field of Mars and the lower parts of the city. The war with the Gauls in Asia having been brought to a conclusion by the consul Cneius Manlius, the other consul, Marcus Fulvius, as the Ætolians were now completely reduced, passed over to Cephallenia, and sent messengers round the states of the island, to inquire whether they chose to submit to the Romans, or to try the fortune of war. Fear prevailed so strongly on them all, that they did not refuse to surrender. They gave the number of hostages demanded, which was proportioned to the abilities of a weak people, the Nesians, Cranians, Pallenians, and Samæans, giving twenty each. An unhoped-for peace had now shone on Cephallenia, when one state, the Samæans, suddenly revolted, from some motive not yet ascertained. They said, that as their city was commodiously situated, they were afraid that the Romans would compel them to remove from it. But whether, they conceived this in their own minds, and, under the impulse of a groundless fear, disturbed the general quiet, or whether, such a project had been mentioned in conversation among the Romans, and reported to them, nothing is ascertained, unless that after having given hostages they suddenly shut their gates, and would not relinquish their design, even for the prayers of their friends, whom the consul sent to the walls, to try how far they might be influenced by compassion for their parents and countrymen. When no pacific answer was given, the city began to be besieged. The consul had all the apparatus, engines and machines, which had been brought over from Ambracia; and the soldiers executed with great diligence the works necessary to be formed. The rams were therefore brought forward in two places, and began to batter the walls.

29. The townsmen omitted nothing by which the works or the motions of the besiegers could be obstructed. But they resisted in two ways in particular; one of which was to raise constantly, instead of the part of the wall knocked down, a new wall of equal strength on the inside; and the other was to make sudden sallies, at one time against the enemy's works, at another against his advanced guards; and in those attacks, they generally got the better. The only plan that was invented to confine them within the walls, though ineffectual, deserves to be

recorded. One hundred slingers were brought from Ægium, Patræ, and Dymæ. These men, according to the customary practice of that nation, were exercised from their childhood in throwing with a sling, into the open sea, the round pebbles, with which, mixed with sand, the shores were generally strewn; therefore they cast weapons of that sort to a greater distance, with surer aim, and more powerful effect, than even the Balearian slingers. Besides, their sling does not consist merely of a single strap, like the Balearic and that of other nations, but the thong of the sling is three-fold, and made firm by several seams, that the bullet may not, by the yielding of the strap in the act of throwing, be let fly at random, but after sticking fast while whirled about, it may be discharged as if sent from the string of a bow. Being accustomed to drive their bullets through circular marks of small circumference, placed at a great distance, they not only hit the enemy's heads, but any part of their face that they aimed at. These slings checked the Samæans from sallying either so frequently or so boldly; insomuch that they would, sometimes, from the walls, beseech the Achæans to retire for a while, and be quiet spectators of their fight with the Roman guards. Same supported a siege of four months. When some of their small number were daily killed or wounded, and the survivors were, through continual fatigues, greatly reduced both in strength and spirits, the Romans, one night scaling the wall of the citadel, which they call Cyatides, (for the city sloping towards the sea verges towards the west,) made their way into the forum. The Samæans, on discovering that a part of the city was taken, fled, with their wives and children, into the greater citadel; but submitting next day, they were all sold as slaves, their city being plundered.

30. As soon as he had settled the affairs of Cephallenia, the consul, leaving a garrison in Same, sailed over to Peloponnesus, where the Ægians and Lacedæmonians, chiefly, solicited his presence for a long time. From the first institution of the Achæan council, the assemblies of the nation had been held at Ægium, whether that was conceded to the dignity of the city, or the commodiousness of its situation. This usage Philopœmen first attempted to subvert in that year, and determined to introduce an ordinance, that these should be held in rotation in every one of the cities, which were members of the Achæan union; and a little before the arrival of the consul, when

the Demiurguses, who are the chief magistrates in the states, summoned the representatives to Ægium, Philopœmen, then prætor, by proclamation, appointed their meeting at Argos. To which place when it was apparent that all would come, the consul likewise, though he favoured the cause of the Ægians, went to Argos, but, after there had been a debate, and he saw the scale turning against the Ægians, he desisted from his undertaking. The Lacedæmonians then drew his attention to their disputes. The exiles especially kept that state in alarm: of whom great numbers resided in the maritime forts on the coast of Laconia, all which had been taken from the Lacedæmonians. At this the Lacedæmonians were deeply chagrined, and in order that they might have some where a free access to the sea, if they should have occasion to send ambassadors to Rome, or any other place, and at the same time possess some mart and repository for foreign merchandise, for their necessary demands, attacked in the night a maritime village called Las, and seized it by surprise. The inhabitants, and the exiles residing in the place, were terrified, at first, by the sudden assault; but afterwards collecting in a body before day, after a slight contest, they drove back the Lacedæmonians. A general alarm, nevertheless, spread over the whole coast, and all the forts and villages, with the exiles whose homes were there, united in sending a common embassy to the Achæans.

31. The prætor, Philopœmen,—(who, from the beginning, had ever been a friend to the cause of the exiles, and had always advised the Achæans to reduce the power and influence of the Lacedæmonians,)—gave an audience of the council to the ambassadors while making their complaints. There, on a motion made by him, a decree was passed, that, "whereas Titus Quintius and the Romans had committed their forts and villages, on the coast of Laconia, to the protection and guardianship of the Achæans; and whereas the Lacedæmonians, according to the treaty, ought to leave them unmolested; notwithstanding which, the village of Las has been attacked by them and bloodshed committed therein; therefore, unless the authors and abettors of this outrage were delivered up to the Achæans, the treaty would be considered as violated." To demand those persons, ambassadors were instantly despatched to Lacedæmon. This authoritative injunction appeared to the Lacedæmonians so haughty and insolent, that if

their state had been in its ancient condition, they would undoubtedly have taken to arms. But they were principally alarmed by apprehensions, lest, if by obeying the first mandates they once received the yoke, Philopœmen should put the exiles in possession of Lacedæmon, a design which he had been a long time planning. Maddened therefore with anger, they put to death thirty men of the faction which had held some correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles, and passed a decree, that the alliance with the Achæans should be renounced, and that ambassadors should be sent immediately to Cephallenia, to surrender Lacedæmon to the consul Marcus Fulvius and the Romans, and beseech him to come into Peloponnesus, and to receive Lacedæmon under the protection and dominion of the Roman people.

32. When the Achæan ambassadors returned with an account of these proceedings, war was declared against the Lacedæmonians, by a unanimous vote of all the states of the confederacy; but the winter prevented its being commenced immediately. However, the confines of the Lacedæmonians were laid waste by small expeditions, more like freebooting than a regular war, made not only by land, but also by ships at sea. This commotion brought the consul into Peloponnesus, and, by his order, a council being summoned at Elis, the Lacedæmonians were called on to plead their own cause. There were not only violent debates then, but even altercation. To which the consul, although his answer had been indecisive in other respects, since he encouraged both parties through a very eager desire to please, put an end, by one decisive order, that they should desist from hostilities, until they sent ambassadors to Rome, to the senate. An embassy was despatched by both parties to Rome. The Lacedæmonian exiles intrusted their cause and embassy to the Achæans. Diophanes and Lycortas, both of them Megalopolitans, were at the head of the Achæan embassy, who, being at variance in their own republic, there also delivered speeches by no means in unison. Diophanes was for leaving the determination of every point to the senate—that they would best decide the controversies between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians; while Lycortas, according to the instructions of Philopœmen, required, that the senate should permit the Achæans to execute their own decrees, made conformable to the treaty, and their own

laws; and that they should concede to them, uninfringed, the liberty which they themselves had bestowed. The Achæan nation was, at that time, in high esteem with the Romans; yet it was resolved, that no alteration should be made respecting the Lacedæmonians; but the answer given was so confused, that, while the Achæans understood it as full permission given to them in relation to Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonians construed it, that unlimited power was not conceded to them.

33. The Achæans used this power in an immoderate and tyrannical manner. Philopœmen is continued in office, and he, in the beginning of spring, collecting an army, encamped in the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and thence sent ambassadors to insist on their delivering up the authors of the insurrection; promising, that if they complied, their state should remain in peace, and that those persons should not suffer any punishment, without having pleaded their cause. There was silence among the rest through fear; but the persons demanded by name, declared that they would voluntarily go, if their faith was pledged by the ambassadors, that violence would not be resorted to, until their cause were heard. Several other men, of illustrious characters, went along with them, both as supporters of those private individuals, and because they thought their cause concerned the public interest. The Achæans had never before brought the Lacedæmonian exiles into the country, because they knew that nothing would disgust the people so much; but now, the vanguard of almost their whole army was composed of them. When the Lacedæmonians came to the gate of the camp, these men met them in a body, and, first, began to provoke them with insulting language; a wrangle then ensuing, and their passions being inflamed, the most furious of the exiles made an attack on the Lacedæmonians. While these appealed to the gods, and the faith of the ambassadors; and while the ambassadors and the prætor were driving back the crowd, and protecting the Lacedæmonians, and were keeping back some who were already binding them in chains,—the multitude was increasing, owing to a tumult having been excited. The Achæans, at first, ran thither to view the spectacle; but then the exiles, with loud clamours, complained of the sufferings that they had undergone, implored assistance, and at the same time insisted, that they would never have such an opportunity if they neglected this;

that the treaties, solemnly ratified in the Capitol, at Olympia, and in the citadel of Athens, had been rendered void by these men; and that before they should be bound by a new treaty, the guilty ought to be punished. The multitude being inflamed by these expressions, at the voice of one who called out that they should fall on, attacked them with stones; and seventeen persons, who, during the disturbance, had been put in chains, were killed. The next day, sixty-three, whom the prætor had protected from violence, not because he wished them safe, but because he was unwilling that they should perish without a defence, being taken into custody, and brought before an enraged multitude, after addressing a few words to such prejudiced ears, were all condemned and executed.

34. After this fear had been inspired, orders were sent to the Lacedæmonians, first, that they should demolish their walls; then, that all the foreign auxiliaries, who had served for pay under the tyrants, should quit the Laconian territories; then, that the slaves, whom the tyrants had set free, who amounted to a great multitude, should depart before a certain day; that the Achæans should be authorized to seize, sell, and carry away those who might remain in the country. That they should abrogate the laws and customs of Lycurgus, and adopt the laws and institutions of the Achæans; that thus all would become one body, and concord would be established among them. They obeyed none of these injunctions more willingly than that of demolishing the walls, nor suffered any with more reluctance than the restoration of the exiles. A decree for their restoration was made at Tegea, in a general council of the Achæans; where, an account being brought, that the foreign auxiliaries had been sent away, and that the newly-registered Lacedæmonians (so they called the slaves who were enfranchised by the tyrants) had left the city and dispersed through the country, it was resolved, that, before the army was disbanded, the prætor should go with some light troops, and, seizing that description of people, sell them as spoil. Great numbers were accordingly seized, and sold; and with that money a portico at Megalopolis, which the Lacedæmonians had demolished, was rebuilt, with the approbation of the Achæans. The lands of Belbinis, of which the Lacedæmonian tyrants had unjustly kept possession, were also restored to that state, according to an old decree of the

Achæans, made in the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas. The state of Lacedæmon having, by these means, lost the sinews of its strength, remained long in subjection to the Achæans; but nothing hurt it so materially as the abolition of the discipline of Lycurgus, in the practice of which they had continued during seven hundred years.

35. After the sitting of the council, wherein the debate between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians was held in presence of the consul, as the year was expiring, Marcus Fulvius, having gone home to Rome to hold the elections, appointed Marcus Valerius Messala and Caius Livius Salinator consuls, after having, this year, procured the rejection of his enemy, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Then Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Stertinius, Caius Atinius, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, were elected prætors. When the elections were finished, it was resolved, that the consul, Marcus Fulvius, should return into his province to the army; and to him and his colleague, Cneius Manlius, their command was prolonged for a year. In this year, in pursuance of directions from the decemvirs, a statue of Hercules was set up in his temple, and a gilded chariot with six horses were placed in the Capitol, by Publius Cornelius. The inscription mentioned, that Publius Cornelius, the consul,[1] made the offering. Also twelve gilded shields, out of money raised by fines on corn merchants, for raising the market by hoarding the grain, were dedicated by the curule ædiles, Publius Claudius Pulcher and Servius Sulpicius Galba; and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the plebeian ædile, having convicted one malefactor, (for the ædiles prosecuted separately,) dedicated two gilded statues. His colleague, Aulus Cæcilius, did not convict any one. The Roman games were exhibited thrice; the plebeian, five times altogether. Marcus Valerius Messala, and Caius Livius Salinator, after entering into office on the ides of March, consulted the senate concerning the state of the commonwealth, the provinces, and the armies. With respect to Ætolia and Asia no alteration was made. With regard to the consuls, to the one Pisæ, with the Ligurians, is decreed as his province; to the other, Gaul.

[1] This does not prove that he was in the office of consul at the time of his making it; for it was usual to mention, in such inscriptions, the highest office that the person had ever held.

They were ordered to cast lots for these, or to settle the matter between themselves, to enrol new armies, two legions for each; and to levy off the allies of the Latin name, fifteen thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred horse. Liguria fell, by lot, to Messala; Gaul, to Salinator. The prætors then cast lots, and the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Claudius; the foreign, to Publius Claudius. Quintus Marcius obtained, by lot, Sicily; Caius Stertinius, Sardinia; Lucius Manlius, Hither Spain; Caius Atinius, Farther Spain.

36. Respecting the armies, they passed the following resolutions—that the legions which had served under Caius Lælius, should be removed out of Gaul into Bruttium, to Marcus Tuccius, the proprætor; that the army which was in Sicily should be disbanded, and that Marcus Sempronius, the proprætor, should bring back to Rome the fleet that was there. For the Spains were decreed the legions then in those provinces, one for each, with orders, that each of the two prætors should levy from among the allies, as a reinforcement, three thousand foot and two hundred horse, and bring them with them. Before the new magistrates set out for their provinces, a supplication, of three days' continuance, was ordered by the college of decemvirs to be performed in every street, on account of a darkness having overspread the light of day, between the third and fourth hours; and the nine days' solemnity was proclaimed, because there had been a shower of stones on the Aventine. The Campanians, as the censors obliged them, pursuant to the decree of the senate, made last year, to pass the general survey at Rome, (for before that, it had not been fixed where they should be surveyed,) petitioned that they might be allowed to take in marriage women who were citizens of Rome, and that any who had, heretofore, married such, might retain them; and, likewise, that children born of such marriages, before that day, might be legitimate, and entitled to inherit; both which requests were obtained. Caius Valerius Tappus, a tribune of the commons, proposed an order of the people concerning the citizens of the free towns of Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum, that they should be invested with the right of voting, for hitherto they had had the rights of citizenship without the privilege of voting. When four tribunes of the commons were protesting against the bill, because it was not made under the direction of the senate, on being informed, that the power

of imparting the privilege of voting to any person they should choose belonged to the people, and not to the senate, they desisted from their opposition. An order was passed, that the Formians and Fundans should vote in the Æmilian tribe, and the Arpinians in the Cornelian; and in these tribes they were then, for the first time, rated in the census, in pursuance of the order of the people proposed by Valerius. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the censor, having got the better of Titus Quintius in the lots, closed the lustrum. Two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and eight citizens were rated. When the lustrum was finished, the consuls set out for their provinces.

37. During the winter wherein these acts were performed at Rome, embassies from all the nations and states which dwelt on this side of Mount Taurus, came together on all sides to Cneius Manlius, at first consul, and afterwards proconsul, passing the winter in Asia; and although the conquest of Antiochus was more splendid and glorious to the Romans than that of the Gauls, yet the latter gave greater joy to the allies than the former. Subjection to the king had been more tolerable to them than the savage nature of those wild barbarians, and the daily alarm, with the uncertainty of the direction in which the storm would, as it were, drift them in their desolating path. Therefore since to them liberty was given by the expulsion of Antiochus, and permanent peace by the conquest of the Gauls, they brought, not only congratulations, but also golden crowns, in proportion to the ability of each. Ambassadors also came from Antiochus, and from the Gauls themselves, that the conditions of peace might be dictated to them; and from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, to solicit pardon, and make atonement, by money, for his crime in assisting Antiochus with troops. Six hundred talents of silver are levied off him. Answer was made to the Gauls, that when king Eumenes arrived, he would settle the conditions. The embassies of the several states were dismissed with kind answers, much happier than when they arrived. The ambassadors of Antiochus were ordered to bring the money and the corn, (according to the treaty concluded with Lucius Scipio,) into Pamphylia, whither the consul intended to go with his forces. In the beginning of the next spring, after purifying the army, he began his march, and on the eighth day arrived at

Apamea. Having halted there during three days, he, on the third day after his departure from that place, arrived in Pamphylia, to which place he had ordered the king's ambassadors to bring together the money and corn. Two thousand five hundred talents [1] of silver, being received by him, were conveyed to Apamea; the corn was distributed among the army. Thence he marched to Perga, the only place in the country still held by a garrison of the king's troops. On his approach, the governor of the town met him, and requested thirty days' time, that he might consult Antiochus about the surrender of the city. The time being granted, on the appointed day the garrison evacuated the city. From Perga, he detached his brother, Lucius Manlius, with four thousand men, to Oroanda, to exact from that town the remainder of the money which they had promised; and, having ordered the ambassadors of Antiochus to follow, he led back his army to Apamea, because he heard that king Eumenes, and the ten ambassadors from Rome, were arrived at Ephesus.

38. Then, with the concurrence of the ten ambassadors, a treaty was concluded with Antiochus, in nearly the following words: "Let there be friendship between king Antiochus and the Roman people, on the following terms and conditions—Let not the king suffer any army, intended to act against the Roman people, or their allies, to pass through the territories of his own realm, or of any state under his dominion, nor supply it with provisions, or with any other assistance. Let the Romans and their allies observe the same conduct toward Antiochus, and those under his government. Let there not be to Antiochus the right of carrying on war with the inhabitants of the islands, or of passing over into Europe. Let him evacuate the cities, lands, villages, and forts on this side of Mount Taurus, as far as the river Halys; and from the foot of Mount Taurus to the summit, where it verges upon Lycaonia. Let him not remove any arms out of those towns, lands, or forts which he may evacuate; if he hath removed any, let him honourably replace what he ought to make good, and in the place that he ought. Let him not receive any soldier, or other person, from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any natives of those cities, which are hereby separated from his kingdom, are now with Antiochus, or within the bounds of his realms, let them all return to

[1] 484,275*l.*

Apamea, before a certain day. Let such of the natives of Antiochus's kingdom, as are now with the Romans and their allies, have liberty to depart or to stay. Let him deliver to the Romans and their allies, all their slaves, whether fugitives or taken in war, likewise whatever freeborn person may be a prisoner or deserter. Let him give up all his elephants, and not procure others. Let him also surrender his ships of war, and their stores; let him not keep more than ten light trading vessels, none of which are to be worked with more than thirty oars, nor a galley of one tier of oars, for the purpose of an offensive war; let him not ail on this side of the promontories, Calycadnus and Sarpedon, except in a ship which will carry money, tribute, ambassadors, or hostages. Let there not be to king Antiochus the right of hiring soldiers out of those nations which are under the dominion of the Roman people, nor of receiving volunteers. Whatever houses and buildings, within the limits of Antiochus's kingdom, belong to the Rhodians and their allies, let them belong to the Rhodians and allies on the same footing as they did before the war. If any sums of money are due to them, let them have a right to enforce payment; likewise, if any of their property has been taken away, let them have a right to search for, discover, and reclaim it. If any persons, to whom Antiochus hath given the cities which ought to be surrendered, still hold them, let him remove the garrisons, and take care that they may be properly surrendered. Let him pay, within twelve years, by equal annual payments, twelve thousand Attic talents of silver,[1] the talent to weigh not less than eighty Roman pounds; and five hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat. He shall pay to king Eumenes, within five years, three hundred and fifty talents;[2] and, for the corn due, the sum which arises from his own valuation, one hundred and twenty seven talents.[3] Let him deliver to the Romans twenty hostages, and change them every third year; none of which are to be younger than eighteen, or older than forty-five years. If any of the allies of the Roman people shall make war on Antiochus, let him have liberty to repel force by force, provided he does not keep possession of any city, either by right of arms, or by admitting it into a treaty of amity. Let them decide the controversies among themselves by equity and arbitration; or, if it shall be

[1] 2,235,000*l.* [2] 67,812*l.* [3] 24,609*l.*

the choice of both parties, by arms." A clause was added to this treaty also, about delivering up Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Ætolian, Mnasimachus the Acarnanian, and the Chalcidians Eubalidas and Philo; and another, that if it should afterwards please the parties that any thing should be added, cancelled, or altered, that it might be done without invalidating the treaty.

39. The consul swore to the observance of this treaty. Quintus Minucius Thermus and Lucius Manlius, who happened to return just at that time from Oroanda, went to require the oath of the king. At the same time he wrote to Quintus Fabius Labeo, commander of the fleet, to sail, without delay, to Patara, to break up and burn the king's ships that lay there. Sailing, accordingly, from Ephesus, he broke up or burned fifty decked ships; and, in the same voyage, took Telmessus, the inhabitants being terrified by his sudden appearance. Then having ordered those who were left at Ephesus to follow him, he passed onward from Lycia, through the islands to Greece. At Athens, after waiting a few days, until the ships from Ephesus came to Piræeus, he then brought home the whole fleet to Italy. Cneius Manlius, when he had, among other matters to be given up by Antiochus, received his elephants, and given them all as a present to Eumenes, then examined the causes of the several states, since many had been thrown into confusion amid the violent changes. King Ariarathes, the half of the money levied on him being remitted, through the kind offices of Eumenes, to whom he had betrothed, during that time, his daughter, was received into friendship. The ten ambassadors, after examining the causes of the respective states, made different arrangements, in different cases. They gave independence to those which had been tributary to king Antiochus and had sided with the Romans; and they ordered all such as had taken part with Antiochus, or had been tributary to king Attalus, to pay tribute to Eumenes. Besides they granted independence to the Colophonians, who live in Notium, the Cymæans, and Milasenians, all of whom they specified by name. To the Clazomenians they gave, besides their independence, the island of Drymusa. To the Milesians they restored what was called the sacred lands. They added to the territory of the Trojans, Rhœteum and Gergithus, not so much in consideration of any recent

merits of theirs, as out of respect to their own origin. The same motive was the reason of their liberating Dardanum. They gifted the Chians, also the Smyrnæans and Erythræans, with lands, in consideration of the singular fidelity which they displayed during the war, and treated them with every distinguished honour. To the Phocæans, the territory which they had enjoyed before the war was restored; and permission was given them to use their ancient laws. They confirmed to the Rhodians the grants which were mentioned in the former decree. Lycia and Caria were assigned to them as far as the river Mæander, excepting Telmessus. To king Eumenes they gave, in Europe, the Chersonese and Lysimachia, with the forts, towns, and lands thereof, with the same frontier as Antiochus had held them; and, in Asia, both the Phrygias, the one on the Hellespont, and the other called the Greater, and restored to him Mysia, which had been taken by king Prusias, and also gave to him Lycaonia, and Milyas, and Lydia, and, by express mention, the cities of Tralles, and Ephesus, and Telmessus. When a dispute had arisen between Eumenes and Antiochus's ambassadors, concerning Pamphylia, because part of it lay on the hither side, and part on the further side of Taurus, the matter was referred wholly to the senate.

40. When these treaties and grants were concluded, Manlius, with the ten ambassadors, and all his army, marched to the Hellespont, and dictated to the chiefs of the Gauls, whom he had summoned thither, terms on which they should maintain peace with Eumenes; and warned them to put an end to the practice of straggling in arms, and to confine themselves within the bounds of their own territories. Then, having collected ships from all parts of the coast, and Eumenes's fleet also being brought thither from Elæa by Athenæus, that king's brother, he transported all his forces into Europe. Then leading slowly through the Chersonese, by short marches, the army heavily encumbered with booty of every sort, he halted at Lysimachia; in order that he might enter Thrace, the march through which they in general dreaded, with the beasts of burden as fresh and vigorous as possible. On the day in which he set out from Lysimachia, he came to the river which they call Melas,[1] and thence, next day, to Cypsela. The road, about ten miles from Cypsela, proved to be obstructed

[1] Black.

by woods, narrow and broken. On account of these difficulties he divided the army into two parts; and, ordering one to advance in front, and the other at a considerable distance, to cover the rear, he placed between them the baggage; it was composed of waggons with the public money, and other booty of great value. As he was marching in this order through the defile, a body of Thracians, not more in number than ten thousand, composed of four states, the Astians, Cænians, Maduatians, and Corelians, posted themselves on both sides of the road at the narrowest part. There was an opinion that this was not done without the treacherous connivance of Philip, king of Macedonia; that he knew that the Romans would return by no other route than that through Thrace, and what an immense sum they would carry with them. The general himself was in the van, anxious about the disadvantages of the ground. The Thracians did not stir until the troops passed by; but, when they saw that the foremost division had got clear of the narrow pass, and that the rear division was not yet drawing near, they rushed upon the encumbrances and the baggage, and after killing the guards, some rifled the waggons, while others led off the horses under their loads. After their shouts reached those on the rear, who were then just entering the pass, and afterwards those in the van, the Romans ran together from both extremities to the centre, and an irregular sort of fight commenced, in many different places at once. The booty itself exposed the Thracians to slaughter, as they were encumbered with burdens, and most of them had thrown away their arms, that they might have their hands disengaged for plundering; the disadvantageous nature of the ground militated against the Romans, as the barbarians attacked them through well-known paths, and sometimes lurked in the ravines. The loads too, and the waggons, lying incommodiously for one party or the other, as chance directed, were great obstructions to their movements; and here the plunderer, there the defender of the booty, fell. The fortune of the fight was variable, according as the ground was favourable or unfavourable to this party or that, and according to the spirit of the combatants, and their numbers, for some had come in contact with a stronger party than themselves, others with a weaker. On both sides, however, great numbers fell. The night was now

approaching, when the Thracians retired from the fight, not for the purpose of avoiding wounds or death, but because they had got enough of booty.

41. The first division of the Romans encamped beyond the pass, in open ground, round the temple of Bendis;[1] the second division remained in the middle of the defile, surrounded by a double rampart, to guard the baggage. Next day, having carefully examined the ground before they put themselves in motion, they rejoined the first. In that battle, although part of the baggage was lost, while a great part of the attendants and many of the soldiers perished, (since the fight was carried on through almost the whole extent of the defile,) yet the heaviest loss sustained was in the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a brave and gallant officer. The army arrived that day at the Hebrus, and thence passed through the country of the Ænians, by the temple of Apollo, whom the natives call Zerynthius. Another defile, as rugged and uneven as the former, awaits them around Tempyra (this is the name of the place); but, as there were no woods near, it afforded no cover for an ambuscade. Hither assembled the Thrausians, (who are also a Thracian tribe,) with the same hope of plunder; but because the bare valleys had this effect, that they were visible at a distance besetting the defile, there was less terror and tumult among the Romans; for, although they were obliged to fight on disadvantageous ground, yet it was in a regular battle, in an open field, and a fair encounter. Advancing in close order, with the war-shout, and falling on the enemy, they soon drove them off the ground, and put them to flight. Afterwards the rout and massacre began to take place, for the narrow passes actually impeded them. The victorious Romans encamped at a village of the Maronites, called Sare. Next day, after marching through an open country, the plain of Priate received them, where they halted three days, to receive supplies of corn, partly from the country of the Maronites, who made a voluntary contribution, and partly from their own ships, which attended them with stores of every kind. From this post there was one day's march to Apollonia, whence they proceeded through the territory of Abdera to Neapolis. All this march through the Grecian colonies was performed in security. The rest of their march

[1] The name of Diana in the Thracian language.

through the midst of the Thracians, though not harassed, was full of apprehension, by day and night, until they arrived in Macedon. This same army, when it proceeded by the same route under Scipio, had found the Thracians more peaceable, but for no other reason, than because it had then less booty, which was the object of their attack: although Claudius writes, that even on that occasion, a body of fifteen thousand Thracians opposed Mutines, the Numidian, who had advanced to reconnoitre the country. That the Numidians were four hundred horsemen, and a few elephants. That the son of Mutines, with a hundred and fifty chosen horsemen, broke through the middle of the enemy; and that the same individual, presently, when Mutines, placing his elephants in the centre, and the horse on the wings, had begun to engage the enemy, cast terror into them by an attack on their rear; and that owing to this, the enemy, routed by the storm, as it were, of cavalry, did not come near the main body of infantry. Cneius Manlius conducted his army through Macedon into Thessaly; and, having proceeded through Epirus to Apollonia, passed the winter there, as the sea in the winter was not as yet considered so little formidable that he might venture on the passage.

42. It was almost at the expiration of the year, that the consul, Marcus Valerius, came from Liguria to Rome to elect new magistrates, although he had not performed in his province any memorable act that could afford a reasonable excuse for coming later than usual to the elections. The assembly for choosing the consuls was held on the twelfth day before the calends of March. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Caius Flaminius were elected consuls. The following day, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Lucius Terentius Massa, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes were elected prætors. When the elections were concluded, the consul asked the senate what were the provinces that they wished should be given to the prætors: they decreed two for the administration of justice in Rome; two out of Italy—Sicily and Sardinia; and two in Italy—Tarentum and Gaul: the prætors were ordered to cast lots immediately, before they entered on their office. Servius Sulpicius received by lot the city jurisdiction; Quintus Terentius, the foreign; Lucius Terentius obtained Sicily;

Quintus Fulvius, Sardinia; Appius Claudius, Tarentum; and Marcus Furius, Gaul. In that year, Lucius Minucius Myrtilus and Lucius Manlius, as they were charged with having beaten the Carthaginian ambassadors, were, by order of Marcus Claudius, city prætor, delivered up by heralds to the ambassadors, and carried to Carthage. Reports prevailed of a great war, growing too every day more formidable, in Liguria. The senate, therefore, decreed Liguria as the province of both the new consuls, on the day that they made their motion in the senate concerning the republic and the provinces. To this vote the consul, Lepidus, objected, asserting that "it would be highly indecorous to shut up the consuls among the valleys of Liguria, while Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius reigned, a second year, one in Europe, another in Asia, as if substituted in the room of Philip and Antiochus. If it was resolved to keep armies in those countries, it was more fitting that consuls, rather than private persons, should have the command of them. That they made their circuits with all the terrors of war, among nations against whom war had not been declared, trafficking peace for money. If it was necessary to hold these provinces with armies, in the same manner as Lucius Scipio, consul, had succeeded Manius Acilius, consul; and as Marcus Fulvius and Cneius Manlius succeeded Lucius Scipio; so ought Caius Livius and Marcus Valerius, the consuls, to have succeeded Fulvius and Manlius. But, unquestionably, at this time, after the Ætolian war had been concluded, Asia taken from Antiochus, and the Gauls subdued, —either the consuls ought to be sent to the consular armies, or the legions ought be brought home, and restored to the commonwealth." The senate, although they heard these words, persisted in their vote, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls; but they ordered, that Manlius and Fulvius should leave their provinces, withdraw the troops, and come home to Rome.

43. There was a quarrel between Marcus Fulvius and the consul Æmilius; and in addition to other motives, Æmilius thought, that he had been made consul two years later, by the opposition of Marcus Fulvius. In order, therefore, to exasperate the minds of the public against him, he introduced to the senate ambassadors from Ambracia, whom he had secretly instructed in the charges they were to make against him.

These complained, that "war had been made on them when they were in a state of peace, after they had executed the commands of former consuls, and were ready to show the same obedience to Marcus Fulvius; that first their lands were ravaged; and that, the terror of rapine and carnage was then cast into the city, that by that fear they might be compelled to shut their gates. They were then besieged and assaulted, and all the horrors of war were inflicted on them, murders, burnings, the sacking and demolishing of their city. Their wives and children were dragged away into slavery; their goods taken from them; and, what shocked them more than all, their temples were despoiled of their ornaments, and the images of their gods, nay, the gods themselves were torn from their mansions, and carried away; so that the Ambracians had nothing left to adore, to which they could address their prayers and supplications, but naked walls and pillars." While they were making these complaints, the consul, as had been agreed, by asking questions leading to further charges, drew them on, as if against their inclinations, to the mention of other matters. The senators being moved by these accusations, the other consul, Caius Flaminius, took up the cause of Marcus Fulvius: and he said that "the Ambracians had set out in an old course, now long out of use. In this manner Marcus Marcellus had been accused by the Syracusans; and Quintus Fulvius by the Campanians. Why might not the senate as well allow Titus Quintius to be accused by king Philip; Manius Acilius and Lucius Scipio, by Antiochus; Cneius Manlius, by the Gauls; and Fulvius himself, by the Ætolians and the states of Cephallenia? Do you think, conscript fathers, either that I in behalf of Marcus Fulvius, or that Marcus Fulvius himself, will deny the besieging and taking Ambracia, the removing thence the statues and ornaments, and the other proceedings, which are usual on the capture of cities? He is about to demand a triumph from you for those very services, and to carry before his chariot those statues, the removal of which is charged as criminal, together with the other spoils of that city, and hang them up on the pillars of his house. There is no kind of pretence for their separating themselves from the Ætolians; the cause of the Ambracians and of the Ætolians is the same. Let, therefore, my colleague either vent his malice in some other

case; or, if he is determined to proceed in this, let him detain his Ambracians until Fulvius comes home. I will not suffer any determination, concerning either the Ambracians or Ætolians, to pass in the absence of Marcus Fulvius."

44. When Æmilius inveighed against the artful malignity of his adversary as being notorious to all, and affirmed, that he would spin out the time by affecting delays, so as not to return to Rome while an adversary was consul; two days were wasted in this dispute, and it was apparent that while Flaminius was present, no decision of the cause could be procured. The opportunity was eagerly caught at by Æmilius, when Flaminius, happening to fall sick, was absent, and on his proposing the motion the senate decreed, that, "all their effects should be restored to the Ambracians, that they should enjoy liberty, and the benefit of their own laws, and should levy what duties they might think proper on goods conveyed by land or sea, provided that the Romans and the allies of the Latin nation should be exempted therefrom. That with respect to the statues, and other ornaments, which they complained were carried away from their sacred buildings, their order was, that immediately on the return of Marcus Fulvius to Rome, the business should be laid before the college of pontiffs, and that whatever they might think proper should be done." Nor was the consul content with this; but afterwards, in a badly attended meeting, he procured a clause to be added to the decree, "that it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force." A supplication of three days' continuance was then performed for the health of the people, because a grievous pestilence was desolating the city and country. The Latin festival was afterwards celebrated, when the consuls, being relieved from these religious duties, and having finished their levies, (for both of them chose to employ new soldiers,) set out for their provinces, where they disbanded all the old troops.

Shortly after the departure of the consuls, Cneius Manlius, the proconsul, arrived at Rome; and, when an audience of the senate was granted to him in the temple of Bellona, by Servius Sulpicius, the prætor, after enumerating the services which he had performed, he demanded that, in consideration thereof, public thanks should be offered to the immortal gods, and permission be granted to himself, to ride through the city

in triumph; the greater number of the ten ambassadors, who had been in the province along with him, opposed the grant, and particularly Lucius Furius Purpureo, and Lucius Æmilius Paulus. 45. They alleged that "they had been appointed ambassadors in conjunction with Manlius, to make peace with Antiochus, and to conclude the terms of the treaty which had been entered on with Lucius Scipio. That Cneius Manlius laboured to the utmost of his power, to confound this peace, and to seize Antiochus by treachery, if he should put his person in the consul's power; but that he (Antiochus) having discovered the treacherous designs of the consul, though frequently tempted by proposals of a conference, had not only avoided the meeting, but even the sight of him. That Manlius, desiring to cross Mount Taurus, was with difficulty restrained by the entreaties of all the ambassadors, who besought him not to brave the curse denounced in the Sibylline verses against such as should pass those fatal limits. Nevertheless, he marched his army thither, and encamped almost on the very summit where the waters take opposite directions. As he could find no sort of pretence for hostilities, the king's subjects being perfectly quiet, he led his army round to the Gallogræcians, against which nation war was waged, without any decree of the senate, or order of the people. Which did ever any general before presume to do in like manner, on his own judgment? The latest wars were those with Antiochus, with Philip, and with Hannibal and the Carthaginians; concerning all these the senate had passed its decrees, the people their orders; several embassies were previously sent; restitution demanded; and, finally, heralds were sent to proclaim war. Now, Cneius Manlius," said they, "has any one of these proceedings been observed in the present case, that we should consider it a war of the Roman people, and not a predatory expedition of your own contrivance? But, were you even content with this? Did you lead your army against those whom you had chosen to consider as enemies, by the direct course; or did you ramble through every deflection of the roads, when you stopped at every division of the way, in order that, to whatever side Eumenes's brother, Attalus, should turn his route, you the consul, as an auxiliary in his pay, might follow with a Roman army? Did you not traverse every recess and corner of Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Phrygia; levying

contributions from the tyrants and peasants in those remote regions? For, what had you to do with the Oroandians, what with other states equally inoffensive?

"But, in what manner did you conduct this war, on the merit of which you ask a triumph? Did you fight on equal ground, and at the time of your own choosing? Indeed you with propriety require that thanks be returned to the immortal gods; first, because they did not ordain that the army should undergo the penalty deserved by the temerity of its commander, in commencing a war in accordance with no law of nations; and next, because they gave us, for antagonists, brutes, and not men. 46. Do not suppose that the name only of the Gallograecians is a mixed one: their bodies, and their minds, have undergone a similar process, and have been corrupted by the mixture. Had they been such Gauls as those whom we have a thousand times encountered in Italy, with various success, would any one of us, considering the conduct of our commander, have returned to tell the story? Two battles were fought; twice he sustained the disadvantages of position, and, at the bottom of a valley, almost placed his army under the feet of the enemy; so that they were able to overwhelm us, even though they did not cast their weapons from the higher ground, but merely threw themselves on us without arms. What, then, was the consequence? Great is the fortune of the Roman people; great and terrible its name! By the recent downfal of Hannibal, Philip, and Antiochus, the Gauls were, in a manner, thunder-struck. Bulky as their bodies were, they were dismayed, and put to flight, by slings and arrows; not a sword was stained in battle during the Gallic war. Like flocks of birds, they flew away at the very sound of our missiles. But, indeed, when we, the same army, were on our return, and happened to fall in with a party of Thracian robbers, (as if fortune meant to teach us what the issue would have been, if we had met an enemy,) we were beaten, routed, and stripped of our baggage. Among many other brave soldiers fell Quintus Minucius Thermus, whose death was a much greater loss, than if Caeius Manlius, to whose rashness the misfortune had happened, had perished. An army, carrying home the spoils of king Antiochus, was dispersed in three places, and with the vanguard in one place, the rear in another, and the baggage in a third, hid itself for a night

among bushes, in the dens of wild beasts. Is a triumph demanded for such exploits as these? Although no disaster and disgrace had been suffered in Thrace, over what enemies would you triumph? Over those, I suppose, whom the Roman senate or people had assigned to you as your enemies. On these grounds, indeed, a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio; to Manius Acilius, over king Antiochus; to Titus Quintius, over king Philip; and to Publius Africanus, over Hannibal, the Carthaginians, and Syphax. Now, after the senate had voted a declaration of war, the following unimportant matters were inquired into:—To whom the declaration ought to be made; whether to the kings in person, or whether making it at some of their garrisons were sufficient? Do you wish, then, that all these rites should be disregarded and profaned? That the laws of the heralds be abrogated? That there should be no heralds? Let religion (the gods pardon the expression) be thrown aside; let forgetfulness of the gods occupy your minds. Do you, also, judge it fit that the senate should not be consulted concerning war? That the people should not be asked, whether they choose and order war to be made on the Gauls? On a late occasion, the consuls, certainly, wished for the provinces of Greece and Asia; yet, when you persisted in assigning Liguria as their province, they obeyed your commands. They will, therefore, if the war should be successfully carried on, justly demand a triumph from you, conscript fathers, under whose authority they carried it on."

47. Such were the arguments of Furius and Æmilius. We have heard that Manlius replied in nearly the following manner: "Conscript fathers, formerly the tribunes of the people were accustomed to oppose generals demanding a triumph. I am thankful to the present tribunes because they have conceded so much either to me, or to the greatness of my services, as not only to show, by their silence, their approbation of my pretensions to that honour, but likewise their readiness, if there were occasion, to make a motion to that purpose. I have, since it is the pleasure of the gods, as my opponents some of the ten ambassadors, the actual council which our ancestors assigned to generals for the purpose of arranging their conquests and gracing their victories. Lucius Furius and Lucius Æmilius forbid me to mount the triumphal chariot, and pluck from my head the

crown of glory, the persons whom, if the tribunes had opposed my triumph, I should have cited as witnesses to bear testimony to my services. Conscript fathers, I envy no man's honours; but, on a late occasion, you yourselves deterred by your authority the tribunes of the people, brave and active men, from impeding the triumph of Quintus Fabius Labeo. Fabius enjoyed a triumph; and yet his adversaries alleged, not that he had carried on an unjust war, but that he had not seen the enemy at all. Whereas I, who fought so many pitched battles with one hundred thousand of your fiercest enemies; who killed or made prisoners more than forty thousand; who stormed two of their camps; who left all the countries on this side of the summits of Taurus in greater tranquillity than is the country of Italy; am not only defrauded of a triumph, but obliged to plead my cause before you, conscript fathers, whilst my own council of ambassadors accuse me. Conscript fathers, their charge, as you perceive, is two-fold: for they assert, that I ought not to have waged war with the Gauls; and besides, that the war was carried on rashly and imprudently. The Gauls were not enemies; but, you committed hostilities against them, when peaceable and obedient to your orders. I am not about to require from you, conscript fathers, that you may attribute to the Gauls who inhabit Asia, those characteristics which you are well aware belong to the Gallic race in general, savage fierceness and most inveterate hatred to the name of Rome. Excluding the infamous and odious character of the whole nation, judge of these Gauls by themselves. I wish king Eumenes, I wish all the states of Asia were present, and that you heard their complaints, rather than my charges against them. Send ambassadors round all the cities of Asia, and ask whether they were relieved from more grievous servitude by the removal of Antiochus beyond the summits of Taurus, or by the conquest of the Gauls. Let them tell you how often their territories were ravaged, how often their property and their people were carried off as prey; while they had scarcely ever an opportunity of ransoming any prisoners, they heard of nothing but human victims slain, and their children offered up in sacrifice. Be assured that your allies paid tribute to these Gauls; and, though delivered now by you from the yoke of Antiochus, must still have continued to pay it, if I had been inactive.

The farther Antiochus was removed, the more tyrannically would the Gauls have domineered in Asia; and all the countries on this side of Taurus you would have annexed to their empire, not to your own.

48. "But, allowing all this to be so; the Gauls formerly sacked Delphi, the common oracle to which all mankind resort, and the central point of the globe of the earth; yet the Roman people did not, on that account, proclaim or wage war against them. I really thought, that there was some distinction to be made between that period when Greece and Asia were not yet under your jurisdiction and dominion, and the present, when you have made Mount Taurus the boundary of the Roman empire; when you grant liberty and independence to the states of that country; when you augment the territories of some; amerce others in a part of their lands; impose tribute; add to, diminish, give, and take away kingdoms, and deem it your business to take care that they may enjoy peace both on land and sea. Is it not the case that you would not have thought Asia liberated unless Antiochus withdrew his garrisons, which lay quiet in their citadels: if the armies of the Gauls roamed about without control, would the grants which you made to king Eumenes be secure, or the liberty of the states entire? But why do I reason thus? as if I had not found the Gauls enemies, but made them such! I appeal to you, Lucius Scipio, whose bravery and good fortune alike I suppliantly sought, and not in vain, from the immortal gods, when I succeeded you in the command; and to you, Publius Scipio, who held, both with your brother the consul, and with the army, the commission of a lieutenant-general and the dignity of a colleague; did you ascertain that legions of the Gauls were in the army of Antiochus? Did you see them in his line of battle, posted in both wings; for there was his main strength? Did you fight with them as declared enemies? Did you kill them? Did you carry off their spoils? Yet the senate had decreed, and the people ordered, war against Antiochus, not against the Gauls. But as I judge, they had at the same time decreed and ordered that war should be with all those who should be reckoned among his troops; so that, excepting Antiochus, with whom Scipio had negotiated a peace, and with whom, specifying him by name, you had directed a treaty to be concluded, every one who had

borne arms on the side of Antiochus against us, were our enemies. And although the Gauls had been conspicuous in that cause, and several petty princes and tyrants also; nevertheless, I made peace with the rest, after compelling them to atone for their transgressions, as the dignity of your empire required. I made trial, at the same time, of the temper of the Gauls, whether they could be reclaimed from their natural ferocity; but, perceiving them untractable and implacable, I then judged it necessary to chastise them by force of arms.

49. Now, since the charge respecting the undertaking of the war has been fully refuted, I must account for my conduct in the prosecution of it. In which, indeed, I should perfectly confide in the merits of my cause, though I were pleading, not before a Roman, but before a Carthaginian senate, by whom their commanders are said to be crucified, if they act on wrong plans, even with success. But in such a state as this, which, in the commencement and progress of every undertaking, makes application to the gods on this account, because it subjects to no malicious cavilling those plans of which the gods have approved; and which, in the established form, when it decrees a supplication or triumph, uses these words,—'For having conducted the business of the public successfully and fortunately;' if I should be unwilling, if I should think it presumptuous and arrogant to boast of my own bravery, and if I should demand, in consideration of my own good fortune, and that of my army, in having vanquished so great a nation, without any loss of men, that thanks should be given to the immortal gods, and that I should ascend the Capitol in triumph, from whence I took my departure, with vows duly offered;—would you refuse this to me, and the immortal gods? Yes; for I fought on unfavourable ground. Tell me, then, on what more favourable ground could I have fought, when the enemy had seized on a mountain, and kept themselves in a strong post; surely, if I wished to conquer them, I must go where they were. What if they had a town on the same spot, and kept within the walls: surely they must be attacked. Did Manlius Acilius fight with Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, on favourable ground? Did not Titus Quintius dislodge Philip when he was posted in the same manner, on the tops of mountains, over the river Aous? Truly I cannot yet discover what sort of an enemy they

may represent to themselves, or in what light they may wish them to appear to you. If as being degenerate and softened by the pleasures of Asia, what danger was there in advancing against them even on unfavourable ground? If formidable, both for fierceness of courage and strength of body, do you refuse a triumph to victories so honourable? Conscript fathers, envy is blind, and only capable of depreciating merit, and poisoning its honours and rewards. Pardon me, I beseech you, conscript fathers, on these conditions, if it be the case that the necessary reply to the accusation, and not my desire of boasting of my exploits, hath made my speech too long. Whether could I, in my march through Thrace, create open glades out of narrow defiles, and level plains out of steep precipices, and fields out of woods, and insure that the Thracian plunderers should not lurk any where in those concealments which they were acquainted with; that none of our packages should be snatched away, none of our loaded horses, out of so large a train, led off; that no one should be wounded; and that the brave and active Lucius Minucius should not die of his wound? On this mischance, by which we unfortunately lost so valuable a citizen, those men declaim profusely. That the enemy attacked us in a dangerous pass, where every advantage of ground was against us; that our two divisions, the front and the rear, surrounded by a combined movement the army of the barbarians, while they were employed about our baggage; that they killed and took prisoners many thousands on that day; and, in a few days after, many more;—do they imagine that you would not ascertain this, even if they passed it over in silence, when the whole army can testify the truth of what I assert? If I had never drawn a sword in Asia, if I had never seen an enemy there, yet, by the two battles fought in Thrace, I had merited a triumph, as proconsul. But I have said enough, and shall only request, and, I should hope, obtain, your pardon, conscript fathers, for having troubled you longer than I could have wished to do."

50. The accusations that day would have been more powerful than the defence, had they not prolonged the debate to a late hour; for the senate adjourned in a mood likely to refuse the triumph. Next day the relations and friends of Cneius Manlius exerted their utmost efforts in his behalf; and the opinion of the elder senators prevailed, who asserted,

that there was no instance on record of a commander who had subdued the enemy, completed the business of his province, and brought home his army, entering the city as a private citizen, without honours, and without the chariot and laurel. This feeling of shame overcame their prejudices against him, and a great majority voted for his triumph. A greater contest, which was set on foot against a greater and more illustrious personage, suppressed all mention and memory of this struggle. The two Petillii, as Valerius Antias writes, instituted a prosecution against Publius Scipio Africanus. Men construed this according to their different dispositions; some did not blame the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, that could suffer such a process to be carried on. They observed, that "the two greatest states in the world proved, nearly at the same time, ungrateful to their chief commanders; but Rome the more ungrateful of the two, because Carthage was subdued when she sent the vanquished Hannibal into exile; whereas Rome, when victorious, was for banishing the conqueror Africanus." Others asserted, that "no one citizen ought to stand so high above the rest, as not to be made answerable to the laws for his conduct: for nothing contributed so much towards the equalization of liberty, as that the most powerful might be brought to trial. For how could any charge, especially the administration of government, be safely intrusted to any man, if he were not liable to be called to an account? That force was not unjustly used against him who could not bear an equality of rights." These subjects were discussed in conversation, until the day of trial came. Never was either any other person, or Scipio himself, when consul or censor, escorted to the forum by a more numerous multitude of all kinds, than he was on that day when he appeared to answer the charge against him. When ordered to make his defence, without taking any notice of the facts laid to his charge, he delivered so magnificent a speech concerning his exploits, that it was universally agreed, that no man had been ever praised either to more advantage or with more truth. For his achievements were described with the same ardent spirit and powerful genius with which they had been performed; and his auditors felt no disgust, because his acts were mentioned to meet the peril, and not for ostentation.

51. The plebeian tribunes, in order to procure credit to

their present accusations, introduced the old imputations of his luxurious style of living in his winter quarters at Syracuse, and the tumult raised by Pleminius at Locri. They then brought forward against him the charge of receiving money, grounded on suspicion, not on proof. They alleged, that "his son, being taken prisoner, was restored without ransom; and that, in every other instance, Scipio was courted by Antiochus, as if peace and war with Rome were at his sole disposal. He had acted towards the consul, in his province, as dictator, not as lieutenant-general; nor had he gone thither with any other view than that this might appear to Greece and Asia, and all the kings and nations eastward, which had been long since the settled conviction of Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, that he alone was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a state which was mistress of the world, lay sheltered under the shade of Scipio; and that his nods were equivalent to decrees of the senate, and orders of the people." They attack by envy, as much as they can, him out of the reach of dishonour. The pleading having lasted till night, the trial was adjourned to another day. When that came, the tribunes took their seat in the rostrum at the dawn of day. The accused being summoned, came, with a numerous train of friends and dependents, through the middle of the assembly, to the rostrum; and, silence being made, he said,—"Tribunes of the people, and you, Romans, on the anniversary of this day I fought a pitched battle in Africa, with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, with good fortune and success. As, therefore, it is but decent that a stop be put, for this day, to litigation and wrangling, I will immediately go to the Capitol, there to return my acknowledgments to Jupiter the supremely good and great, to Juno, Minerva, and the other deities presiding over the Capitol and citadel, and will give them thanks for having, on this day, and at many other times, endowed me both with the will and ability to perform extraordinary services to the commonwealth. Such of you also, Romans, as it suits, come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself; since, from my seventeenth year to old age, you have always anticipated my years with honours, and I, your honours with services." Accordingly, he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol; and, at the same time, the whole assembly turned

about and followed him; insomuch, that at last even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, not one remaining, except the slaves who attended them, and the crier, who was in the habit of summoning the accused from the rostrum. Scipio, attended by the whole body of the Roman people, went round all the temples of the gods, not only in the Capitol, but throughout the whole city. This day was almost more famous owing to the favour of the Romans towards him, and their high estimation of his real greatness, than that on which he rode through Rome in triumph over king Syphax and the Carthaginians.

52. It was, however, the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio. For, as he could foresee nothing but the prosecutions of envy, and continual disputes with the tribunes, the trial being adjourned to a future day, he retired to the territory of Liternum, with a fixed determination not to attend the trial. His spirit was by nature too lofty, and habituated to such an elevated course of fortune, that he did not know how to act the part of an accused person, or stoop to the humble deportment of men pleading their cause. When the day came, and he began to be summoned in his absence, Lucius Scipio pleaded in his excuse that sickness was the reason of his absence. Which excuse the tribunes, who were the prosecutors, would not admit, but insisted that he did not come to plead his cause, owing to the same arrogance with which he had left the trial, the tribunes of the people, and the general assembly; and followed by the very men whom he had robbed of the right of passing sentence on him, together with their freedom of suffrage, had exhibited a triumph over the Roman people, and made a secession, the same day, from the tribunes to the Capitol. "You have therefore," said they, "the due reward of that thoughtless conduct. You are, yourselves, forsaken by him under whose lead and direction you forsook us. And so much is our spirit daily on the decline, that although, seventeen years ago, when he was at the head of an army and fleet, we had resolution enough to send plebeian tribunes and an ædile into Sicily to take him into custody, and bring him home to Rome; yet we dare not now send to compel him, though a private citizen, to come from his country-seat to stand his trial." The tribunes of the commons, being appealed

to by Lucius Scipio, came to the following determination: that "since the excuse of sickness was pleaded, it was their judgment that this excuse should be admitted, and that the day of trial should be adjourned by their colleagues."

53. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was, at that time, a plebeian tribune, and between him and Publius Scipio there was an enmity subsisting. When he had forbidden his name to be subscribed to the determination of his colleague, and every one expected from him a sentence more severe, he pronounced his judgment thus: that "Inasmuch as Lucius Scipio had pleaded sickness in excuse for his brother, that plea appeared to him to be sufficient: that he would not suffer Publius Scipio to be accused until he should return to Rome; and even then, if he appealed to him, he would support him in refusing to abide a trial: that Publius Scipio, by his great achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by the joint consent of gods and men, had risen to such a height of dignity, that were he to stand as a criminal, under the rostrum, and afford a hearing to the insults of young men, it would reflect more disgrace on the Romans than on him." To his decree he added the language of indignation: "Shall Scipio, the celebrated conqueror of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it for this he defeated and routed, in Spain, four of the most distinguished generals of the Carthaginians, and their four armies? Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, conquered Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus beyond Mount Taurus (for Lucius Scipio received his brother Africanus as his associate in this glory); that he should crouch under two Petillii? that you should gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus? Will men of illustrious characters never, through their own merits, or through honours conferred by you, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?" Both his decree and additional discourse made a deep impression, not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the prosecutors; who said that they would consider further what might be consistent with their rights and duties. Afterwards, as soon as the assembly of the people broke up, the senate met, and at that meeting the warmest thanks were bestowed by the whole body, especially by the consular and elder members, on

Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity; and the Petillii were assailed with severe insults, because they had endeavoured to become distinguished by exciting odium against another, and were seeking spoils from a triumph over Africanus. After that there was silence concerning Africanus. He passed the remainder of his life at Liternum, without a wish to revisit the city; and it is said that when he was dying he ordered his body to be buried in the country, in that very place, and his monument to be erected there, that even his obsequies might not be performed in his ungrateful country. He was a man of eminent merit; but more conspicuous in the affairs of war than in those of peace. The former part of his life was more illustrious than the latter, because in his early years wars were constantly carried on by him; with old age his exploits faded away, as occasions did not occur to call forth the exercise of his talents. What was his second consulship to his first, even if you should add to it the censorship? What, compared with it, was his commission in Asia, rendered useless by want of health, and clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity to which it subjected him after his return, of either undergoing a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he enjoyed alone the distinguished honour of putting an end to the Carthaginian war, which was by far the most difficult and dangerous war in which the Roman state was ever engaged.

54. The death of Africanus increased the courage of his enemies, the chief of whom was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, even during his life, was accustomed to sneer at his splendid character. The Petillii are supposed, both to have commenced the prosecution against Africanus at his instigation while he was alive, and on his death to have proposed a bill against him. The motion for the order was made in these words: "Romans, is it your will and order, with respect to the money taken, carried off, and collected from king Antiochus, and those under his government, and with respect to such part thereof as has not been accounted for to the public, that Servius Sulpicius, the city prætor, shall ask the senate which of the present prætors they will appoint to hold an inquiry concerning those matters?" Quintus and Lucius Muminius at first objected to this motion: they thought it proper that,

according to the practice always hitherto observed, the senate should make the inquiry concerning such money as had not been brought into the public treasury. The Petillii represented the great influence, the sovereign power which the Scipios possessed in the senate. Lucius Furius Purpureo, a senator of consular rank, who had been one of the ten ambassadors in Asia, was of opinion that the inquiry ought to be carried to a wider extent; not only as to the money taken from Antiochus, but to what had been taken from other kings and nations, attacking his enemy Cneius Manlius. Lucius Scipio, who, it was evident, was arguing rather in favour of himself than against the order, stood forward to oppose it. He complained heavily of such a motion being brought on after the death of his brother, Publius Africanus, the bravest and most illustrious of men. For "it had not been deemed sufficient that Publius Africanus was not eulogized from the rostrum after his death, unless he should be also the subject of accusation. The Carthaginians had been content with the banishment of Hannibal, but the Roman people would not be satisfied even with the death of Publius Scipio, unless, after he was laid in his grave, his character were mangled, and his brother also sacrificed, another victim to envy." Marcus Cato supported the motion in a speech on the money of king Antiochus, which is still extant; and, by his influence, deterred the Mummii, the two tribunes, from their opposition to the order. On their withdrawing their intended protest, every one of the tribes voted in favour of the motion.

55. Servius Sulpicius then putting the question to the senate, whom they would appoint, according to the Petillian order of the people, to hold the inquiry, they appointed Quintus Terentius Culleo. Before this prætor, so warmly attached to the Cornelian family, (that those writers, who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome, for that too is asserted, have left on record, that he walked at his funeral before the bier with a cap of liberty on his head, as he had done before at his triumph; and that, at the Capuan gate, he gave wine and honey to those who attended the obsequies, to show his gratitude for having been recovered by Scipio, among other captives, out of the hands of the enemy in Africa,) or so great an enemy to that family, that on account of his known animosity, he was selected in par-

ticular by the faction that supported the proceedings against the Scipios, to hold the inquiry; however that may be, before this prætor, whether too favourable or too much the contrary, Lucius Scipio was immediately arraigned. At the same time charges were presented and received against his lieutenants-general, the two Hostilius Catos, Aulus and Lucius; and his quæstor, Caius Furius Aculeo: and (that all things might appear infected with the contagion of peculation) against his two secretaries and crier, Lucius Hostilius. The secretaries and the crier were acquitted before Scipio was tried. Scipio and Aulus Hostilius, his lieutenant-general, and Caius Furius, were convicted on the following charges, that, "as bribes, for granting more favourable terms of peace to Antiochus, Scipio had received, over and above what he brought into the treasury, six thousand pounds' weight of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver; Aulus Hostilius, eighty pounds of gold, and four hundred and three of silver; and Furius, the quæstor, one hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver." These sums of gold and silver I find mentioned by Antias. As to what regards Lucius Scipio, I suspect some mistake of the transcriber, rather than a falsehood of the historian, respecting the amount of the gold and silver. For it is more probable that the weight of silver was greater than that of gold, and that the fine was laid at four millions,[1] than at twenty-four millions of sesterces,[2] the more on this account, as they record that an account of that sum was demanded from Publius Scipio himself, in the senate; and that when he had desired his brother Lucius to bring the book of his accounts, he tore it to pieces in the view of the senate, at the same time expressing indignation at being called to account for four millions after he had brought two hundred millions[3] into the treasury. From the same confidence of spirit, when the quæstors would not venture to bring money out of the coffers contrary to law, he demanded the keys of the treasury, declaring that he would open it as he had caused it to be shut.

56. Many other things are at variance respecting the latter part, particularly, of Scipio's life, that is to say, his trial death, funeral, and sepulchre, so that I cannot determine which tradition or which writings I ought to credit. Writers do not agree as to his accuser; some affirming that Marcus Nævius, others

[1] 3,229*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* [2] 193,750*l.* [3] 1,614,583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

that the Petillii, instituted the prosecution; neither are they agreed as to the time when it was carried on; nor the year in which he died; nor the place; nor where he was buried. Some assert, that he died and was buried at Rome; others, at Liternum; and in both places memorials and statues of him are shown. For at Liternum there was a monument, and on it stood his statue, which we in person lately saw cast down by a storm. At Rome likewise, on a monument of the Scipios outside the Capuan gate, are three statues, two of which are said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Quintus Ennius. Nor do these differences exist between historians only; the speeches attributed to Publius Scipio and Tiberius Gracchus, if they really are theirs, differ widely from one another. The title of Publius Scipio's speech bears the name of Marcus Nævius, the tribune of the commons; the speech itself does not furnish the name of the prosecutor; it only calls him sometimes a knave, sometimes a trifler. Even the speech of Gracchus makes no mention of the Petillii accusing Africanus, or of the prosecution carried on against him. An entirely different story must be framed consistent with the speech of Gracchus; and those writers must be followed who affirm, that, at the time when Lucius Scipio was impeached, and convicted of having taken money from the king, Africanus was a lieutenant-general in Etruria; whence, on hearing of this misfortune, throwing up his commission, he hastened to Rome; and when he came straight from the gate to the forum, because he was told that his brother was being led into confinement, he drove away the officer from his person; and, on the tribunes attempting to detain him, laid violent hands on them, showing more affection towards his brother than regard for the laws. Of these acts, Gracchus himself complained, saying, that the tribunitian power was annulled by a private person; and at last, when he promises support to Lucius Scipio, he adds, that the precedent would be more tolerable, if both the tribunitian authority and the state appeared to be overpowered by a tribune of the commons, than if by a private citizen. But he loaded him with reproaches for this signal instance of intemperate violence, in such a manner, that while he charged him with having degenerated so far from himself, he gave to him his long-established praises for moderation, self-control, with many-fold increase, so as to make

ample amends for the present reprehension. For he said, that the people were formerly severely rebuked by Scipio, because they wished to make him perpetual consul and dictator; that he hindered statues from being erected to him in the comitium, in the rostrum, in the senate-house, in the Capitol, in the chapel of Jupiter's temple, and that he prevented a decree being passed, that his image, in a triumphal habit, should be brought in procession out of the temple of Jupiter the supremely good and great. Such particulars as these, which even an enemy acknowledged while censuring him, even if inserted in a professed panegyric, would demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, in limiting his honours conformably to his position as a citizen.

57. It is universally agreed, that the younger of Scipio's two daughters was married to this Gracchus; for the elder was undoubtedly disposed of by her father, to Publius Cornelius Nasica. But it is not so certain, whether she was both betrothed and married after her father's death, or whether the accounts are true, that Gracchus, when Lucius Scipio was being led to prison, and no other of the tribunes interfered to protect him, swore, that "the same enmity which he had entertained against the Scipios still subsisted; and that he did not perform any act for the sake of gaining their favour. But that, having seen Publius Africanus leading the kings and generals of enemies to prison, he would never suffer his brother to be led to the same place." They add, that the senators, happening to sup that day in the Capitol, rose up together, and requested of Africanus, before the company departed, to betroth his daughter to Gracchus: that the contract was accordingly executed in due form, in the presence of this assembly; and that Scipio, on his return home, told his wife Æmilia that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter. That she, feeling her female pride hurt, expressing some resentment on not having been consulted in the disposal of their common child, added, that, even were he giving her to Tiberius Gracchus, her mother ought not to be kept in ignorance of his intention; to which Scipio, rejoiced at her judgment concurring so entirely with his own, replied, that she was betrothed to that very man. These circumstances respecting so great a captain, though they might vary, both in traditionary and written relation, ought to be stated.

58. On the proceedings being finished by the prætor Quintius Terentius, Hostilius and Furius, being condemned, gave securities the same day to the city quæstors. Scipio, when he insisted that all the money received by him was in the treasury, and that he had not in his possession any thing whatever belonging to the public, was ordered to prison. Publius Scipio Nasica then appealed to the tribunes, and made a speech fraught with just encomiums, not only on the Cornelian family in general, but on his own branch of it in particular. "His father," he said, "and the father of Publius Africanus and Lucius Scipio, who was now ordered to prison, were Cneius and Publius Scipio, men of the most illustrious characters; that when, through a long course of years, they had highly enhanced the reputation of the Roman name in the land of Spain, against many commanders and many armies of the Carthaginians and Spaniards, not only by their military exploits, but also by exhibiting to the nations of that country brilliant examples of Roman moderation and fidelity, both, at last, fell in the service of the Roman people. Although it ought to be sufficient to their descendants to support the glory derived from them, yet Publius Africanus so far surpassed his father's renown, as to occasion a belief that he was not sprung from the human race, but was of divine extraction. As to Lucius Scipio, concerning whom the question then was, to pass over his exploits in Spain and in Africa, (while he was lieutenant-general to his brother,) on his being elected consul, was by the senate considered so worthy, that the province of Asia and the war with Antiochus were assigned him, without leaving it to the decision of the lots; and by his brother, that, after two consulships, the censorship, and a triumph, he attended him into Asia in quality of lieutenant-general. There, that the great and splendid character of the lieutenant might not eclipse the fame of the consul, it so happened, that, on the day when Lucius Scipio conquered Antiochus in a pitched battle at Magnesia, Publius Scipio was absent at the distance of several days' journey, being sick at Elæa. The army of the enemy, on that occasion, was not inferior to that of Hannibal, when the battle was fought with him in Africa; and the same Hannibal, who was commander-in-chief in the Carthaginian war, was among many other generals of the king. The war indeed was so conducted,

that no one could throw blame even on fortune. A ground of accusation is sought for in the peace; it is said that it was sold. The ten ambassadors, in pursuance of whose counsel the peace was concluded, are at the same time included in this charge. Some of the ten ambassadors had even stood forth as accusers of Cneius Manlius, yet their charges were so far from gaining credit that they did not produce even a delay of his triumph.

59. "But truly, in the case of Scipio, the articles of the peace are suspected as being too favourable to Antiochus. For his entire kingdom has been left to him: although conquered, he retains possession of every thing that belonged to him before the war; and though he had an immense quantity of gold and silver, none of it has been applied to the use of the public: all has been converted to private purposes. Now, was there not a quantity of gold and silver carried before the eyes of the public in the triumph of Lucius Scipio, so great that an equal quantity was not carried in ten of the former triumphs, even if it was amassed together? Why need I speak of the extent of the kingdom of Antiochus, or that he held all Asia, and the adjoining parts of Europe? Every body knows what a large portion of the surface of the earth that is, which stretches from Mount Taurus quite to the Ægean Sea; what a number, not only of cities, but of nations, it comprehends; and that this tract, as far as the summit of Mount Taurus, more than thirty days' journey in length and ten in breadth, from one sea to the other,—has been taken from Antiochus, who is thereby removed to the most distant corner of the world? Now if peace had been granted him without any pecuniary consideration, could more have been taken from him? Macedon was left to Philip after he was conquered; Lacedæmon to Nabis; yet the grounds of an accusation were never sought against Quinctius on that account. The reason was, that he had not Africanus for a brother, whose high renown ought to have been serviceable to Lucius Scipio; but envy of his merit had done him injury. A quantity of gold and silver was mentioned in the senate to have been conveyed to the house of Lucius Scipio, greater than could be raised from the sale of his whole property. Where, then, was all this royal treasure; where the value of so many estates received? Surely in a house, which extrava-

gance never exhausted, this new accumulation of wealth ought to appear. But what cannot be levied out of his effects, the enemies of Lucius Scipio will exact from his person, and from his very flesh, by vexatious persecution and insult; carried to such a degree that a man of his illustrious character would be shut up in a prison, among midnight thieves and robbers, and forced to breathe his last in a dungeon and in darkness, and his naked corpse thrown before the prison door. Such proceedings will reflect more disgrace on the city of Rome, than they will on the Cornelian family."

60. In answer to this, the prætor, Terentius, read the Petillian order of the people, the decree of the senate, and the judgment pronounced against Lucius Scipio; and declared that unless the money adjudged were paid into the public treasury, he had no other step to take, than to order the person convicted to be taken into custody, and carried to prison. The tribunes retired to confer together, and in a short time after, Caius Fannius, according to his own opinion and that of all his colleagues, except Gracchus, declared that the tribunes would not interfere with the prætor to hinder his making use of his power. Tiberius Gracchus thus decreed: "that he would not protest against the prætor's levying the sum adjudged out of the effects of Lucius Scipio; but that Lucius Scipio, who had subdued the most powerful king in the world, had extended the empire of the Roman people to the utmost limits of the earth, had bound under obligations to the Roman people king Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many other states of Asia, and had led in triumph so many generals of the enemies, and imprisoned them, should himself lie in prison among the enemies of the Roman people, and in chains, he never would suffer; and therefore he ordered him to be discharged." This decision was heard with such approbation, and the people beheld with so much pleasure the liberation of Scipio, that it could hardly appear that the sentence had been passed in the same community. The prætor then sent the quæstors to take possession of Lucius Scipio's property, for the use of the public. And not only did no trace appear of money received from the king, but not even so much was made up from the sale as the sum in which he was fined. So large a contribution was made for Lucius Scipio by his relations, friends, and clients, that, if he had accepted it, he

would have been much richer than before this misfortune: but he received nothing. Such things as were necessary for his family occasions, were bought back at the sale by his nearest relations. And the public hatred which had been pointed against the Scipios, reverted on the prætor, his advisers, and the accusers.

BOOK XXXIX.

Marcus Æmilius, the consul, having subdued the Ligurians, made a road from Placentia as far as Ariminum, and connected it with the Flaminian way. The commencement of luxury, introduced by the Asiatic army, is related. All the Ligurians who dwell on the hither side of the Apennines were subdued. The Bacchanalia, a Grecian sacred ceremony, held at night, a hot-bed of every vice, after having become a conspiracy including great numbers, were discovered by one of the consuls and suppressed, while many of those concerned were punished. Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the brother of Titus, was expelled the senate, by the censors Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato, who was most distinguished in the arts of war and peace, for the following reason: because when, as consul, he had held the province of Gaul, he slew with his own hand a certain Gaul, at the request of Philip, a Carthaginian, his noble minion; or, as some have stated, because he had beheaded a condemned criminal at the request of a courtesan of Placentia, with whom he was desperately in love. The speech of Marcus Cato against him is still extant. Scipio died at Liternum. And, as if fortune destined for the same period the death of the two most distinguished men of the day, Hannibal committed suicide by taking poison, when he was on the point of being given up to the Romans by Prusias, king of Bithynia, to whom he had fled for refuge on the defeat of Antiochus: the Romans had sent Titus Quinctius Flamininus to demand Hannibal. Philopœmen likewise, the general of the Achæans, a most distinguished man, after having fallen into the hands of the Messenians in war, was put to death by poison. Colonies are planted at Potentia, Pisaurus, Modena, and Parma. This book contains in addition the success over the Celtiberians, and the commencement and cause of the Macedonian war; the origin of which proceeded from the following source: Philip was dissatisfied that his kingdom was being diminished by the Romans, and because he was compelled to withdraw his garrisons from Thrace and other places.

1. WHILE these things are done at Rome, (if they were really transacted in this year,) both the consuls were em-

ployed in the war with the Ligurians. This enemy seemed born for the purpose of preserving military discipline among the Romans, during the intervals between important wars; nor was any province better calculated to form a soldier to active valour. For Asia, from the enticing pleasures of its cities, the abundance of every production both of land and sea, the unwarlike temper of the enemy, and the wealth of its princes, made Roman armies rich, rather than brave. Under the command of Cneius Manlius, particularly, the troops were kept in a state of idleness and licentiousness. Therefore, in Thrace, a passage somewhat more difficult, and a more vigorous enemy, checked them with severe loss. Whereas in Liguria there was every circumstance that could invigorate the courage of soldiers; the country mountainous and rugged, so that even the taking possession of unoccupied posts, and much more the dislodging of an enemy from those already in possession, was attended with much labour; the roads hilly, narrow, and exposed to ambuscades; the enemy light, active, and energetic in their motions, so as to allow no season or place to be quiet or secure; the necessary attack on the strong forts with much toil and danger; and the country so poor as to constrain the soldier to a sparing mode of living, while it afforded but a small share of booty. Accordingly, no sutler followed the army, no long train of baggage horses extended its line of march, nothing was to be seen but arms, and men having all their hopes in their arms. Nor was either subject or cause for hostilities with them ever wanting; because on account of their poverty at home they made frequent incursions on the territories of their neighbours; they did not, however, fight a battle which could decide the entire war.

2. The consul, Caius Flaminius, after several successful battles against the Frinian Ligurians in their own country, received the submission of that tribe, and ordered them to deliver up their arms; as they did not give them up honourably, and were reproved for their behaviour, who abandoned their villages, and fled to the mountain called Auginus, whither the consul immediately followed them. A part of the enemy again betook themselves to flight; and, running with precipitate haste, the greatest part without arms, over pathless tracts and rocky precipices, they escaped to places where an enemy could not follow them. Thus they

got away beyond the Apennine; the rest, who remained in the camp, were surrounded and reduced by assault. The legions were then led over the Apennine; then the enemy, assisted by the height of the mountain, which they had occupied at first, stood on their defence; but, in a little time, submitted. Their arms were then sought for with greater care, and all taken from them. The war was then transferred to the Apuan tribe of Ligurians, who had made so many incursions into the territory of Pisa and Bononia, that it could not be cultivated. These being entirely subdued, the consul restored peace to the neighbourhood. And, as he had effected the security of the province from the war, he made a road from Bononia to Anetium, that he might not keep the soldiers in a state of idleness. The other consul, Marcus Æmilius, ravaged with fire and sword the lands of the Ligurians, together with their villages that stood in the plains, while the inhabitants remained posted on two mountains, Ballista and Suismontium. He then attacked those who were on the mountains, harassed them for some time in skirmishes, and, at last, compelled them to come to an engagement, and utterly defeated them in a regular battle: in which he vowed a temple to Diana. Having now reduced all on this side of the Apennine, he marched against those on the other side of that mountain; among whom were the Brinian tribe, which had not been attacked by Flaminius: Æmilius subdued them all, stripped them of their arms, and obliged the multitude to come down from the mountains into the plains. The Ligurians being brought to a state of peace, he led his army into the Gallic territory, and drew a road from Placentia to Ariminum, to meet that made by Flaminius. During the last engagement, when he fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Imperial Juno. Such were the transactions of this year in Liguria.

3. In Gaul, the prætor, Marcus Furius, seeking a pretext for war in the midst of peace, deprived the unoffending Cænomanians of their arms. The Cænomanians complained of this to the senate at Rome, and were by them referred to the consul Æmilius, whom the senate authorized to examine into and determine the cause; after a warm contest with the prætor they gained their cause. The prætor was ordered to restore their arms to the Cænomanians, and quit the province.

The senate afterwards gave audience to envoys of the Latin confederation, who had come, in great numbers, from all parts of Latium. On their complaint that a great multitude of their citizens had been removed to Rome, and had been assessed there in the survey; a commission was given to Quintus Terentius Culleo, the prætor, to make inquiry after such persons; and on the allies proving that those persons themselves, or their fathers, had been assessed in the surveys of their states in the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius, or at some time subsequent to their censorship, he was ordered to compel all such to return to the several states wherein they had been so rated. In consequence of this inquiry, twelve thousand Latins returned home; as the multitude of foreigners even then burdened the city.

4. Before the consuls came home to Rome, Marcus Fulvius, the proconsul, returned from Ætolia. He, when he had as usual recited to the senate, in the temple of Apollo, the services which he had performed in Ætolia and Cephallenia, then requested of the fathers, that, in consideration of his having conducted the business of the public with good fortune and success, they would think proper to order public thanks to be offered to the immortal gods, and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Abutius, a tribune of the commons, gave notice, that, if any thing were determined on that subject before the arrival of Marcus Æmilius, he would enter his protest: for "the consul intended to oppose that measure; and, at his setting out for his province, had given him a charge to keep the discussion of it open until he should come home. That Fulvius would suffer a loss of nothing but time; for, notwithstanding the presence of the consul, the senate would determine according to their own wishes." Fulvius replied, that, "even if the quarrel subsisting between him and Marcus Æmilius was unknown to the world, or with what overbearing, and, in some measure, tyrannical rancour, that man prosecuted his enmity; yet it was insufferable, that the absence of the consul should both obstruct the worship of the immortal gods, and delay a triumph merited and due; that a commander, after performing signal services, and his victorious army with its booty and prisoners, should remain outside the gates, until a consul, who purposely delayed abroad, should be pleased to return to

Rome. But, in the present case, when the animosity between him and the consul was most notorious, what fair dealing could any one expect from a man who procured clandestinely, in a thin house, and lodged in the treasury, a decree of the senate, that "it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force:" a town which was attacked with mounds and engines; where, after the works were burned, others were constructed anew; where a fight was carried on around the walls for fifteen days, both above and under ground; where, from the first dawn, when the soldiers mounted the walls, a battle, for a long time doubtful, lasted until night; and where more than three thousand of the enemy were killed? Then, again, what a malicious misrepresentation did he make to the pontiffs, of the temples of the immortal gods being plundered in a captured city! If it were allowable that Rome should be decorated with the ornaments of Syracuse, and other conquered places, then the laws of war must lose their force in the case of Ambracia alone, among conquered towns. For his part, he besought the conscript fathers, and requested the tribunes, not to suffer him to become a subject of derision to a most haughty enemy."

5. All around were in his favour; and some entreated the tribune to desist, while others sharply reproved his conduct. The speech of his colleague, Tiberius Gracchus, moved him most, that, "for a man in office to prosecute even his own quarrels, was an example of no good tendency; but, that a tribune of the people should take upon himself to be a solicitor in the quarrel of another, was infamous, and highly unworthy of the power and sacred laws of the order to which he belonged. That men ought to love or hate others, approve or disapprove of measures, according to the dictates of their own judgment; but that a tribune ought not to depend on the look or nod of another man, veer about at the movements of another's will, and make himself a tool to his displeasure; nor remember a private charge, committed to him by Marcus Æmilius, and forget that the tribuneship was a public charge, intrusted to him by the Roman people, for the protection and liberty of private citizens, not to aggrandize the arbitrary power of a consul. His colleague did not seem to consider that this circumstance would be committed to record and posterity: that, of two plebeian tribunes of the same college, one sacri-

ficed his own resentment to the public good, the other prosecuted the resentment of another man which was merely intrusted to him." When the tribune, overcome by these severe rebukes, had withdrawn from the meeting, a triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius, on the motion of Servius Sulpicius, the prætor. When he returned thanks to the conscript fathers, he then mentioned, that, "on the day of his taking Ambracia, he had vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter the supremely good and great; that a contribution for that purpose had been made to him by the several states, amounting to one hundred and ten pounds' weight of gold; and he requested them to order that sum to be set apart, out of the money which he was to deposit in the treasury, after being borne in triumph." The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted, whether it were necessary that the whole of that sum should be expended on the games: when the pontiffs had answered, that it mattered little to religion what was the expense of the games, the senate gave permission to Fulvius to expend as much as he thought proper, provided he did not exceed eighty thousand sesterces.[1] He, at first, intended to celebrate his triumph in the month of January; but, hearing that the consul Æmilius, in consequence of a letter from the tribune Abutius, concerning his waving his protest, was coming in person to Rome, to hinder his triumph, but had been obliged by sickness to halt on the road, he hastened the time of the celebration, lest he should have more contests about it than he had met in the war. He triumphed over the Ætolians and Cephallenia on the tenth day before the calends of January. There were carried before his chariot, golden crowns to the amount of one hundred and twelve pounds' weight; of silver, eighty-three thousand pounds; of gold, two hundred and forty-three thousand; of Attic tetradrachms, one hundred and eighteen thousand;[2] of the coin called Philippeans, twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two;[3] brazen statues, two hundred and eighty-five; marble statues, two hundred and thirty; arms, weapons, and other spoils in great quantities: besides these, catapultas, ballistas, and engines of every kind; and in the procession were led twenty-seven commanders, either Ætolian and Ce-

[1] 645*l.* 17*s.* 2*d* [2] 15,241*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* [3] 801*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*

phallenian, or belonging to king Antiochus, and left with them. Before he rode into the city, in the Flaminian circus, he presented great numbers of tribunes, præfects, horsemen, centurions, both Romans and allies, with military gifts; to each of the soldiers he distributed out of the booty twenty-five denariuses,[1] double to a centurion, triple to a horseman.

6. The time of the election of consuls now approached; and as Marcus Æmilius, to whose lot that business had fallen, could not attend, Caius Flaminius came home to Rome. Spurius Posthumius Albinus and Quintus Marcus Philippus were elected consuls by him. Then were chosen as prætors,—Titus Mænius, Publius Cornelius Sulla, Caius Calpurnius Piso, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, Caius Aurelius Scaurus, and Lucius Quintius Crispinus. At the close of the year, after the magistrates were appointed, on the third day before the nones of March, Cneius Manlius Vulso triumphed over the Gauls inhabiting Asia. The reason of his deferring his triumph so long was, to avoid standing a trial under the Petillian law, during the prætorship of Quintus Terentius Culleo; and the being involved in the ill consequences of the sentence passed on another, that by which Lucius Scipio was condemned; especially as the judges would be more disposed to severity against him than against Scipio, for this reason, because fame had reported, that he, Scipio's successor, had, by tolerating every description of licentiousness, ruined military discipline, so strictly preserved by his predecessor. Nor were the facts, which were reported to have happened in the province far from the eyes of spectators, the only things that disgraced his character; but still more so, those circumstances which were every day beheld in his soldiers; for by this army returning from Asia was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings and other works of the loom; and, what were then deemed magnificent furniture, single-footed tables and buffets. At entertainments, likewise, were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meats also began to be prepared with greater care and cost; while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves both in estimation and use, became highly valuable, and what

[1] 16*s.* 1½*d.*

was considered as a servile office began to be considered an art. Nevertheless, those introductions which were then looked on as remarkable were scarcely even the seeds of the future luxury.

7. Cneius Manlius carried in the triumph two hundred golden crowns of twelve pounds' weight; two hundred and twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver; two thousand two hundred and three of gold; one hundred and twenty-seven thousand Attic tetradrachms;[1] two hundred and fifty thousand cistophoruses;[2] sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty golden Philippeans;[3] together with abundance of Gallic arms and spoils in chariots. Fifty-two generals of the enemy were led before his car. He distributed to each of his soldiers forty-two denariuses,[4] and double that sum to a centurion; to the foot-soldiers double pay, to the horsemen triple. Great numbers of all ranks, whom he had distinguished by gifts, accompanied him. The verses thrown out by the soldiers were of such a kind, that it was quite evident that they were sung to a commander who had been indulgent to them, and courted their affections. It was indeed evident that the triumph was celebrated with a greater degree of favour by the troops, than by the citizens. The friends of Manlius, however, were able to acquire for him the regard of the people also; through whose efforts a decree of the senate was passed, ordering, that "such part of the soldiers' pay, contributed to the public funds by the people, as was not yet repaid, should be discharged out of that which had been carried in the procession to the treasury." Accordingly the city prætors, with care and fidelity, paid twenty-five denariuses and a half[5] instead of each thousand asses.[6] About this time two military tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from Caius Atinius and Lucius Manlius, who governed those provinces. From these letters it appeared, that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in arms, and ravaging the territories of the allies; the senate, however, deferred all consideration of that business until the new magistrates should come into office. This year, during the celebration of the Roman games which Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus exhibited, a pole in the circus, being loosely set in the ground, fell on the statue of Pollentia, and

[1] 16,404*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* [2] 4309*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* [3] 1054*l.* [4] 1*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*
[5] 6*s.* 5*d.* [6] 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*

threw it down. The senate moved by such a religious circumstance, voted that one day should be added to the celebration of the games, that two statues should be set up instead of the one, and that one of them, a new statue, should be gilded. The plebeian games were likewise repeated for one day, by the ædiles Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Marcus Furius Luscus.

8. The following year diverted Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, from the care of armies, and wars, and provinces, to the punishing of an intestine conspiracy. The prætors cast lots for their provinces, Titus Mænius obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Licinius Lucullus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Aurelius Scaurus, Sardinia; Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sicily; Lucius Quintius Crispinus, Hither Spain; Caius Calpurnius Piso, Farther Spain. The making inquisition concerning clandestine meetings was decreed to both the consuls. A Greek of mean condition came, first, into Etruria, not with one of the many trades which his nation, of all others the most skilful in the cultivation of the mind and body, has introduced among us, but a low operator in sacrifices, and a soothsayer; nor was he one who, by open religious rites, and by publicly professing his calling and teaching, imbued the minds of his followers with terror, but a priest of secret and nocturnal rites. These mysterious rites were, at first, imparted to a few, but afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women. To their religious performances were added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to allure a greater number of proselytes. When wine, lascivious discourse, night, and the intercourse of the sexes had extinguished every sentiment of modesty, then debaucheries of every kind began to be practised, as every person found at hand that sort of enjoyment to which he was disposed by the passion predominant in his nature. Nor were they confined to one species of vice—the promiscuous intercourse of free-born men and women; but from this store-house of villany proceeded false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries. From the same place, too, proceeded poison and secret murders, so that in some cases, even the bodies could not be found for burial. Many of their audacious deeds were brought about by treachery, but most of them by force; it served to conceal the violence, that on account of the loud shouting, and the noise

of drums and cymbals, none of the cries uttered by the persons suffering violation or murder could be heard abroad.

9. The infection of this mischief, like that from the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome; where, the size of the city affording greater room for such evils, and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first; but information of it was at length brought to the consul, Postumius, principally in the following manner. Publius Ælbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left an orphan, and his guardians dying, he was educated under the eye of his mother Duronia, and his stepfather Titus Sempronius Rutilus. Duronia was entirely devoted to her husband; and Sempronius, having managed the guardianship in such a manner that he could not give an account of the property, wished that his ward should be either made away with, or bound to compliance with his will by some strong tie. The Bacchanalian rites were the only way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him, that, "during his sickness, she had made a vow for him, that if he should recover, she would initiate him among the Bacchanalians; that being, through the kindness of the gods, bound by this vow, she wished now to fulfil it; that it was necessary he should preserve chastity for ten days, and on the tenth, after he should have supped and washed himself, she would conduct him into the place of worship." There was a freedwoman called Hispala Fecenia, a noted courtesan, but deserving of a better lot than the mode of life to which she had been accustomed when very young, and a slave, and by which she had maintained herself since her manumission. As they lived in the same neighbourhood, an intimacy subsisted between her and Ælbutius, which was far from being injurious either to the young man's character or property; for he had been loved and wooed by her unsolicited; and as his friends supplied his wants illiberally, he was supported by the generosity of this woman; nay, to such a length did she go under the influence of her affection, that, on the death of her patron, because she was under the protection of no one, having petitioned the tribunes and prætors for a guardian, when she was making her will, she constituted Ælbutius her sole heir.

10. As such pledges of mutual love subsisted, and as neither kept any thing secret from the other, the young man,

jokingly, bid her not be surprised if he separated himself from her for a few nights; as, "on account of a religious duty, to discharge a vow made for his health, he intended to be initiated among the Bacchanalians." On hearing this, the woman, greatly alarmed, cried out, "May the gods will more favourably!" affirming that "it would be better, both for him and her, to lose their lives than that he should do such a thing:" she then imprecated curses, vengeance, and destruction, on the head of those who advised him to such a step. The young man, surprised both at her expressions and at the violence of her alarm, bid her refrain from curses, for "it was his mother who ordered him to do so, with the approbation of his stepfather." "Then," said she, "your stepfather (for perhaps it is not allowable to censure your mother) is in haste to destroy, by that act, your chastity, your character, your hopes, and your life." To him, now surprised by such language, and inquiring what was the matter, she said, (after imploring the favour and pardon of the gods and goddesses, if, compelled by her regard for him, she disclosed what ought not to be revealed,) that "when in service, she had gone into that place of worship, as an attendant on her mistress; but that, since she had obtained her liberty, she had never once gone near it: that she knew it to be the receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries; that it was well known that, for two years past, no one older than twenty had been initiated there. When any person was introduced he was delivered as a victim to the priests, who led him away to a place resounding with shouts, the sound of music, and the beating of cymbals and drums, lest his cries, while suffering violation, should be heard abroad." She then entreated and besought him to put an end to that matter in some way or other; and not to plunge himself into a situation, where he must first suffer, and afterwards commit, every thing that was abominable. Nor did she quit him until the young man gave her his promise to keep himself clear of those rites.

11. When he came home, and his mother made mention of such things pertaining to the ceremony as were to be performed on that day, and on the several following days, he told her that he would not perform any of them, nor did he intend to be initiated. His stepfather was present at this discourse. Immediately the woman observed, that "he could not deprive himself of the company of Hispala for ten nights; that he

was so fascinated by the caresses and baneful influence of that serpent, that he retained no respect for his mother or stepfather, or even the gods themselves." His mother on one side and his stepfather on the other loading him with reproaches, drove him out of the house, assisted by four slaves. The youth on this repaired to his aunt Ebutia, told her the reason of his being turned out by his mother, and the next day, by her advice, gave information of the affair to the consul Postumius, without any witnesses of the interview. The consul dismissed him, with an order to come again on the third day following. In the mean time, he inquired of his mother-in-law Sulpicia, a woman of respectable character, "whether she knew an old matron called Ebutia, who lived on the Aventine hill?" When she had answered that "she knew her well, and that Ebutia was a woman of virtue, and of the ancient purity of morals; he said that he required a conference with her, and that a messenger should be sent for her to come. Ebutia, on receiving the message, came to Sulpicia's house, and the consul, soon after, coming in, as if by accident, introduced a conversation about Ebutius, her brother's son. The tears of the woman burst forth, and she began to lament the unhappy lot of the youth: "who, after being robbed of his property by persons whom it least of all became, was then residing with her, being driven out of doors by his mother, because, being a good youth, (may the gods be propitious to him,) he refused to be initiated in ceremonies devoted to lewdness, as report goes.

12. The consul, thinking that he had made sufficient inquiries concerning Ebutius, and that his testimony was unquestionable, having dismissed Ebutia, requested his mother-in-law to send again to the Aventine, and bring from that quarter Hispala, a freedwoman, not unknown in that neighbourhood; for there were some queries which he wished to make of her. Hispala being alarmed because she was sent for by a woman of such high rank and respectable character, and being ignorant of the cause, after that she saw the lictors in the porch, the multitude attending on the consul and the consul himself, was very near fainting. The consul led her into a retired part of the house, and, in the presence of his mother-in-law, told her, that "she need not be uneasy, if she could resolve to speak the truth. She might receive a pro-

mise of protection either from Sulpicia, a matron of such dignified character, or from himself. That she ought to tell him, what was accustomed to be done at the Bacchanalia, in the nocturnal orgies in the grove of Stimula. When the woman heard this, such terror and trembling of all her limbs seized her, that for a long time she was unable to speak; but recovering, at length she said, that "when she was very young, and a slave, she had been initiated, together with her mistress; but for several years past, since she had obtained her liberty, she knew nothing of what was done there." The consul commended her so far, as not having denied that she was initiated, but charged her to explain all the rest with the same sincerity; and told her, affirming that she knew nothing further, that "there would not be the same tenderness or pardon extended to her, if she should be convicted by another person, and one who had made a voluntary confession; that there was such a person, who had heard the whole from her, and had given him a full account of it." 13. The woman, now thinking without a doubt that it must certainly be Æbutius who had discovered the secret, threw herself at Sulpicia's feet, and at first began to beseech her, "not to let the private conversation of a freedwoman with her lover be turned not only into a serious business, but even capital charge;" declaring that "she had spoken of such things merely to frighten him, and not because she knew any thing of the kind." On this Postumius, growing angry, said, "she seemed to imagine that then too she was wrangling with her gallant Æbutius, and not that she was speaking in the house of a most respectable matron, and to a consul." Sulpicia raised her, terrified, from the ground, and while she encouraged her to speak out, at the same time pacified her son-in-law's anger. At length she took courage, and, having censured severely the perfidy of Æbutius, because he had made such a return for the extraordinary kindness shown to him in that very instance, she declared that "she stood in great dread of the gods, whose secret mysteries she was to divulge; and in much greater dread of the men implicated, who would tear her asunder with their hands if she became an informer. Therefore, she entreated this favour of Sulpicia, and likewise of the consul, that they would send her away to some place out of Italy, where she might pass the remainder of her life in safety." The consul desired her to

be of good spirits, and said that it should be his care that she might live securely in Rome.

Hispala then gave a full account of the origin of the mysteries. "At first," she said, "those rites were performed by women. No man used to be admitted. They had three stated days in the year on which persons were initiated among the Bacchanalians, in the day-time. The matrons used to be appointed priestesses, in rotation. Paculla Minia, a Campanian, when priestesss, made an alteration in every particular; as if by the direction of the gods. For she first introduced men, who were her own sons, Minucius and Herrenius, both surnamed Cerrinius; changed the time of celebration, from day to night; and, instead of three days in the year, appointed five days of initiation, in each month. From the time that the rites were thus made common, and men were intermixed with women, and the licentious freedom of the night was added, there was nothing wicked, nothing flagitious, that had not been practised among them. There were more frequent pollution of men, with each other, than with women. If any were less patient in submitting to dishonour, or more averse to the commission of vice, they were sacrificed as victims. To think nothing unlawful, was the grand maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions, with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, in the habit of Bacchantes, with their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches, ran down to the Tiber; where, dipping their torches in the water, they drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, being composed of native sulphur and charcoal. They said that those men were carried off by the gods, whom the machines laid hold of and dragged from their view into secret caves. These were such as refused to take the oath of the society, or to associate in their crimes, or to submit to defilement. Their number was exceedingly great now, almost a second state in themselves, and among them were many men and women of noble families. During the last two years it had been a rule, that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated; for they sought for people of such age as made them more liable to suffer deception and personal abuse." 14. When she had completed her information, she again fell at the consul's knees, and repeated the same entreaties, that he might send

her out of the country. The consul requests his mother-in-law to clear some part of the house, into which Hispala might remove; accordingly, an apartment was assigned her in the upper part of it, of which the stairs, opening into the street, were stopped up, and the entrance made from the inner court. Thither all Fecenia's effects were immediately removed, and her domestics sent for. Æbutius, also, was ordered to remove to the house of one of the consul's clients.

When both the informers were by these means in his power, Postumius represented the affair to the senate, laying before them the whole circumstance, in due order; the information given to him at first, and the discoveries gained by his inquiries afterwards. Great consternation seized on the senators; not only on the public account, lest such conspiracies and nightly meetings might be productive of secret treachery and mischief, but, likewise, on account of their own particular families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. The senate voted, however, that thanks should be given to the consul because he had investigated the matter with singular diligence, and without exciting any alarm. They then commit to the consuls the holding an inquiry, out of the common course, concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies. They order them to take care that the informers, Æbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account; and to invite other informers in the matter, by offering rewards. They ordered that the officials in those rites, whether men or women, should be sought for, not only at Rome, but also throughout all the market towns and places of assembly, and be delivered over to the power of the consuls; and also that proclamation should be made in the city of Rome, and published through all Italy, that "no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites, or to perform any such kind of worship;" and above all, that search should be made for those who had assembled or conspired for personal abuse, or for any other flagitious practices. The senate passed these decrees. The consuls directed the curule ædiles to make strict inquiry after all the priests of those mysteries, and to keep such as they could apprehend in custody until their trial; they at the same time charged the plebeian ædiles to take care that no religious ceremonies

should be performed in private. To the capital triumvirs the task was assigned to post watches in proper places of the city, and to use vigilance in preventing any meetings by night. In order likewise to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on this side the Tiber.

15. After despatching these officers to their several employments, the consuls mounted the rostrum; and, having summoned an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, when he had finished the solemn form of prayer which the magistrates are accustomed to pronounce before they address the people, proceeded thus: "Romans, to no former assembly was this solemn supplication to the gods more suitable or even more necessary: as it serves to remind you, that these are the deities whom your forefathers pointed out as the objects of your worship, veneration, and prayers: and not those which infatuated men's minds with corrupt and foreign modes of religion, and drove them, as if goaded by the furies, to every lust and every vice. I am at a loss to know what I should conceal, or how far I ought to speak out; for I dread lest, if I leave you ignorant of any particular, I should give room for carelessness, or if I disclose the whole, that I should too much awaken your fears. Whatever I shall say, be assured that it is less than the magnitude and atrociousness of the affair would justify: exertions will be used by us that it may be sufficient to set us properly on our guard. That the Bacchanalian rites have subsisted for some time past in every country in Italy, and are at present performed in many parts of this city also, I am sure you must have been informed, not only by report, but by the nightly noises and horrid yells that resound through the whole city; but still you are ignorant of the nature of that business. Part of you think it is some kind of worship of the gods; others, some excusable sport and amusement, and that, whatever it may be, it concerns but a few. As regards the number, if I tell you that they are many thousands, that you would be immediately terrified to excess is a necessary consequence; unless I further acquaint you who and what sort of persons they are. First, then, a great part of them are women, and this was the source of the evil; the rest are males, but nearly resembling women; actors and

pathics in the vilest lewdness; night revellers, driven frantic by wine, noise of instruments, and clamours. The conspiracy, as yet, has no strength; but it has abundant means of acquiring strength, for they are becoming more numerous every day. Your ancestors would not allow that you should ever assemble casually, without some good reason; that is, either when the standard was erected on the Janiculum, and the army led out on occasion of elections; or when the tribunes proclaimed a meeting of the commons, or some of the magistrates summoned you to it. And they judged it necessary, that wherever a multitude was, there should be a lawful governor of that multitude present. Of what kind do you suppose are the meetings of these people? In the first place, held in the night, and in the next, composed promiscuously of men and women. If you knew at what ages the males are initiated, you would feel not only pity but also shame for them. Romans, can you think youths initiated, under such oaths as theirs, are fit to be made soldiers? That arms should be intrusted with wretches brought out of that temple of obscenity? Shall these, contaminated with their own foul debaucheries and those of others, be champions for the chastity of your wives and children?

16. "But the mischief were less, if they were only effeminated by their practices; of that the disgrace would chiefly affect themselves; if they refrained their hands from outrage, and their thoughts from fraud. But never was there in the state an evil of so great magnitude, or one that extended to so many persons or so many acts of wickedness. Whatever deeds of villany have, during late years, been committed through lust; whatever, through fraud; whatever, through violence; they have all, be assured, proceeded from that association alone. They have not yet perpetrated all the crimes for which they combined. The impious assembly at present confines itself to outrages on private citizens; because it has not yet acquired force sufficient to crush the commonwealth: but the evil increases and spreads daily; it is already too great for the private ranks of life to contain it, and aims its views at the body of the state. Unless you take timely precautions, Romans, their nightly assembly may become as large as this, held in open day, and legally summoned by a consul. Now they one by one dread you collected together

in the assembly; presently, when you shall have separated and retired to your several dwellings, in town and country, they will again come together, and will hold a consultation on the means of their own safety, and, at the same time, of your destruction. Thus united, they will cause terror to every one of you. Each of you, therefore, ought to pray that his kindred may have behaved with wisdom and prudence; and if lust, if madness, has dragged any of them into that abyss, to consider such a person as the relation of those with whom he has conspired for every disgraceful and reckless act, and not as one of your own. I am not secure, lest some, even of yourselves, may have erred through mistake; for nothing is more deceptive in appearance than false religion. When the authority of the gods is held out as a pretext to cover vice, fear enters our minds, lest, in punishing the crimes of men, we may violate some divine right connected therewith. Numberless decisions of the pontiffs, decrees of the senate, and even answers of the aruspices, free you from religious scruples of this character. How often in the ages of our fathers was it given in charge to the magistrates, to prohibit the performance of any foreign religious rites; to banish strolling sacrificers and soothsayers from the forum, the circus, and the city; to search for, and burn, books of divination; and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice! For they, completely versed in every divine and human law, maintained, that nothing tended so strongly to the subversion of religion as sacrifice, when we offered it not after the institutions of our forefathers, but after foreign customs. Thus much I thought necessary to mention to you beforehand, that no vain scruple might disturb your minds when you should see us demolishing the places resorted to by the Bacchanalians, and dispersing their impious assemblies. We shall do all these things with the favour and approbation of the gods; who, because they were indignant that their divinity was dishonoured by those people's lusts and crimes, have drawn forth their proceedings from hidden darkness into the open light; and who have directed them to be exposed, not that they may escape with impunity, but in order that they may be punished and suppressed. The senate have committed to me and my colleague, an inquisition extraordinary concerning

that affair. What is requisite to be done by ourselves, in person, we will do with energy. The charge of posting watches through the city, during the night, we have committed to the inferior magistrates; and, for your parts, it is incumbent on you to execute vigorously whatever duties are assigned you, and in the several places where each will be placed, to perform whatever orders you shall receive, and to use your best endeavours that no danger or tumult may arise from the treachery of the party involved in the guilt."

17. They then ordered the decrees of the senate to be read, and published a reward for any discoverer who should bring any of the guilty before them, or give information against any of the absent, adding, that "if any person accused should fly, they would limit a certain day upon which, if he did not answer when summoned, he would be condemned in his absence; and if any one should be charged who was out of Italy, they would allow him a longer time, if he should wish to come and make his defence." They then issued an edict, that "no person whatever should presume to buy or sell any thing for the purpose of leaving the country; or to receive or conceal, or by any means aid the fugitives." On the assembly being dismissed, great terror spread throughout the city; nor was it confined merely within the walls, or to the Roman territory, for every where throughout the whole of Italy alarm began to be felt, when the letters from the guest-friends were received, concerning the decree of the senate, and what passed in the assembly, and the edict of the consuls. During the night, which succeeded the day in which the affair was made public, great numbers, attempting to fly, were seized, and brought back by the triumvirs, who had posted guards at all the gates; and informations were lodged against many, some of whom, both men and women, put themselves to death. Above seven thousand men and women are said to have taken the oath of the association. But it appeared that the heads of the conspiracy were the two Catinii, Marcus and Caius, Roman plebeians; Lucius Opiturnius, a Faliscian; and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian: that from these proceeded all their criminal practices, and that these were the chief priests and founders of the sect. Care was taken that they should be apprehended as soon as

possible. They were brought before the consuls, and, confessing their guilt, caused no delay to the ends of justice.

18. But so great were the numbers that fled from the city, that because the lawsuits and property of many persons were going to ruin, the prætors, Titus Mænius and Marcus Licinius, were obliged, under the direction of the senate, to adjourn their courts for thirty days, until the inquiries should be finished by the consuls. The same deserted state of the law-courts, since the persons, against whom charges were brought, did not appear to answer, nor could be found in Rome, necessitated the consuls to make a circuit of the country towns, and there to make their inquisitions and hold the trials. Those who, as it appeared, had been only initiated, and had made after the priest, and in the most solemn form, the prescribed imprecations, in which the accursed conspiracy for the perpetration of every crime and lust was contained, but who had not themselves committed, or compelled others to commit, any of those acts to which they were bound by the oath,—all such they left in prison. But those who had forcibly committed personal defilements or murders, or were stained with the guilt of false evidence, counterfeit seals, forged wills, or other frauds, all these they punished with death. A greater number were executed than thrown into prison; indeed, the multitude of men and women who suffered in both ways, was very considerable. The consuls delivered the women, who were condemned, to their relations, or to those under whose guardianship they were, that they might inflict the punishment in private; but if there did not appear any proper person of the kind to execute the sentence, the punishment was inflicted in public. A charge was then given to demolish all the places where the Bacchanalians had held their meetings; first, in Rome, and then throughout all Italy; excepting those wherein should be found some ancient altar, or consecrated statue. With regard to the future, the senate passed a decree, "that no Bacchanalian rites should be celebrated in Rome or in Italy:" and ordering that, "in case any person should believe some such kind of worship incumbent on him, and necessary; and that he could not, without offence to religion, and incurring guilt, omit it, he should represent this to the city prætor, and the prætor

should lay the business before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate, when not less than one hundred members were present, then he might perform those rites, provided that no more than five persons should be present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest."

19. Another decree connected with this was then made, on a motion of the consul, Quintus Marcius, that "the business respecting the persons who had served the consuls as informers should be proposed to the senate in its original form, when Spurius Postumius should have finished his inquiries, and returned to Rome." They voted that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent to Ardea, to be kept in custody there; and that a caution should be given to the magistrates of that city, to guard him with more than ordinary care, so as to prevent not only his escaping, but his having an opportunity of committing suicide. Spurius Postumius some time after came to Rome, and on his proposing the question, concerning the reward to be given to Publius Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia, because the Bacchanalian ceremonies were discovered by their exertions, the senate passed a vote, that "the city quæstors should give to each of them, out of the public treasury, one hundred thousand *asses*;[1] and that the consuls should desire the plebeian tribunes to propose to the commons as soon as convenient, that the campaigns of Publius Æbutius should be considered as served, that he should not become a soldier against his wishes, nor should any censor assign him a horse[2] at the public charge." They voted also, that "Hispala Fecenia should enjoy the privileges of alienating her property by gift or deed; of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, as if a husband had conferred them by will; that she should be at liberty to wed a man of honourable birth, and that there should be no disgrace or ignominy to him who should marry her; and that the consuls and prætors then in office, and their successors, should take care that no injury should be

[1] 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

[2] Those to whom the censor assigned a horse, were bound to serve. But as liberty was granted to Æbutius to serve or not, as he chose, it became necessary that the censor should be thus restrained, by a vote of the senate, from assigning him a horse; otherwise, if one had been assigned him, whether willing or not, he must have served.

offered to that woman, and that she might live in safety. That the senate wished, and thought proper, that all these things should be so ordered."—All these particulars were proposed to the commons, and executed, according to the vote of the senate; and full permission was given to the consuls to determine respecting the impunity and rewards of the other informers.

20. Quintus Marcius, having completed the inquiries in his district, prepared at length to proceed into the province of Liguria, for the service of which he received a supply of three thousand Roman foot and one hundred and fifty horse, with five thousand Latin foot and two hundred horse. The same province, and the same numbers of horse and foot, had been voted to his colleague, and they received the armies which, during the preceding year, the consuls, Caius Flaminius and Marcus Æmilius, had commanded. They were also ordered, by a decree of the senate, to raise two new legions, and they demanded from the allies and Latins twenty thousand foot and one thousand three hundred horse; besides, they levied three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. It was resolved that all this army, except the legions, should be led to reinforce the army in Spain. The consuls, therefore, while they themselves were engaged in the inquisitions, appointed Titus Mænius to hold the levy. When the trials were finished, Quintus Marcius first marched against the Apuan Ligurians. While he pursued these into very remote fastnesses, which had always served them as lurking-places and receptacles, he was surrounded in a disadvantageous position, a narrow defile which the enemy had previously seized. Here four thousand soldiers fell, and three standards of the second legion, with eleven ensigns of the Latin allies, were taken; abundance of arms were likewise lost, which were thrown away by the men in every direction, because they impeded their flight through the woody paths. The Ligurians ceased to pursue, sooner than the Romans to fly. As soon as the consul had effected his escape out of the enemy's territories, he disbanded the troops, in the country of their friends, in order that the greatness of the loss sustained might not appear. But he could not obliterate all memorial of his misconduct; for the pass, from which the Ligurians put him to flight, has been called the Marcian pass.

21. A little before this intelligence from the war in Liguria was made public, a letter from Spain was read to them, which brought joy mingled with grief. Caius Atinius, who, two years before, had gone to that province in quality of prætor, fought in the territory of Asta a pitched battle with the Lusitanians. About six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest routed, driven from the field, and their camp taken. He then led his legions to attack the town of Asta, which he took with little more trouble than he met at the camp; but, having been wounded whilst he was approaching the walls too incautiously, he died in a few days from the effects of the wound. When the letter was read, acquainting them with the proprætor's death, the senate voted, that a courier should be sent to overtake the prætor, Caius Calpurnius, at the port of Luna, and inform him, that the senate thought proper that he should hasten his journey lest the province should be without a governor. The person who was sent reached Luna on the fourth day, but Calpurnius had set out some days before. In Hither Spain, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had come into that province at the same time when Caius Atinius came into his, fought a battle with the Celtiberians. They quitted the field, the victory being undecided with the exception of this, that the Celtiberians removed their camp from that quarter on the following night: permission was thus afforded to the Romans to bury their dead, and collect the spoils. In a few days after, the Celtiberians, having gathered a large army, attacked the Romans, near the town of Calaguris. Nothing is recorded respecting the cause that rendered them weaker after their numbers were increased, but they were defeated in the battle; twelve thousand of their men were killed, more than two thousand taken, and the Roman army got possession of their camp, and had not a successor, by his arrival, checked the career of the conqueror, the Celtiberians would have been completely subdued. Both the new prætors drew off their armies into winter quarters.

22. During the time in which this intelligence was announced from Spain, the games called Taurilia[1] were celebrated, during two days, on a religious account. Then Marcus

[1] Games in honour of the infernal deities, instituted in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, on occasion of a malignant disorder that had attacked pregnant women. Black bulls were sacrificed, whence the name

Fulvius exhibited games, which he had vowed in the Ætolian war, and which lasted ten days. Many artists, out of respect to him, came from Greece on the occasion; and now, for the first time, the Romans had an opportunity of seeing contests of wrestlers; they were also presented with a hunt of lions and panthers; the games were celebrated with almost the variety and abundance of the present age. The nine days' solemnity succeeded, because showers of stones had fallen, for three days, in Picenum; and fires from heaven were said to have arisen in various places, and singed the clothes of many persons by slight flashes. By order of the pontiffs, a supplication, of one day's continuance, was added because the temple of Ops, in the Capitol, was struck by lightning. The consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and purified the city. At the same time, an account was brought from Umbria, of a hermaphrodite, twelve years old, being found there. The consuls wishing to get rid of the prodigy, as it was a fearful omen, ordered that it should be removed instantly out of the Roman territory, and put to death. During this year, a body of Transalpine Gauls came into Venetia, without committing depredation or hostility, and pitched on a spot for building a town, not far from that where Aquileia now stands. Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, and to them an answer was given that "they had not emigrated by the authority of their state, nor did their countrymen know what they were doing in Italy." About this time Lucius Scipio celebrated games, which he said he had vowed during the war with Antiochus; they lasted ten days, and the money was contributed for the purpose by the kings and states of Asia. Valerius Antias asserts, that, after his condemnation, and the sale of his effects, he was sent as ambassador into Asia, to adjust disputes between the kings Antiochus and Eumenes; that there the money was contributed for him, and actors collected through Asia: and that after his embassy, the subject of those games (of which he had made no mention after the war, in which he asserted that they had been vowed) was at length introduced in the senate-house.

23. As the year was now drawing to a conclusion, Quintus Marcius, then abroad, was soon to go out of office. Spurius Postumius, after having conducted the inquisitions with the utmost care and propriety, held the elections. Appius Clau-

dius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus were chosen consuls. Next day, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Afranius Stellio, Caius Atilius Serranus, Lucius Postumius Tempsanus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were elected prætors. Towards the close of the year, because the consul Spurius Postumius reported that in travelling along the coasts of Italy, for the purpose of holding the inquisitions, he had found two colonies deserted, Sipontum on the upper sea, and Buxentum on the lower; in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Tuccius, and Cneius Bebius Tamphilus, were appointed commissioners for conducting colonies thither, by Titus Mænius, city prætor. The war with king Perseus and the Macedonians, which was impending, has not derived its origin from what most persons imagine, nor from Perseus himself. The preliminary steps were taken by Philip, and, if he had lived some time longer, he would himself have carried on that war. When the conditions of peace were imposed on him, when he was vanquished, one particular chagrined him more than all the rest; this was because the liberty of wreaking his vengeance on such of the Macedonians as had revolted from him in the course of the war, was taken from him by the senate; although, because Quintius had left that point undetermined, when he was adjusting the articles of pacification, he had not despaired of the possibility of obtaining it. Afterwards, on the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the armies being separated at the time when the consul Acilius carried on the siege of Heraclea, and Philip besieged Lamia, because he was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, as soon as Heraclea was taken, and the town was surrendered to the Romans, he was grievously offended with this circumstance. The consul, indeed, in some measure, soothed his resentment; for, when he was hastening to Naupactum, where the Ætolians had re-assembled after their flight, he gave Philip permission to make war on Amynander and Athamania; and to annex to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thessalians. Without much difficulty, he expelled Amynander from Athamania, and got possession of several cities. He also reduced under his dominion the city of Demetrias, a place of great strength, and convenient in every respect; with the whole of the Magnesian state. Afterwards, finding that

several cities in Thrace, through an abuse of the liberty which they had lately acquired, and to which they had not been accustomed, were distracted by dissensions among their leading men, he, by uniting himself to the parties that were worsted in their disputes with their countrymen, made himself master of them all.

24. By these means the king's wrath against the Romans was appeased for the present; but he never abandoned the project of collecting such a force during peace, as would enable him to maintain a war, whenever the fortunate occasion should be offered. He augmented the revenues of his kingdom, not only out of the produce of the lands and the port duties, but also he worked the mines, both the old ones which had been neglected, and new ones which he opened in many places. Then, (in order to restore the former degree of population, which had been diminished by the calamities of war,) he not only caused an increase in the offspring of that generation, by compelling every one to marry and rear children, but he transplanted a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia, and, during a long suspension of arms, he employed the utmost assiduity in augmenting, by every possible means, the strength of his kingdom. Causes afterward occurred, which served to revive his animosity against the Romans. Complaints made by the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, of his holding possession of their towns, and, by ambassadors from king Eumenes, of his having forcibly seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of their people into Macedonia, had been received in such a manner as plainly evinced that they were not thought unworthy of attention. What made the greatest impression on the senate, was, their having been informed, that Philip aimed at the possession of Ænus and Maronea; as to the Thessalians, they regarded them less. Ambassadors came, likewise, from the Athamanians, complaining not of the loss of a part of their territory, nor of encroachment on their frontier,—but that all Athamania had been brought under the dominion and jurisdiction of the king. Exiles from Maronea also appeared, who had been expelled by the king's troops, for having supported the cause of liberty; who reported, that not only Maronea, but Ænus too, was held in subjection by him. Ambassadors came from Philip to defend his conduct, who asserted, that,

nothing had been done without permission from the Roman commanders. That "the states of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, and the nation of the Athamanians, with Amynander, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. That after the expulsion of king Antiochus, the consul, being himself busy in reducing the towns of Ætolia, had named Philip to subdue those states, and they remained subject to him in consequence of their being conquered by his arms." The senate, too, that they might not make any decision concerning the king in his absence, sent Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, and Tiberius Sempronius, ambassadors to adjust those disputes. Previous to their arrival, a convention of all those states who had disputes with the king, was summoned to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

25. When all were seated there, (the Roman ambassadors in the character of arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanians professedly as accusers, and Philip as defendant, to hear the accusations brought against him,) those who were the heads of the embassies, according to their several tempers, their favour, or their hatred towards the king, spoke, some with acrimony, others with mildness. Philippopolis, Trica, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and the other towns in their neighbourhood, became the subject of dispute. The point in controversy was, whether these towns were the property of the Thessalians, when they were forcibly taken from them, and held by the Ætolians, (for from these it was acknowledged that Philip had received them,) or whether they were originally belonging to the Ætolians: Ac having granted them to the king, on the condition that " had been the property of the Ætolians; and if they sided with the Ætolians of their own free will, and no pelled by violence and arms." The question in regard towns of the Perrhæbians and Magnesians turned same points; for the Ætolians, by holding posse them occasionally, had confused the rights of all. particulars, which were matter of discussion, the of the Thessalians were added, that "if these towns restored to them, they would come into their hand of desolation, and depopulated; for besides the loss ants through the casualties of war, Philip had

five hundred of their young men of the first rank into Macedonia, and abused their labour by employing them in servile offices; and had taken pains to render useless whatever he should be compelled to restore to the Thessalians. That Thebes in Phthiotis was the only sea-port they had, which formerly produced much profit and advantage to the inhabitants of Thessaly; but that Philip, having collected there a number of ships of burthen, made them steer their course past Thebes to Demetrias, and turned thither the whole commerce by sea. That he did not now scruple to offer violence, even to ambassadors, who, by the law of nations, are every where held inviolable, but had laid an ambush for theirs who were going to Titus Quintius, that the Thessalians were in consequence seized with such dread, that not one of them, even in their own states, or in the general assemblies of the nation, ventured to open his lips. For the Romans, the defenders of their liberty, were far distant; and a severe master close at their side, debarring them from using the kindness of the Romans. If speech were not free, what else could be said to be so: at present, through confidence in the protection of the ambassadors, they uttered their groans rather than words; but, unless the Romans would take some precautions that both the fears of the Greeks bordering on Macedonia and the arrogance of Philip should be abated, his having been conquered, and their being set at liberty, would prove utterly fruitless. Like a restive, unmanageable horse, he required to be checked with a strong bridle." These bitter expressions were used by the last speakers among them; those who spoke before having endeavoured by mildness to mitigate his resentment; requesting of him "that he should pardon persons pleading in defence of their liberty; that he should, laying aside the harshness of a master, generally display himself an ally and friend; that he should imitate the Roman people, who wished to unite their allies to them by the ties of affection, rather than of fear." When the Thessalians had finished, the Perrhæbians pleaded that Gonnocondylos, to which Philip had given the name of Olympias, belonged to Perrhæbia, and ought to be restored to them; and the same demand was made with respect to Malcea, and Ericinium. The Athamanians claimed a restoration of liberty, and the forts Athenæum and Pœtneus.

26. Philip began his discourse also with complaints, that he might maintain the appearance of an accuser rather than of a defendant. He complained that "the Thessalians had taken by force of arms, Menelais in Dolopia, a town belonging to his dominions; likewise, Petra in Pieria was taken by the same Thessalians and the Perrhæbians; that they had reduced under their government Xyniæ, which unquestionably belonged to Ætolia; and that Parachelois, which was under Athamania, was, without any just claim, subjected to the jurisdiction of the Thessalians. As to the charges brought against him, concerning an ambush laid for ambassadors, and of sea-ports being frequented or deserted, the one was quite ridiculous, (as if he were to account for what harbours merchants or sailors should frequent,) and the other the constant tenor of his conduct rejected with scorn. During a number of years, ambassadors had never ceased carrying complaints against him, sometimes to the Roman generals, at others to Rome to the senate. Which of them had ever been injured, even in words? They said, indeed, that an ambush was once laid for some who were going to Quintius, but they are silent in regard to consequences. Such were the accusations of men searching for false imputations, because they had no truth on their side." He said, that "the Thessalians, insolently and wantonly, abused the indulgence of the Roman people, too greedily drinking, as it were, strong draughts of liberty after a long thirst; and thus, in the manner of slaves lately set free, made trial of their voices and tongues, and prided themselves in invectives and railings against their masters." Then, hurried on by passion, he added, that "his sun had not set yet;" which expression, not only the Thessalians, but the Romans also, took as a menace to themselves; and when a murmur of displeasure followed his words, and was at length hushed, he replied to the ambassadors of the Perrhæbians and Athamanians, "that the cases of the cities of which they had spoken were the same. The consul Acilius and the Romans gave them to him, when they were the property of enemies. If the donors chose to resume what they had given, he knew he must submit, but in that case they would, for the gratification of inconstant and unprofitable allies, do injury to a more useful and more faithful friend. For no favour produced less permanent gratitude than the gift of liberty.

especially among people who were ready to corrupt it by using it badly." After examining the merits of the cause, the ambassadors pronounced their judgment, that "the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from the cities in question, and that the kingdom of Macedonia should be limited by its ancient boundaries. That with regard to the injuries which both parties complained of being done to them, it would be requisite to institute some compact for the attainment of justice, in order to decide the controversies between those states and the Macedonians."

27. The king being grievously offended, the ambassadors proceeded thence to Thessalonica, to give a hearing to the business concerning the cities of Thrace. Here the ambassadors of Eumenes said, that "if the Romans wished that Ænus and Maronea should be independent, the king felt ashamed to say more, than to recommend it to them to leave those people free in fact, and not in words; nor to suffer their kindness to be intercepted by another. But if they had not so much concern for the states situated in Thrace, it was much more reasonable that Eumenes should possess, as the rewards of war, the places which had been under the dominion of Antiochus, than Philip; and that, either on account of his father Attalus's deserts in the war, waged by the Roman people against Philip himself, or on account of his own, because he had shared all the toils and dangers on land and sea, during the war with Antiochus. Besides, he had the previous judgment of the ten ambassadors to that purpose; who, when they granted the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, surely yielded at the same time Ænus and Maronea; which, even from the proximity of situation, were but a sort of appendage to the larger gift. For, as to Philip, by what merits towards the Roman people, or what right of dominion, had he put garrisons into those places, which were at so great a distance from the borders of Macedonia? They then desired that the Romans would order the Maronites to be called, from whom they would receive more positive information of the condition of those cities." The Maronite ambassadors being called in, declared, that "not in one spot of the city, as in other garrisoned towns, but in every quarter of it, there was a party of the king's troops, and that Maronea was full of Macedonians; in consequence of which, the

favourites of the king domineered over the rest; they alone had liberty of speaking, either in the senate or assemblies of the people. All posts of eminence they assumed to themselves, or conferred on whom they thought proper. That the most deserving persons, who had a regard for liberty and for the laws, were either expelled their country, and in exile, or remained in silence, dishonoured and subjected to men of the worst description." They added also a few words respecting their right to the frontier places, affirming, that "Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he was in that country, had fixed as a boundary line to Philip, the old royal road leading to Parorea, in Thrace, which in no place leads towards the sea; and that Philip afterwards drew a new one in another direction, in order to include the cities and lands of the Maronites."

28. Philip, in his reply to these charges, took quite another course than when lately answering the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, and said:—"My dispute is not now with the Maronites, or with Eumenes, but with you yourselves, Romans, from whom I have long ago seen that I can obtain no justice. The cities of Macedonia, which had revolted from me during a suspension of arms, I thought should in justice be restored to me; not that they would have made any great accession to my dominions, because the towns are small in themselves, and besides, are situated on the extremities of the frontiers; but because the example was of great consequence towards retaining the rest of the Macedonians in their allegiance. This was refused me. In the Ætolian war, I was ordered by the consul, Manius Acilius, to lay siege to Lamia, and when I had there undergone a long course of fatigue in fighting and constructing works, and was on the point of mounting the walls, the consul recalled me from the city when almost in my possession, and compelled me to draw off my troops from it. As some consolation for this hard treatment, I received permission to seize on some forts, rather than cities, of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. These also you yourselves, Quintus Cæcilius, have taken from me a few days ago. The ambassadors of Eumenes, just now, took for granted, it seems, that Eumenes would with more justice than I possess whatever belonged to Antiochus. I judge the matter to be widely different. For Eumenes could not have remained on his throne, unless the Romans had engaged in the war, and not unless they had conquered. Therefore he has received a fa-

vour from you, not you from him; whereas, so far were any part of my dominions from being in danger, that, when Antiochus voluntarily offered to purchase my alliance, with three thousand talents and fifty decked ships, guaranteeing to me all the cities of Greece of which I had heretofore been in possession, I rejected that offer. I avowed myself his enemy, even before Manius Acilius brought over an army into Greece. In conjunction with that consul, I supported whatever share of the war he gave me in charge. To the succeeding consul, Lucius Scipio, when he proposed leading his army by land to the Hellespont, I not only gave a passage through my dominions, but also made roads for him, built bridges, supplied him with provisions, and escorted him, not only through Macedon, but likewise through Thrace; where, besides other business, I had to procure peace from the barbarians. In requital of this zeal, not to call it merit, towards you, whether would it be proper in you, Romans, to enlarge and increase my dominions by acts of generosity, or to ravish from me what I possessed, either in my own right or through your kindness. The cities of Macedon, which you acknowledge to have belonged to my kingdom, are not restored. Eumenes comes to plunder me as he would Antiochus, and, if you choose to believe him, covers his most shameless chicanery under the decree of the ten ambassadors, by which principally he can be refuted and convicted. For is it not expressly and plainly set down in that writing, that the Chersonese and Lysimachia are granted to Eumenes; and where are Ænus, Maronea, and the cities of Thrace annexed to it in writing? That which he did not dare even to ask from them, shall he obtain from you, as if under their grant? It is a matter of importance in what light you choose to consider me. If you are resolved to persecute me as an enemy and foe, proceed to act as you have begun: but, if you have any consideration for me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I must entreat you not to judge me deserving of such injurious treatment."

29. The king's discourse made a considerable impression on the ambassadors; they therefore left the matter in suspense, by this indecisive resolution, that "if the cities in question were granted to Eumenes by the decree of the ten ambassadors, they would make no alteration. If Philip subdued them in war, he should, by the laws of war, hold them as the prize of victory. If neither were the case, then their judg-

ment was, that the decision should be referred to the senate; and in order that all things might remain in their original state, the garrisons in those cities should be withdrawn." These causes, principally, alienated the regard of Philip from the Romans, so that the war naturally seems not set on foot by his son Perseus for any fresh causes, but rather for these causes, bequeathed by the father to the son. At Rome there was hitherto no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. Lucius Manlius, the proconsul, had by this time come home from Spain. On his demanding a triumph from the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona, the greatness of his exploits justified the demand, but precedent opposed it; for it was a rule, established by ancient practice, that no commander, who had not brought home his troops, should triumph, unless he had delivered up the province to his successor, in a state of thorough subjection and tranquillity. An honour of a middling grade was conferred on Manlius, namely, that he should enter the city in ovation. He carried in the procession fifty-two golden crowns, one hundred and twenty-two pounds' weight of gold, with sixteen thousand three hundred pounds of silver; and announced in the senate, that his quæstor, Quintus Fabius, was bringing ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and eighty of gold, and that he would carry it likewise to the treasury. During that year there was a formidable insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. Lucius Postumius, prætor, governed the province of Tarentum, and conducted with much severity inquiries into a conspiracy of peasants, who had infested the roads and public pastures with robberies. Of these, he passed sentence on no less than seven thousand; many of whom made their escape, and on many punishment was inflicted. The consuls, after being long detained in the city by the levies, set out at length for their provinces.

30. This year, Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Quintius, the two prætors in Spain, drew their troops out of winter quarters, at the commencement of spring, and making a junction of them in Bæturia, for they were resolved to proceed in the operations of the campaign with united zeal and harmony, advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy's camp lay. At a small distance from the towns of Hippo and Toletum, a fight began between the foraging parties, to whom when reinforcements came from both armies from the camps, the entire armies were

by degrees drawn out into the field. In this irregular kind of battle, the advantage of the ground and the manner of fighting were in favour of the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed, and driven into their camp; but the enemy did not pursue the dismayed Romans. The Roman prætors, lest their camp should be attacked next day, giving the signal in silence, led away their army in the dead of the following night. At the first dawn, the Spaniards came up to the rampart in battle array, and entered the camp which, beyond their expectation, was deserted, and made prey of whatever had in the hurry and confusion been first left behind; and then, returning to their own station, remained, for a few days, at rest within their camp. Of the Romans and allies, there were killed in the battle and the pursuit, five thousand men, out of whose spoils the enemy furnished themselves with arms. They then advanced to the river Tagus. All the intermediate time the Roman prætors employed in collecting aid from the allied Spanish states, and reviving the spirits of their men after the dismay occasioned by their defeat. When their strength appeared adequate, and the soldiers too called for their enemy, to blot out in vengeance their former disgrace, they pitched their camp at the distance of twelve miles from the river Tagus; but decamping thence at the third watch, and marching with their army in a square, reached the bank of the river at break of day. The enemy's camp was on a hill at the other side of the river. They immediately led their army across the river where it was fordable in two places, Calpurnius having the command of the right, Quintius of the left. The enemy continued motionless, since they were surprised at the sudden arrival of the Romans, and busy in consultations, when they might have excited confusion among the troops during their hurry in passing the river. In the mean time the Romans brought over all their baggage, and threw it together in a heap, and seeing the enemy, at length, begin to move, and having no time for fortifying a camp, they formed their line of battle. In the centre were placed the fifth legion, serving under Calpurnius, and the eighth, under Quintius, which composed the principal strength of their army. All the way to the enemy's camp they had an open plain, free from all danger of ambush.

3 When the Spaniards saw the two bodies of Romans, on

their side of the river, they rushed suddenly out of the camp, and advanced to battle at full speed, that they might fall upon them before they should unite and put themselves in order. The fight, in the beginning, was urged with great fury; the Spaniards being elated by their late success, and the Roman soldiery inflamed to rage, by a discomfiture to which they were unaccustomed. The centre, consisting of two legions of the greatest bravery, fought with the utmost vigour. The enemy, seeing that they could not be forced from their ground by any other means, resolved to make their attack in form of a wedge; and this body, becoming continually more numerous and more compact, pressed hard on them. When the prætor, Calpurnius, perceived that his line was distressed in this part, he hastily despatched two lieutenants-general, Titus Quintilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Thalna, to animate the courage of the two legions, who were ordered to say, that "all hopes of victory, and of retaining possession of Spain, depended entirely on them. If they should give ground, not a man in that whole army would ever see Italy, no, nor even the farther bank of the Tagus." He himself, at the head of the cavalry of the two legions, making a small circuit, charged the flank of the wedge, which was pressing upon his centre. Quintius, likewise, with his cavalry, charged the enemy on the other flank; but the horsemen of Calpurnius fought with far greater spirit, while the prætor himself exceeded all others. He was the first that struck down one of the enemy, and he pushed in among the troops in the centre, in such a manner that it was hard to distinguish to which side he belonged. Thus the horse were animated by the extraordinary valour of the prætor, and the infantry by that of the horse. Shame, because they saw the prætor in the midst of the enemy's weapons, inspired the foremost centurions. They all, therefore, earnestly pressed the standard-bearers, urging them to carry forward the ensigns, and the soldiers to follow with speed. All set up the shout anew, and made an attack as violent as if it were made from the higher ground. Like a flood, therefore, they broke and bore down the enemy in dismay, nor could they be resisted, pouring in one after another. The cavalry pursued the fugitives to their camp, and mixing with the crowd of the runaways, penetrated within the rampart. Here the fight was renewed by the troops left to guard

the camp, and the Roman horsemen were obliged to dismount. While they were engaged, the fifth legion came up, and afterwards the rest of the troops joined them with all the speed they could. The Spaniards were cut to pieces in all parts of the camp; not more than four thousand men made their escape. Of these about three thousand, who kept their arms, took possession of a mountain in the neighbourhood, and one thousand, who were in general but half armed, dispersed through the country. This army of the enemy had contained thirty-five thousand men, of whom that very small number survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies, a few more than six hundred fell; and of the provincial auxiliaries, about one hundred and fifty. The loss of five military tribunes, and a few Roman horsemen, served principally to give the victory the appearance of being a bloody one. The army lodged in the enemy's camp, as they had not had time to fortify one of their own. Next day the cavalry was praised by Calpurnius in an assembly, and presented with trappings; and he declared publicly, that through their bravery, principally, the enemy had been defeated, and their camp stormed and taken. Quinctius, the other prætor, presented his cavalry also with chains and clasps. A great many centurions also, of both the armies, received gratuities, especially those who were in the centre.

32. The consuls, as soon as they had finished the levies, and other business which required to be done at Rome, led the army into their province, Liguria. Sempronius marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians, and by ravaging their lands, and by burning their villages and forts, he opened that difficult country, as far as the river Macra and the harbour of Luna. The enemy took possession of a mountain which had been the ancient retreat of their forefathers; but the difficulty of access being overcome, they were dislodged by force. Appius Claudius, against the Ingaunian tribe, rivalled in several successful battles the good fortune and bravery of his colleague. He also stormed six of their towns, in which he made many thousand prisoners, beheading forty-three of the chief promoters of the war. The time of the elections now drew near; but Claudius came home to Rome sooner than Sempronius, to whom the business of presiding at the elections had been allotted, because his brother, Publius Claudius,

stood candidate for the consulship. His competitors, of patrician rank, were Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been candidates before, and now renewed their suit, for an honour which was the more justly due to them, owing to their repulses, as it had been refused before. Besides, as it was not lawful that more than one patrician should be appointed, there was a closer contest between the four candidates. The plebeian candidates likewise were men in high esteem. Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus; these two had been disappointed, but had cherished hopes of attaining the honour at some future time. Claudius was the only new candidate. Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Porcius Licinus were marked out by public opinion as the successful persons; but Claudius, the consul, unattended by his lictors, canvassed with his brother through all parts of the forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents and the greater part of the senate, who insisted that "he ought to remember that he was consul of the Roman people, rather than the brother of Publius Claudius. Why should he not rather sit on his tribunal, content himself with presiding, and remain a silent spectator of the business." Yet he could not be restrained from a display of his immoderate zeal. The election was, also, several times interrupted by contentions between the plebeian tribunes; some of whom struggled hard in opposition to the consul, and others in support of the cause which he favoured. At last, Appius conquered all opposition, so as to set aside Fabius, and bring in his brother. Thus was Publius Claudius Pulcher elected consul, beyond his own, and indeed the general expectation. Lucius Porcius Licinus carried his election also, because the contest among the plebeian candidates was conducted with a decent degree of warmth, and not with the violence of Claudius. Then was held the election of prætors. Caius Decimius Flavus, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus Nævius Matho, Caius Sempronius Blæsus, and Aulus Terentius Varro, were made prætors. Such were the occurrences at home and abroad of this year, during the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

33. In the beginning of the following year, Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius, the consuls, when Quintus Cæcilius,

Marcus Bæbius, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to adjust the matters in dispute between the kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the states of the Thessalians, had given an account of their embassy, introduced to the senate ambassadors from those kings and states. On this occasion, the same arguments were repeated by all parties, which had been urged before the ambassadors in Greece. The senate then decreed that a new embassy, the principal man of which was Appius Claudius, should be sent into Macedonia and Greece, to know whether the several states had been restored to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. Instructions were given to the same, that the garrisons should be withdrawn from Ænus and Maronea, and that all the sea-coast of Thrace should be made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians. They were ordered also to go to Peloponnesus, from which the former ambassadors had departed, leaving affairs in a more unsettled state than they would have been if they had not come thither. For besides other matters, they were even sent away without an answer by the Achæan council, nor was an audience of that body granted to them at their request. When Quintus Cæcilius made a heavy complaint on this subject, and at the same time the Lacedæmonians deplored the demolition of their walls, the carrying off their poor people into Achaia, the selling of them there, and the depriving them of the laws of Lycurgus, by which the nation had been supported unto that time, the Achaians laboured principally to excuse their having refused a meeting of the council by quoting a law which enacted, that a council should not be summoned, except on business of peace or war, or when ambassadors should come from the senate with letters or written instructions. That this kind of excuse should not be made in future, the senate observed to them, that they ought to take care that Roman ambassadors should at all times have an opportunity of applying to their council, in like manner as an audience of the senate was always given to them, at any time when they wished it.

34. After those embassies were dismissed, Philip, being informed that he must yield up the states, and evacuate the towns in question, was highly enraged against all, yet vented his fury on the Maronites in particular. He gave a charge to Onomastus, who had the command of the sea-coast, to put

to death the leaders of the opposite party. This man, through the agency of a person called Cassander, a partisan of the king's, who had resided a long time in Maronea, having introduced Thracians by night, put the inhabitants to the sword, as if the city had been taken by storm. When the Roman ambassadors complained of his acting with such cruelty towards the innocent Maronites, and with such presumption towards the Roman people, in killing, as enemies, those very persons to whom the senate had adjudged the restoration of liberty, he denied that "any of those matters concerned him, or any one belonging to him; that they had quarrelled among themselves, and fought, because some wished to bring over their state to his side, others to that of Eumenes. That they might easily ascertain this; and they had only to ask the Maronites themselves." For he was confident, that while they were all under the impression of terror, since the late massacre, not one of them would dare to utter a word against him. Appius said, that "a case so clear ought not to be examined into as if it were doubtful. But if he wished to remove the guilt from himself, let him send Onomastus and Cassander, the actors in that business, to Rome, that the senate might examine them." At first, these words so entirely disconcerted the king, that neither his colour nor his looks remained unchanged; then, after some time, having collected his thoughts, he replied, that "he would send Cassander, who had been in Maronea, if it was their desire: but as to Onomastus, how could that matter affect him, who, so far from being in Maronea, was not even near it?" He was more careful of Onomastus, as a more valued friend, yet he dreaded him much more lest he might make discoveries; because he had, in person, conversed with him on the subject, and he had made him an agent and accomplice in many similar acts. Cassander is supposed to have been taken off, that the truth might not be divulged, by poison administered by persons sent to escort him through Epirus to the sea-coast.

35. The ambassadors departed from the conference with Philip in such a manner that they made it manifest that none of these acts pleased them; and Philip, with a full resolution to have recourse again to arms. Because his strength was as yet insufficient for that purpose, he resolved, in order to pro-

cure delay, to send his younger son Demetrius to Rome, to clear him from the above-named charges; and at the same time to deprecate the wrath of the senate. Philip had strong expectations that the young man himself, because he had, while a hostage at Rome, exhibited proofs of a princely disposition, would have a good deal of influence now. Meanwhile, under the pretence of carrying succour to the Byzantians, but in reality with design to strike terror into the chieftains of the Thracians, he marched into their country, utterly defeated them in an engagement, in which he took their commander, Amadocus, prisoner, and then returned to Macedonia, having first despatched emissaries to induce the barbarians, living near the Danube, to make an irruption into Italy. The arrival of the Roman ambassadors, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, was expected in Peloponnesus; and in order that the Achæans might settle their plans of conduct towards them beforehand, their prætor, Lycortas, summoned a general council. Here the affair of the Lacedæmonians was taken into consideration. It was observed that "from enemies, they were turned accusers; and there was reason to fear lest they should prove more formidable, after having been conquered, than when at war: for in it the Achæans had the Romans as allies in their cause; now the same Romans were more favourable to the Lacedæmonians than to the Achæans. Even Areus and Alcibiades, both restored from exile through the kindness of the Achæans, had undertaken an embassy to Rome, in prejudice to a nation to which they were so much obliged; and had used language so severe, that they seemed to have been banished from their country, instead of being restored to it." A general clamour arose, requiring him to put the question on each of them by name; and as every thing was directed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to die. In a few days after this the Roman ambassadors arrived, and a council was summoned to meet them at Clitor, in Arcadia.

36. Before they transacted any business, alarm was excited in the Achæans, accompanied by the reflection, how unlikely the dispute was to receive impartial judgment, when they saw in company with the ambassadors Areus and Alcibiades, whom in their last council they had condemned to death; yet none of them dared to utter a word. Appius acquainted them

that the senate was much displeased at those matters, of which the Lacedæmonians made complaint before them; "first, the massacre that took place at Compasium of those who, in obedience to the summons of Philopœmen, came to stand a trial; then after such barbarity had been exercised towards men, that their cruelty might be felt in every part, the having demolished the wall of that famous city, having abrogated its laws of the greatest antiquity, and abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, so famed throughout the world." After Appius had spoken to this effect, Lycortas, both because he was prætor and because he was of the faction of Philopœmen, the adviser of all that was done at Lacedæmon, answered him thus: "Appius Claudius, our speech before you is attended with more difficulties than we had lately before the senate at Rome; for then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedæmonians, but now we stand accused by yourselves, before whom our cause is to be heard. But to this disadvantage of situation we submit with this hope, that you will hear us with the temper of a judge, laying aside the character of an advocate, in which you just now appeared. I at least, though the matters of which the Lacedæmonians complained formerly in this place, before Quintus Cæcilius, and afterwards at Rome, have been just recapitulated by you, yet shall consider myself as answering for them, not to you, but before you. You charge us with the murder of those men, who being called out by the prætor, Philopœmen, to trial, were put to death. This I think a charge of such a nature, that it ought not to be advanced against us, either by you, Romans, or by any in your presence. Why so? Because it was written in the treaty with you, that the Lacedæmonians should not intermeddle with the cities on the coast. At the time when they, taking up arms, seized by assault in the night those towns with which they had been forbidden to interfere; if Titus Quintius, if a Roman army had been in Peloponnesus, as formerly, the captured and oppressed inhabitants would surely have fled to them for relief. As you were at a great distance, to whom else would they fly but to us, your allies, whom they had seen at a former time bringing aid to Gythium; whom they had seen in conjunction with you, besieging Lacedæmon on their account? In your stead, therefore, we undertook a just and rightful war. And

when other men approve of this step, and even the Lacedæmonians cannot censure it; the gods themselves, also, by giving us the victory, have shown their approbation of it; how then can acts done under the laws of war come under civil disquisition? Of these acts, however, the greatest part nowise affect us. The summoning to trial men, who had excited the populace to arms, who had stormed and plundered the towns on the coast, who had murdered the principal inhabitants, was our act; but the putting them to death when they were coming into the camp was yours, Areus and Alcibiades, who now, since it is the will of the gods, [illegible] us, and not ours. The Lacedæmonian exiles (in the [illegible] of whom these two men then were) were then in our [illegible] and believing that they were the objects of attack [illegible] they had chosen the maritime towns for their residence [illegible] an assault on those by whose means they had been [illegible] and who they perceived with indignation would not [illegible] them even to grow old in exile with safety. Lacedæmonians [illegible] therefore, not Achæans, slew Lacedæmonians; nor [illegible] any consequence to dispute, whether they were slain justly or unjustly.

37. "But then, Achæans, the abolition of the laws and ancient discipline of Lycurgus, with the demolition of the walls, are unquestionably your acts: now how can both these charges be brought forward by the same persons, since the walls of Lacedæmon were built, not by Lycurgus, but a few years ago, for the purpose of subverting the discipline of Lycurgus? The tyrants erected them lately as a fortress and defence for themselves, not for the state; and if Lycurgus should rise this day from the dead, he would rejoice at their ruins, and would say that he now acknowledged his country, and ancient Sparta. You ought not to have waited for Philopœmen, or the Achæans; you should have removed and razed, with your own hands, every vestige of tyranny; for these were the foul scars of slavery. And as during almost eight hundred years, while ye were without walls, ye were free, and for some time even chiefs of Greece; so, after being bound with walls, as with fetters, you were slaves for one hundred years. As to what concerns the abrogating their laws, I conceive that the tyrants took away the ancient laws of Lacedæmon, and that we did not deprive them of their

own laws which they did not possess, but gave them ours; nor did we neglect the interests of their state, when we made it a member of our council, and incorporated it with ourselves, so that the whole Peloponnesus should form one body and one council. If we were living under laws different from what we imposed on them, in that case I think they might complain of being treated unfairly, and consequently be displeased. I know, Appius Claudius, that the kind of discourse which I have hitherto used is not proper either for allies, addressing their allies, or for an independent nation; but, in truth, for slaves pleading before their masters. For if the herald's proclamation, in which you ordered the Achæans, first of all the states of Greece, to be free, was any thing more than empty sound; if the treaty be valid, if the alliance and friendship be maintained on equal terms, why do not I inquire what you Romans did, on the taking of Capua, as well as you demand what we, the Achæans, did towards the Lacedæmonians, when we conquered them in war? Some persons were killed, suppose, by us. What! did not you behead the Campanian senators? We demolished their walls: you not only destroyed the walls, but you took the city and the lands. But you say, the treaty is on equal terms only in appearance, but, in reality, the Achæans possess a precarious state of freedom, while the Romans enjoy supreme power. I am sensible of it, Appius; and if I ought not, I do not remonstrate; but, I beseech you, let the difference between the Romans and Achæans be as great as it may, not to place people, who are foes to both, on an equal footing with us, your allies, or even on a better. For, as to setting them on an equality, that we ourselves have done, when we gave them our own laws, when we made them members of the Achæan council. Vanquished,—they are not content with what satisfies their conquerors; foes,—they demand more than allies enjoy. What we have ratified by our oaths, what we have consecrated as inviolable to eternal remembrance, by records engraved in stone, they want to abolish, and to load us with perjury. Romans, for you we have high respect; and, if such is your wish, dread also; but we more respect and dread the the immortal gods." He was heard with general approbation, and all declared that he had spoken as became the dignity of his office; so that it was easily seen, that the Romans could

not support their ascendency by acting gently. Appius then said, that "he earnestly recommended it to the Achæans to conciliate friendship, while it was in their power to act voluntarily; lest they might presently do so unwillingly and by compulsion." These words were heard by all with grief, but inspired them with fear of refusing compliance. They only requested the Romans "to make such alterations respecting the Lacedæmonians as they should judge proper, and not involve the Achæans in the guilt of annulling what they had sanctioned with their oaths." Nothing more was done, only the sentence lately passed on Areus and Alcibiades was reversed.

38. In the beginning of this year, when the business of assigning the provinces to the consuls and prætors was taken under consideration at Rome, Liguria was decreed to the consuls, because there was no war any where else. As to the prætors, Caius Decimius Flavus obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Publius Cornelius Cethegus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Sempronius Blæsus, Sicily; Quintus Nævius Matho, Sardinia; he had also the charge of making inquisition concerning poisons; Aulus Terentius Varro, Hither Spain; and Publius Sempronius Longus, Farther Spain. From the two latter provinces deputies arrived about this time,—Lucius Juvencius Thalna and Titus Quintilius Varus; who, having informed the senate how formidable the war was that was finished by them in Spain, requested that, in consideration of such happy success, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods, and permission granted to the prætors to bring home the armies. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for two days, and ordered that the question respecting the armies should lie over, and be proposed when they would be deliberating concerning the armies for the consuls and prætors. A few days after this, they voted to the consuls, for Liguria, two legions each, which Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius had commanded. With regard to the armies in Spain, there was a warm contention between the new prætors and the friends of the absent ones, Calpurnius and Quintius. On each side were plebeian tribunes, and, on each, a consul. The former threatened, if the senate voted for bringing home the armies, to protest against their decree; the latter, that, if such a protest were made,

they would not suffer any other business to proceed. At last, the interest of the absent prætors was overpowered, and a decree of the senate passed, that "the prætors should enlist four thousand Roman foot, and four hundred horse; with five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, of the Latin confederates; whom they should carry with them into Spain. That, when they should have divided these between the legions, they should discharge whatever number should then be in each legion, above five thousand foot and three hundred horse, dismissing those first who had served out their number of campaigns, afterwards the others according to their bravery displayed under Calpurnius and Quintius."

39. After this dispute was ended, another immediately arose, in consequence of the death of a prætor, Caius Decimius. There stood candidates for his place, Cneius Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been ædiles the year before; Caius Valerius, the flamen of Jupiter, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, though he did not appear in the white gown, because he was curule ædile elect, yet pressed his suit with more warmth than any of them. The contest lay between him and the priest of Jupiter. Fulvius at the beginning seemed to have an equal chance with the flamen, and afterwards surpassed him; on which, some of the plebeian tribunes insisted that no account should be taken of him, because one person could neither hold nor administer two offices, especially curule ones, at the same time; while others of them thought it proper that he ought to be exempted from the laws, in order that the people might have the power of electing prætor the person whom they wished. The consul, Lucius Porcius, was, from the beginning, inclined to refuse admitting him a candidate; and afterwards, wishing to have the countenance of the senate in so doing, he called the members together, and told them that "he desired their judgment in the case where a curule ædile elect, without any colour of law, and setting a precedent insufferable in a free state, stood candidate for the prætorship; for his part, unless they determined otherwise, he intended to hold the election according to law." The senate voted, that the consul, Lucius Porcius, should recommend to Quintus Fulvius, not to obstruct the elections for substituting a prætor in the room of Caius Decimius from proceeding according to law. When the consul, in pursuance of

this decree, applied to him on the subject, he answered, that "he would do nothing unworthy of himself," by which indeterminate answer he left room for people to interpret his intention agreeably to their wish, and that he meant to submit to the direction of the senate. But, in the assembly, he urged his pretensions with more eagerness than ever: alleging as a charge, that the kindness of the Roman people was being wrested from him, and an odium excited against him on account of his suing for a second post of honour; as if it were not manifest that, when elected prætor, he must instantly abdicate the ædileship. The consul, seeing the candidate's obstinacy increase, and the public favour incline to him more and more, dissolved the assembly, and summoned a meeting of the senate; where, in a full house, they passed a vote, that "inasmuch as the directions of the senate had produced no effect on Flaccus, the affair concerning him should be laid before the people." A general assembly being summoned, when the consul made a full representation of the matter, Fulvius, not even then swerving from his determination, returned thanks to the Roman people "for the great zeal which they had shown in their desire to make him prætor, as often as opportunity had been given them of declaring their sentiments;" and assured them that "it was his resolution not to disappoint such instances of the attachment of his countrymen." This determined declaration increased the ardour of people for his cause to such a degree, that he would undoubtedly have been chosen prætor, if the consul had admitted him to stand. The tribunes maintained a violent altercation, both with their colleagues and with the consul, until, at length, the senate passed a decree, that "whereas the obstinacy of Quintus Flaccus, and the ill-judged party zeal of many among the people, had prevented the assembly for filling the place of a prætor, from being held according to law. The senate therefore gave their judgment, that the present number of prætors was sufficient, that Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the city, and celebrate the games of Apollo."

40. No sooner was this election stopped by the prudence and firmness of the senate, than another ensued, in which the contest was still greater; since it was concerning a more important subject, and between competitors more numerous and more powerful. The censorship was the object of contention

of the following candidates, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Publius Scipio, Lucius Scipio, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, patricians; Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, plebeians. But Marcus Porcius far surpassed all of them, both plebeians and patricians of the highest ranks. So great powers of mind and energy of intellect were in this man, that, no matter how lowly the position in which he was born, he appeared capable of attaining to the highest rank. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him. He was equally skilled in affairs relating to town and country. Some have been advanced to the highest honours by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown; but this man's genius was so versatile, and so well adapted to all things, that in whatever way engaged, it might be said, that nature formed him for that alone. In war, he was most courageous, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles; and, when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise a most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if consulted on a point of law, he was the wisest counsellor; if a cause was to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. Nor was he one of those whose oratory was striking only during their own lives, without leaving after them any monument of it. On the contrary, his eloquence still lives, and will long live, consecrated to memory by writings of every kind. His orations are many, spoken for himself, for others, and against others; for he harassed his enemies, not only by supporting prosecutions against them, but by maintaining causes in opposition to them. Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment, and he never permitted them to lie dormant; nor was it easy to tell whether the nobility laboured harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper, no doubt, was austere, his language bitter and unboundedly free, but his mind was never conquered by his passions, his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches. In spare diet, in enduring toil and danger, his body and mind were like iron; so that even old age, which brings all things to dissolution, did not break his vigour. In his eighty-sixth year he stood a trial, pleaded his own cause.

and published his speech; and in his ninetieth year, he brought Servius Galba to trial, before the people.

41. On this occasion, when he was a candidate for censorship, as in all his previous career, the nobility endeavoured to crush him. All the candidates, likewise, except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, combined to disappoint him of the office, not merely with a view to their own success, in preference to him, or because they felt indignant at the idea of seeing a man of no family censor, but because from one who had received offence from most of them, and who wished to retaliate, they anticipated a severe censorship, that would endanger the reputations of many. For, even while soliciting, he uttered frequent menaces, and upbraided them with using their interest against him, because they dreaded an impartial and courageous execution of the duty of censor; at the same time, giving his interest to Lucius Valerius. He said, that "he was the only colleague, in conjunction with whom he could correct modern profligacy, and re-establish the ancient morals." People were so inflamed by such discourses, that, in spite of the opposition made by the nobility, they not only made Marcus Porcius censor, but gave him for his colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Immediately after the election of censors, the consuls and prætors went abroad to their provinces, except Quintus Nævius, who was detained from going to Sardinia, for no less than four months, by inquisitions concerning poisonings, a great part of which he held out of the city, in the corporate towns and villages; for that method was judged the more eligible. If we are to credit Valerius Antias, he condemned about two thousand men. Lucius Postumius, the prætor, to whose lot the province of Tarentum had fallen, punished numerous conspiracies of the peasants, and, with great care, finished the remainder of the inquiries concerning the Bacchanalians. Many of these, who had not appeared on being summoned, or had deserted their bail, were then lurking in that part of Italy; some of them he sentenced to punishment, and others he sent under a guard to the senate at Rome, where they were all committed to prison by Publius Cornelius.

42. In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians being weakened by the late war, matters remained quiet. In Hither Spain,

Aulus Terentius took the town of Corbia, in Suessetania, by engines and regular works, and sold the prisoners, after which the troops had rest in their winter quarters in that province also. The former prætors, Caius Calpurnius Piso and Lucius Quintius, came home to Rome; a triumph was voted to both by the senate with great unanimity. Caius Calpurnius triumphed first, over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three golden crowns, and twelve thousand pounds' weight of silver. In a few days after, Lucius Quintius Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians, bearing in his triumph the same quantity of gold and silver. The censors, Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, while anxious curiosity was blended with fear, made their survey of the senate; they expelled seven from the senate, one of them a man of consular rank, highly distinguished by nobility of birth and honourable employments,—Lucius Quintius Flaminius. It is mentioned, as a practice instituted in the memory of our forefathers, that the censors should annex marks of censure to the names of such as they degraded from the senate. There are severe speeches of Cato, against those whom he either expelled the senate, or degraded from the equestrian rank, but by far the most so is that against Lucius Quintius. Had he spoken, in the character of prosecutor, previous to the censure, and not in that of censor after it, not even his brother Titus, if he were his colleague, could have suffered Quintius to remain in the senate. Among other charges, he objected to him, that he had, by hopes of extraordinary presents, prevailed on Philip, a Carthaginian and a catamite, to accompany him into his province of Gaul; that this youth, in order to enhance the merit of his complaisance to the consul, used frequently, in wanton squabbling, to upbraid him for having quitted Rome just before the show of gladiators. It happened, that while they were at a feast and heated with wine, a message was brought into the place of entertainment, that a Boian, of high rank, had come as a deserter with his children, and wished to see the consul, that he might, in person, receive his assurance of protection. He was accordingly introduced into the tent, and began to address him through an interpreter: but while he was speaking, Quintius said to his catamite, "Since you left the show of gladiators, have you a mind to see this Gaul dying?" When he had assented, but

scarcely in earnest, the consul, drawing a sword that hung over his head, first struck the Gaul as he was speaking, and then, when he was running out, and imploring the protection of the Roman people, and of those present, ran him through the side.

43. Valerius Antias, as he was one who never read Cato's speech, and only gave credit to a tale published without authority, tells the story in another manner, but similar to this in lust and cruelty. He writes, that, at Placentia, the consul invited to an entertainment a woman of ill fame, with whom he was desperately enamoured. There, displaying his importance to this courtesan, he told her, among other matters, with what severity he had conducted the inquisitions, and how many he had then in prison under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then she, being next him on the couch, said, that having never seen an executioner perform his office, she was very desirous of seeing such a thing; on which, the indulgent lover ordered one of those wretches to be dragged to the spot, and there cut off his head. The deed of death, whether committed as the censor or as Valerius reports it, was barbarous and inhuman; that in the midst of feasting and cups, when it is customary to offer libations to the gods, and to pray for happiness, a human victim should be butchered, and the table stained with his blood, and this for the entertainment of an acknowledged wanton. In the latter part of Cato's speech, he proposes to Quintius, that if he denied this fact, and the others of which he accused him, he should give security to abide a legal trial; but if he confessed them, could he suppose, he asked him, that any one would be sorry for his disgrace; the disgrace of him who, in the midst of a feast, being intoxicated with wine and lust, had sported with the blood of a human being.

44. In the review of the knights, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus was degraded. In fixing the rates of taxation, also, the censor's conduct was harsh and severe to all ranks of men. People were ordered to give account upon oath, of women's dress, and ornaments, and carriages exceeding in value fifteen thousand asses;[1] and it was further ordered, that slaves, younger than twenty years, which, since the last survey, had been sold for ten thousand asses[2] or more, should be estimated at ten times their value

[1] 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* [2] 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

and that, on all these articles, a tax should be laid of three denariuses [1] for each thousand asses.[2] The censors took away water which belonged to the public running or carried into any private building or field; and they demolished within thirty days all buildings or sheds, in possession of private persons, that projected into public ground. They then engaged contractors for executing national works, with the money decreed for that purpose,—for paving cisterns with stone, for cleansing the sewers where it was requisite, and forming new ones on the Aventine, and in other quarters where hitherto there had been none. Then, dividing their tasks, Flaccus built a mole at Nepthunia, on the coast, and made a road through the Formian mountains. Cato purchased for the use of the people two halls, the Mænian and Titian, in the Lautumiæ, and four shops, and built there a court of justice, which was called the Porcian. They farmed out the several branches of the revenue at the highest prices, and bargained with the contractors for the performance of the public services on the lowest terms. When the senate, overcome by the prayers and lamentations of the publicans, ordered those bargains to be revoked, and new agreements to be made; the censors, by an edict, excluded from competition the persons who had eluded the former contracts, and farmed out all the same branches at prices very little reduced. This was a remarkable censorship, and the origin of many deadly feuds: it rendered Marcus Porcius, to whom all the harshness was attributed, uneasy during the remainder of his life. This year, two colonies were established, Potentia in Picenum, and Pisaurum in the Gallic territory. Six acres were given to each settler. The same commissioners had the ordering of both colonies, and the division of the lands, Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior. The consuls of that year performed nothing memorable at home or abroad.

45. They elected to serve as consuls for the ensuing year, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo. These, on the ides of March, the first day of their assuming the administration, proposed to the senate to determine their provinces, and those of the prætors. The prætors appointed were, Caius Valerius, flamen of Jupiter, who had been candi-

[1] 1*s.* 11½*d.* [2] 3*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.*

date the year before, Spurius Posthumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, and Cneius Sicinius. Liguria was ordered to be the province of the consuls, and the armies were assigned to them, which Publius Claudius and Marcus Porcius had commanded. The two Spains, without being put to the lot, were reserved for the prætors who held them the year before, and also their own armies. The prætors were ordered to regulate their casting lots, in such a manner, that the flamen of Jupiter should have one or other of the judicial employments at Rome. The foreign jurisdiction fell to his lot, that between citizens to Cornelius Sisenna. Sicily was assigned to Spurius Posthumius, Apulia to Lucius Pupius, Gaul to Lucius Julius, Sardinia to Cneius Sicinius. Lucius Julius was ordered to hasten to his province, because some transalpine Gauls, as was mentioned before, having made their way through the forests into Italy, by an unknown road, were building a town in the country which now forms the district of Aquileia. Orders were given to the prætor to prevent their doing so, as far as might lie in his power without appealing to arms; and, if it should be necessary to stop them by force, to give information to the consuls, one of whom was, in that case, directed to march his legions against those Gauls. Towards the close of the preceding year, an assembly had been held for the purpose of electing an augur, in the room of Cneius Cornelius deceased, when Spurius Posthumius Albinus was chosen.

46. In the beginning of this year, Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, died, in whose room was appointed Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, and Caius Servilius Geminus was raised to the place of chief pontiff. On occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius a largess of flesh was distributed to the people, and one hundred and twenty pair of gladiators fought. The funeral games lasted three days; and, after the games, a public feast was given. During the feast, and while the couches were spread over the forum, a storm came on with violent gusts of wind, and compelled most of the people to pitch tents in that place. The same, on the weather clearing up, in a short time after, were removed. It was rumoured about, that they had fulfilled a prophecy which soothsayers had pronounced, among the decrees of the fates, that, inevitably, tents would be pitched in the forum. As soon as

they were relieved from those religious fears, they were struck with new ones, by showers of blood falling for two days, in the area of Vulcan's temple, and a supplication was ordered by the decemvirs for the sake of expiating the prodigy. Before the consuls set out for their provinces, they introduced the embassies from the countries beyond the sea to an audience of the senate; and at no time was there in Rome such a number of people from those regions. For, as soon as a report spread through the nations which border on Macedon, that accusations and complaints against Philip were listened to by the Romans with some degree of attention, and that it had been of advantage to many to complain;—all these states and nations, and even individuals, on their own accounts, (for he was a troublesome neighbour to every one,) flocked to Rome, with hopes of obtaining either redress of their injuries, or, at least, the consolation of expressing their griefs. An embassy came also from king Eumenes, with his brother Athenæus, to complain of the garrisons not being withdrawn by Philip out of Thrace; and, likewise, of his sending succours into Bithynia, to Prusias, who was at war with Eumenes.

47. Demetrius, who was then very young, had to answer all these representations; and it was no easy matter to retain in memory, either all the charges which were brought against his father, or what was proper to be said in reply. For the charges were not only numerous, but most of them exceedingly frivolous; of disputes about boundaries, of men forced away and cattle driven off; of justice, either capriciously administered or refused; of property adjudged either by force or influence. When the senate perceived that Demetrius could not explain any of those matters distinctly, and that they could not gain satisfactory information from him, and when, at the same time, the youth, through inexperience and bashfulness, was much embarrassed, they ordered that he should be asked whether he had received from his father any written instructions on those points; and on his answering that he had, it appeared to them better and more proper to receive the answers of the king himself, on each particular head; so they immediately called for the scroll, but afterwards gave him leave to read it to them in person. Here were his apologies on each subject, compressed into a narrow compass; informing them that, in some cases, he had

acted in conformity to the determinations of the ambassadors; in others, that the fault of not conforming to them, lay not in him, but actually in the persons themselves who accused him. He had interspersed, also, complaints concerning the injustice of the decrees, and the partiality with which the discussion was carried on in presence of Cæcilius, and of the insults that were offered him, in a most unworthy and unmerited manner, by all. The senate inferred from these marks that his mind was irritated; nevertheless, on the young man apologizing for some things, and undertaking that others should be performed in the manner most agreeable to the senate, they ordered the answer to be given him, that "in no instance had his father acted with more propriety, or given more pleasure to the senate, than in his choosing, whatever the nature of those transactions might be, to send his excuses for them to the Romans, by his son Demetrius. That the senate could leave unnoticed, forget, and put up with, many past matters, and believe also that they might place confidence in Demetrius; for though they restored his person to his father, they still had his mind as a hostage, and were convinced that, as far as he could, without infringing on his duty to his father, he was a friend to the Roman people. That, to do him honour, they would send ambassadors into Macedon, in order that, if any thing which ought to have been done was left undone, it might then be effected, but still without requiring an atonement for former omissions. That they wished Philip also to be sensible, that it was owing to the kind offices of his son Demetrius, that the treaty between him and the Roman people remained inviolate."

48. These declarations, which were made with the intention of adding to the dignity of his character, proved to the young man the cause of immediate envy, and of not far distant ruin. The Lacedæmonians were next introduced, when many insignificant disputes were agitated. Those which might be deemed important were—whether the persons whom the Achæans had condemned, should be reinstated or not; whether they slew with justice or the reverse those whom they put to death; the question was debated also whether the Lacedæmonians should continue in the Achæans' council, or, as had formerly been the case, that single state in Peloponnesus should have separate independence. It was determined

that the condemned should be reinstated, and the sentences passed reversed; that Lacedæmon should continue in the Achæan council, and that this decree should be committed to writing, and signed by the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. Quintus Marcius was sent ambassador into Macedon, with orders, likewise, to take a view of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also disturbances still subsisted, in consequence of the old quarrels, and Messene had revolted [illegible]om the Achæan confederacy. But if I were to trace out the [illegible]and progress of this war, I should deviate from the re[illegible]n by which I determined not to treat of foreign events, [illegible] than they are connected with the affairs of Rome.

[illegible]. One event deserves to be mentioned: that, notwith[illegible]ding the Achæans had a superiority in the war, Philopœ[illegible]men, their prætor, was taken prisoner on his march to secure Corone, which the enemy meant to attack, being, with a small party of horse, surprised in a dangerous defile. It is said that he might have effected his own escape, by the aid of some Thracians and Cretans who were with him, but the shame of deserting his horsemen, the most distinguished youths in the nation, selected by himself a short time before, detained him there. Whilst he is procuring for these an opportunity of getting clear of the narrow defile, by closing the rear in person, and sustaining the assaults of the enemy, his horse fell. By the shock of his fall, and the weight of the horse, which fell upon him, he was very nearly killed on the spot; for he was now seventy years old, and his strength had been greatly [illegible]paired by a tedious illness, from which he was but just re[illegible]red. Lying thus on the ground, the enemy pouring on, [illegible]red him. Out of respect to his character, however, and [illegible]n regard to his merit, they raised him up, when they re[illegible]ognised him, with as much care as if he had been their own commander, and revived him, and carried him out of that remote valley into the road, and they scarcely believed their own senses, on account of the unexpected joy; however, some of them sent on messages to Messene, that the war was at an end, for they were bringing Philopœmen prisoner. At first it seemed so incredible, that the messenger was deemed either a liar or a madman. Afterwards, when numbers came, one after another, all asserting the same, credence was at length given to the matter; and, before they well knew whether he

was come near the city, all, freemen and slaves, with even women and children, poured out to enjoy the sight; insomuch that the multitude quite closed up the gate, whilst each person seemed unlikely to consider the thing as certain unless he should obtain certain belief by his own eye-sight. Those who conducted Philopœmen, with difficulty removing those in their way, were able to enter the gate, but the dense crowd completely blocked up the street; and, as the greatest part of these were excluded from the sight, they suddenly filled the theatre which was contiguous to the street, and all with voice insisted that he should be brought thither for the view. The magistrates and leading men, fearing that passion for so great a man, on seeing him, would cause disturbance; as many would be moved by respect for former dignity, when they compared it with his present condition, and many by the recollection of his transcendent merits, placed him where he could be seen at a distance. And quickly after hurried him away out of the sight of the people, who were told by the prætor, Dinocrates, that there were some subjects intimately connected with the decision of the war, on which the magistrates wished to interrogate him. Having carried him thence to the senate-house, and called the council together, they began a consultation on the measures to be pursued.

50. The evening came on while they were still at a loss, not only about other matters, but even about the place where he might be kept with proper security during the following night. They were quite confounded at the greatness of his former fortune and merit; and they neither dared to undertake the guarding of him at their houses, nor thought it to trust the custody of him to any individual. At last some persons reminded them of a public treasury under ground enclosed with hewn stone; into this place he was put down, in chains, and a huge stone, with which it is generally covered, was placed over it, with the help of a machine. After having thus determined to trust to the place, rather than to any man, for his safe keeping, they waited with impatience for the dawn. On the following day, the whole populace, mindful of his former services to the state, declared their opinion, that they ought to spare him, and to seek through his means some remedies for their present misfortunes. But the authors of the

revolt, in whose hands was the management of affairs, consulting in secret, unanimously resolved to put him to death; but whether they should do it speedily, or defer it, was for some time a matter of doubt. The party that were more eager for his immediate execution, at length prevailed, and a person was sent to him with poison. They relate, that on receiving the cup, he only asked if Lycortas, the other commander of the Achæans, and the horsemen had escaped; and being told that they were safe, he said, "It is well," and then intrepidly drinking the contents of the cup, expired shortly after. The actors of this piece of cruelty, however, did not long rejoice at his death; for Messene being conquered in war, delivered up the guilty individuals to the Achæans, when they positively demanded them. The bones of Philopœmen were restored, and his funeral was attended by the whole Achæan council, every human honour being heaped on him to such a degree, that they did not withhold divine ones. So much is conceded to this man by historians, both Greek and Latin, that several of them have recorded, as a circumstance remarkably distinguishing this year, that three illustrious commanders died in it, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Publius Scipio. To such an extent have they placed him on an equal footing with the most consummate generals of the two most powerful nations.

51. Titus Quintius Flamininus came ambassador to king Prusias, who had incurred the jealousy of the Romans, by entertaining Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus, and by making war on Eumenes. At the court of Prusias, either because, among other discourse, he reproached him with his giving protection to a person, who, of all men living, was the most inveterate enemy to the Roman nation, who had incited, first his own country, and afterwards, when its power was reduced, king Antiochus, to make war on Rome; or because Prusias himself, with the design of gratifying Flamininus and the Roman people, conceived the design of killing Hannibal, or delivering him into their hands; immediately after the first conference with Flamininus, a party of soldiers was sent to guard Hannibal's house. The Carthaginian had always foreseen some such end of his life; for he knew the implacable hatred which the Romans bore him, and placed little confidence in the faith of kings. Besides, he had ex-

perienced the fickle temper of Prusias, and had, for some time, dreaded the arrival of Flamininus, as an event fatal to him. Encircled by enemies on every side, in order to have always some path open for flight, he had made seven passages from his house, of which some were concealed, lest they might be invested by a guard. But the imperious government of kings suffers nothing to remain secret which they choose to discover. They surrounded the circuit of the entire house with guards in such a manner, that no one could escape from it. Hannibal, on being told that some of the king's soldiers were in the porch, endeavoured to escape through a back door, which was the most private, and from which the passage was most secret; but, perceiving that to be guarded by a body of soldiers, and every avenue round to be blocked up by the guards that were posted, he called for poison, which he had long kept in readiness to meet such an event, and said, "Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they think it too long to wait for the death of an old man. Flamininus will gain no very great or memorable victory over one unarmed and betrayed. What an alteration has taken place in the behaviour of the Roman people, this [illegible] affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then heading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison. The present generation have sent an ambassador, of consular rank, to persuade Prusias villanously to murder his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias, and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods who presided over hospitality, and were witnesses of his breach of faith, he drank off the contents of the cup. This was the end of the life of Hannibal.

52. Both Polybius and Rutilius say, that Scipio died in this year; but I do not agree either with them, or Valerius. Not with them, because I find that in the censorship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, the censor himself, Lucius Valerius, was chosen prince of the senate, although Africanus had occupied that place for the three preceding lustrums; and, if he were alive, unless he had been displaced from the senate, which disgrace no one has recorded, another prince would not have been chosen in his room. The authority of Antias is refuted by the plebeian tribunate of Marcus Nævius, against whom there is extant a speech signed by Publius Africanus.

Now, this Marcus Nævius, in the register of the magistrates, appears to have been plebeian tribune in the consulate of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius; but he entered on the tribuneship in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the ides of December, from which time to the ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius became consuls, there are three months. Thus it appears that he was living in the tribunate of Marcus Nævius, and might have been prosecuted by him; but that he died before the censorship of Lucius Valerius and Marcus Porcius. The deaths of the three most illustrious men of their respective nations have a similarity, not only in respect to the concurrence of the times, but in this circumstance also, that no one of them met a death suitable to the splendour of his life. In the first place, neither of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poison; Hannibal breathed his last in exile, betrayed by his host; Philopœmen in captivity, in a prison, and in chains. Scipio, though neither banished nor condemned, yet under prosecution, and summoned as an absent criminal to a trial, at which he did not appear, passed sentence of voluntary exile, not only on himself while alive, but likewise on his body after death.

53. During these transactions in Peloponnesus, from which my narration digressed, the return of Demetrius with the ambassadors into Macedonia, affected people's minds in various manners. The generality of the Macedonians, whom the apprehension of an impending war with the Romans had struck with terror, looked with the highest esteem on Demetrius, as the promoter of peace; and, at the same time, with confident hope, destined for him the throne, after the demise of his father. They argued, that "although he was younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a wife, and the other of a concubine; that the latter, born of a mother who prostituted her person, had no likeness to any particular father, whereas the former had a striking resemblance of Philip. Besides it was probable that the Romans would place him on the throne of his father, as Perseus had no pretensions to their favour." Such was the conversation of people in general. Fear tortured Perseus, lest his age alone might not sufficiently secure his interest, his brother having the advantage of him in every

other particular; while Philip himself, believing that it would scarcely rest with his decision which of them he should leave heir to his dominions, began to think that his younger son encroached on him more than he could wish. He was sometimes displeased at the numerous attendance of the Macedonians round Demetrius, and chagrined at perceiving that there was a second court during his own life-time. The young prince no doubt came home much elevated in his own estimation, elated with the honours paid him by the senate, and their having conceded to him, what they had refused to his father; insomuch that every mention of the Romans, whatever degree of respect it procured him from the rest of the Macedonians, created an equal degree of envy, not only in the breast of his brother, but also in that of his father; especially after the Roman ambassadors arrived, and the king was obliged to evacuate Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons, and to perform the other articles, either according to the decisions of the former ambassadors or the late regulations made by the senate. But all this he did with great reluctance, and even with anguish of mind, the more on this account, because he saw his son more frequently in company with them than with himself; nevertheless, to avoid giving any pretence for immediate commencement of hostilities, he acted submissively towards the Romans. Thinking it necessary to turn their thoughts from a suspicion of any such designs, he led his army into the heart of Thrace, against the Odrysians, Dentheletians, and Bessians. He took the city of Philoppopolis after it was deserted by the inhabitants, who fled with their families to the tops of the nearest mountains; and, by wasting the country, reduced the barbarians living in the plains to submission. Then leaving a garrison in Philoppopolis, which was soon after expelled by the Odrysians, he began to build a town in Deuriopus. This is a district of Pæonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum through Pæonia, falls into the river Axius. Not far from the old city of Stobæ he built his new one, which he ordered to be called Perseis, that this honour might be conferred on his eldest son.

54. While these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls went to their provinces. Marcellus sent forward an express to Lucius Porcius, the proconsul, to lead up the legions to the new town of the Gauls; they surrendered themselves to the

consul on his arrival. There were of these twelve thousand fighting men, most of whom had arms, which they had forced from the inhabitants: all which, to their great mortification, were taken from them, as was every thing else which they had either acquired by plundering in the country, or had brought along with them. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of those proceedings, who being introduced to an audience of the senate, by the prætor Caius Valerius, represented, that "in consequence of a redundancy of people in Gaul, they had been compelled by the want of land, and indeed of every thing, to cross the Alps in quest of a settlement: that they had settled in those lands which they found waste and uncultivated without doing injury to any. They had likewise begun to build a town, which was a proof that they did not come to ravage either city or lands. That some time ago, Marcus Claudius sent them a message, that unless they surrendered to him he would march against them, and that preferring a certain, though not very honourable peace, to the uncertainties of war, they had thrown themselves on the protection of Rome before they submitted to its power. That in a short time after, being ordered to quit the country, they had intended to remove without murmuring to whatever part of the world they were able; and that, notwithstanding, their arms, and finally all the property which they had brought with them, or driven before them, were taken from them. They therefore besought the senate and people of Rome not to treat harmless people, who had surrendered themselves, with greater severity than they would enemies." To this discourse the senate ordered the following answer to be given: That "neither had they acted properly in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a town in the territory of others, without permission from any Roman magistrate commanding in that province; nor did the senate approve of people who had surrendered being stripped of their property. They would therefore send to the consuls ambassadors, who would order all their effects to be restored, provided they returned to the place whence they came; and who would also proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give warning to the Gallic states to keep their people at home. That the Alps, an almost impassable barrier, lay between the two countries, and whoever should pass in future, should meet no

better fate than those who first proved them to be passable." The ambassadors sent were Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius, Publius Manlius Acidinus. The Gauls, on the restoration of such property as they were in possession of, without wronging any man, withdrew out of Italy.

55. The transalpine states answered the Roman ambassadors in terms of kindness. Their elders even found fault with the excessive lenity of the Roman people, in "suffering men to depart with impunity, who, without an order of their nation, left their home, attempted to seize on lands belonging to the Roman empire, and to build a town in a territory which belonged to others. They ought," they said, "to have paid a heavy penalty for their inconsiderate conduct; and as to the restoration of their effects, they expressed a fear, lest, in consequence of this too great forbearance, others might be encouraged to attempts of a like nature." They not only entertained the ambassadors, but conferred considerable presents on them. The consul, Marcus Claudius, when he had sent the Gauls out of his province, began to prepare for a war with the Istrians, and wrote to the senate for permission to lead the legions into their country. That measure pleased the senate. They formed an intention of establishing a colony at Aquileia; nor were they able to decide whether it should consist of Latins or Roman citizens; at last however they passed a vote in favour of a Latin settlement. The commissioners appointed for the purpose were, Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. In the same year, colonies of Roman citizens were led out to Mutina and Parma. Two thousand men were settled in each colony, on lands which lately belonged to the Boians, and formerly to the Tuscans; they received at Parma eight acres, at Mutina five each. These colonists were conducted by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Lucius Quintius Crispinus. The colony of Saturnia, also consisting of Roman citizens, was settled on the lands of Caletra, by Quintus Fabius Labeo, Caius Afranius Stellio, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Ten acres were assigned to each man.

56. In the same year Aulus Terentius Varro, the proprætor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, not far from the river Iberus, in the territory of Auseta, reducing several towns, which they had fortified in that quarter. The

Farther Spain was quiet during the whole year, because Publius Sempronius, the proprætor, was seized with a lingering disorder, and the Lusitanians, when no one attacked them, very opportunely kept quiet. In Liguria nothing extraordinary was performed by Quintus Fabius, the consul. Marcus Marcellus being recalled out of Istria to attend the elections, disbanded his army, and came home to Rome. He elected Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus and Lucius Æmilius Paulus consuls. This latter had been curule ædile, along with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, from the time of whose consulate this was the fifth year; and this very Lepidus had been made consul after two repulses. Then Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Publius Manlius a second time, Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Cæcilius Denter, and Caius Terentius Istra, were elected prætors. Towards the close of the year, a supplication was performed on occasion of prodigies, for people were persuaded that it had rained blood for two days in the court of the temple of Concord; and an account was received, that near the coast of Sicily a new island, which had never been there before, rose out of the sea. Valerius, of Antium, asserts that Hannibal died in this year, and that besides Titus Quintius Flamininus, whose name was celebrated in this business, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, and Publius Scipio Nasica, were sent ambassadors to Prusias on that occasion.

BOOK XL.

When Philip had ordered the children of those whom he had put to death, to be sought after as hostages, Theoxena, fearing the king's passion for her own children and those of her sister, who were still quite young, brought forward swords and a cup in which there was poison, and persuaded them to escape, by putting an end to their existence, the mockery that awaited them; after administering which advice, she in company with her husband plunged headlong from the ship into the sea. The quarrels between Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philip, king of Macedon, are related; and how that Demetrius was first assailed by accusations invented through his brother's guile, and among the rest, an impeachment for parricide and aspiring to the throne, and at last, since he was the friend of the Roman people, cut off by poison; and the kingdom of Macedon, on the death of Philip, fell to Perseus. It contains likewise the exploits successfully achieved by very many commanders in Liguria, and against the Celtiberians in Spain. Under the Janiculum, in the field of L. Petillius, the secretary, the books of Numa Pompilius were found by the labourers of the field, enclosed in a stone chest, written in both Latin and Greek characters; in which, when the prætor, to whom they had been brought, had read very many things calculated to overthrow the present system of religion, he swore to the senate that their being read and preserved would be detrimental to the state. And by a decree of the senate they were burned in the Comitium. The colony of Aquilia was planted. Philip, worn out by the pangs of conscience, because, influenced by the false information of his other son Perseus, he had by poison removed from life's scene his son Demetrius, both resolved on the punishment of Perseus and desired to leave his friend Antigonus, rather than him, as his successor. But, whilst forming this project, he was hurried off by death. Perseus received the kingdom.

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1. At the commencement of the next year, the consuls and prætors determined the provinces by lot. For the consuls there was no province to be decreed, except Liguria. The city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus; that among foreigners, to Marcus Valerius; of the Spains, the Hither, to Marcus Fulvius Flaccus; the Farther, to Publius Manlius; Sicily, to Lucius Cæcilius Denter; and Sardinia, to Caius Terentius Istra. The consuls were ordered to hold levies, for

Quintus Fabius had written from Liguria, that the Apuani seemed inclined to a renewal of hostilities, and that it was to be feared that they would make an irruption into the district of Pisæ. From the Spains, also, they received intelligence that the Hither province was in arms; that the war still continued with the Celtiberians: that, in the Farther province, because the prætor had been for a long time indisposed, military discipline was relaxed by intemperance and inactivity. For these reasons it was decreed that new armies should be raised; four legions for Liguria, that each might contain five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, and to these same were added, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse of the Latin allies. These were to complete the two consular armies. They were ordered, also, to enrol seven thousand foot and four hundred horse, of the allies and Latins, and to send them into Gaul to Marcus Marcellus, whose command was prolonged on the expiration of his consulship. There were ordered to be levied, of Roman citizens, four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry, and of the allies, seven thousand infantry with three hundred cavalry, which should be also led into both Spains. And to Quintus Fabius Labeo, with the army which he had in Liguria, was the command prolonged for a year.

2. The spring of this year was remarkable for storms. On the day before the feast of Pales, a tremendous hurricane arose about mid-day, and made havoc in many places, both sacred and common. It threw down the brazen statues in the Capitol; tore away a gate from the temple of Luna, which is on the Aventine, and fastened it to the back parts of the temple of Ceres; overturned other statues in the Circus Maximus, together with the pillars on which they stood; tore off several cupolas from the roofs of temples, and scattered them in an unseemly manner. This storm was converted into a prodigy, and the aruspices ordered it to be attended to. At the same time expiation was made, because it had been reported that a three-footed mule was born at Reate, and that the temple of Apollo, at Formiæ and at Caieta, was struck with lightning. On account of these prodigies, a sacrifice of twenty larger victims was offered, and there was a supplication of one day's continuance. About the same time information was obtained from a letter of Aulus Terentius, the

proprætor, that Publius Sempronius, after being sick for more than a year, had died in the Farther province: on this account the prætors were ordered to set out sooner for Spain. The foreign embassies were then brought before the senate; and first, those of the kings Eumenes and Pharnaces, and of the Rhodians, complaining of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Sinope. There came also, about the same time, the ambassadors of Philip, the Achæans, and Lacedæmonians. Answers were given to these, after Marcius, who had been sent to inspect the affairs of Greece and Macedonia, had first received an audience. To the Asiatic kings and the Rhodians, they answered, that the senate would send ambassadors to examine into those matters.

3. Marcius had increased their anxiety respecting Philip; for, he acknowledged that the latter had acquiesced with the will of the senate in such a manner, as to render it very evident, that he would conform to it no longer than necessity obliged him; nor was it difficult to see, that he intended to renew hostilities, and that every thing which he then said and did had a tendency that way. Now, in the first place, he removed almost the whole body of the citizens, with their families, from the maritime cities, into Emathia, which is its modern name, it was formerly called Pæonia; he gave up those cities to be inhabited by Thracians, and other barbarians, thinking that this kind of people would prove more faithful to him in case of a war with Rome. This proceeding caused great discontent over all Macedonia; and of those who, with their wives and children, left their dwellings, few concealed their grief in silence; and, their hatred overcoming their fear, imprecations against the king were heard, as they proceeded along in groups. His mind, rendered savage by these things, entertained suspicions of all men, places, and seasons; at last he began to confess openly, that he had nothing sufficiently safe without seizing and confining the sons of those whom he had destroyed, and sending them out of the world at different times.

4. This cruelty, horrible in itself, the calamities of one particular family rendered still more so. Philip had, many years before, put to death Herodicus, a Thessalian of distinction; and afterwards his sons-in-law. His daughters were left widows, having each a little son. The names of the women

were Theoxena and Archo. Theoxena, though courted by many, rejected every offer of marriage. Archo married a certain Poris, by far the first of the Ænean nation; and, after bearing him many children, died, leaving them all quite young. Theoxena then, in order that her sister's children might be educated under her own inspection, married Poris, and as if she herself had borne them all, treated her own and her sister's sons with the same affectionate care. When she heard of the king's order for seizing the children of the persons who had been put to death, supposing that they were destined to afford sport not only to the king's lust, but to that of his guards, she formed in her mind a horrid project, and had the hardiness to declare, that she would kill them all with her own hand, rather than they should come into the power of Philip. Poris, abhorring the mention of such a dreadful deed, told her that he would carry them away to Athens, to some faithful friends, and would himself accompany them in their flight. They all went from Thessalonica to Ænea, to a stated sacrifice, which they offer yearly, with great solemnity, in honour of Æneas, the founder of the nation. Having spent the day there, in the anniversary feast, about the third watch, when all were asleep, they embarked in a vessel ready prepared by Poris, as if intending to return to Thessalonica; but their design was to cross over to Eubœa. However, daylight surprised them at a small distance from the land, struggling in vain against a contrary wind, and the king's officers, who commanded the garrison of the port, despatched an armed bark to bring back their ship, with a strict injunction not to return without it. When they were now drawing nigh, Poris was intently occupied in animating the rowers and sailors, and, at times, raising his hands towards heaven, supplicated the gods to assist him. Meanwhile, the woman, with desperate fury recurring to the shocking design which she had long premeditated, dissolves some poison, and produces swords; then, placing the cup in their view, and unsheathing the swords, she says, "Death is our only refuge. These paths lead thither, by whichever of them each one's inclination leads them to adopt, let them escape the tyranny of the king. Come then, dear youths, let those of you who are the elder, first take the sword; or, if a slower death is your choice, drain the cup." At the same time the enemy was fast

approaching, and she, who urged them to despatch themselves, was urgent; the young men, having put an end to their lives, some by the one and some by the other fatal expedient, were thrown expiring into the sea. Then, embracing her husband and companion in death, she plunged into the deep. The king's officers then took possession of the ship, deserted by its owners.

5. The barbarity connected with this deed added fresh fuel to the flame of public resentment kindled against the king, insomuch that most people uttered imprecations on himself and his children; which curses being in a short time heard by all the gods, caused him to vent his cruelty on his own blood relations. For Perseus, when he perceived that the popularity and high reputation of his brother Demetrius among the Macedonian people, and interest among the Romans, increased more and more every day, and that no hope was left him of obtaining the crown save by the instrumentality of some wicked device, bent all his thoughts to that one object. But not thinking himself alone strong enough even for the dastardly project, which he meditated in his effeminate mind, he began to tamper with each of his father's friends by dark suggestions. At first, several of these showed an appearance of rejecting with scorn any such overtures, because they entertained higher expectations from Demetrius. Afterwards Philip's animosity to the Romans increased every day, which Perseus fomented; but Demetrius, with all his might, opposed. Foreseeing the fatal doom of the youth, who heeded not a brother's guile, and thinking that they must lend their assistance to the accomplishment of what was likely to take place, and cherish the hopes of the more powerful, they united themselves to Perseus. They defer the execution of other measures till their proper season; for the present, it seems good that the king should by every strenuous exertion be inflamed against the Romans, and urged to form resolutions for war, to which he had already of his own accord turned his attention. At the same time, in order that Demetrius might be a greater object of suspicion every day, they used deliberately to prolong the conversations even to the use of insulting language towards the Romans; thereupon, when some depreciating their manners and institutions, some their military achievements, some the appearance of the city itself, unadorned

either by public or private structures; others spoke scornfully of some particular individuals among their principal men. On these occasions, the young prince unwary, both out of affection for the Roman nation, and opposition to his brother, by maintaining their cause in all things, rendered himself an object of suspicion to his father, and a fit subject for their accusations. His father therefore kept him a stranger to all his designs respecting the Romans; he was entirely devoted to Perseus, and held with him, daily and nightly, deliberations on that subject. The envoys had returned whom he happened to have sent to the Bastarnians, to solicit aid, and brought with them from thence young men of distinction, and some of royal extraction; one of whom promised his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the connexion with that nation raised the king's spirits. Hereupon Perseus said, "What does that avail? There is by no means as much protection afforded by foreign aid, as there is danger arising from domestic treachery. I am unwilling to call him traitor, but a spy we certainly have in our bosom, and although the Romans have restored to us his body, since he was a hostage at Rome, yet they still possess his heart. The faces of almost all the Macedonians are turned towards him, and they think they are to have no other king but him whom the Romans would give them." By such discourses the old man's mind, distempered in itself, was stimulated to passion, and these imputations he received deeper in his mind, than appeared from his countenance.

6, It happened to be the time of the purification of the army; which ceremony is thus performed:—The head and fore part of a dog cut through the middle is laid at the right side of the way, and the hinder part with the entrails at the left. Between the parts of the victim, thus divided, the forces are led under arms. In the front of the van, are carried the remarkable suits of armour of all the kings of Macedon, from the remotest origin; next follows the king himself, with his children; then the royal cohort and body guards, and the remaining body of the Macedonians close the rear. The two young sons of the king attend by his side; Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger; the former in the full strength of manhood, the latter in its bloom; the mature offspring of a fortunate

parent, if his mind had been influenced by reason. The custom was, that when the purificatory sacrifice was finished, the army should perform their evolutions, and the two lines divided on both sides should engage in a mock fight. The young princes were appointed commanders in this mock engagement; but it was not the mere representation of a battle, for they engaged as if they were fighting for the throne: many wounds were given with stakes, nor was any thing but the steel wanting to give it the form of a regular battle. The party which was under the command of Demetrius, was far superior. While Perseus was vexed thereat, his considerate friends rejoiced; and said, that that very circumstance would afford grounds for impeaching the youth.

7. Each of the princes gave an entertainment that day to his comrades, who had exercised under his command. Perseus being invited to supper by Demetrius, refused; kind hospitality and youthful merriment led both to excess in wine. Thereupon mention was made of the mock engagement, and numerous remarks were thrown out against the antagonists in such a manner as not to spare even the leaders themselves. To learn these expressions, a spy was sent from among the guests of Perseus; but not conducting himself with sufficient caution, he was detected by some young men who happened to come out of the banqueting-room, and severely beaten. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this matter, said, "Why do we not go to my brother, join with him in merriment, and by our frankness and gaiety assuage his resentment, if any, arising from the engagement, as yet remains?" All with one accord cried out that they would attend him, except those who were afraid of the immediate revenge of the spy that had been beaten by them. When Demetrius pressed these also, they concealed swords under their clothes, with which they might defend themselves if any violence should be offered. In the case of domestic discord, nothing that is concealed can remain so. Both houses were full of spies and traitors. An informer ran on before to Perseus, and told him, that four young men, armed with swords, were coming with Demetrius. Though the reason was evident, (for he had heard that his guest had been beaten by them,) yet, for the purpose of blackening the matter, he ordered his gate to be locked, and from the upper part of the house and the windows facing the street, he drives away the

revellers, as if they were come to murder him, from the entrance to the gate. Demetrius flushed with wine, having for a little exclaimed loudly at his being shut out, returns home to his own feast entirely ignorant of the meaning of the whole proceeding.

8. Next day, Perseus, as soon as an opportunity of seeing his father was afforded him, entered the palace, and with looks expressive of disquietude stood silent in the presence of his sire, but at some distance. Of whom when his father inquired "if all was well, and what was the cause of that sadness?" he answers, "Know that it is by the sufferance of another that your son survives. We are now attacked by my brother with no secret treachery; he came by night to my house, with armed men to take away my life, and it was by shut doors, and the protection afforded by the walls, that I was saved from his fury." When he had inspired into his father a horror mixed with wonder, he adds, "If you can listen to me, I shall cause you to understand the affair as an evident truth." But Philip replied that he would hear him, and ordered Demetrius to be instantly summoned. He then sent for two friends of advanced age, Lysimachus and Onomastus, (who never interfered in the juvenile disputes of the brothers, and were of late rare visitors in the palace,) that he might have their assistance in counsel. While his friends are coming he walked about by himself, secretly revolving many things in his mind; his son still standing at a distance. On being told that they had arrived, he retired with his two friends, and the same number of his life-guards, into an inner apartment; he permitted each of his sons to bring in three persons unarmed. Here, having taken his seat, he says, "I, the most unhappy of fathers, sit here as judge between my two sons, the accuser and the accused of the crime of fratricide; about to find, in my nearest of relations, the foul stain either of falsehood or a commission of crime. For a long time, indeed, I have apprehended an impending storm, after I perceived your mutual looks, which showed no sign of brotherly affection, and after I had overheard some expressions. But I sometimes cherished the hope that your passions would subside, and that your suspicions could be removed; that even enemies lay down their arms and form a treaty, and that

the private disputes of many have been ended; and I trusted that the remembrance of your fraternal relationship would at some time or other occur to you, and of the simplicity and intimacy that subsisted between you in your boyish days; and finally, of my instructions, which, I fear, I have fruitlessly poured into deaf ears. How often have I, in your hearing, mentioned, with abhorrence, examples of the disagreements of brothers, and recounted the dreadful consequences of them, by which themselves, their offspring, their houses, and their kingdoms, have been utterly ruined. I have represented, on the other hand, more laudable examples; also the social intercourse between the two kings of the Lacedæmonians, beneficial to themselves and to their country for many ag and that this same state, after the custom of each one ar seizing on absolute power prevailed, was quite ove Then, that these brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, rai dominions (from so small circumstances, that they most ashamed of the title of king) to an equality or with those of Antiochus, or indeed of any mon age, and by nothing else than by brotherly concord I decline showing you examples even from amo mans that I had either seen or heard; as of Titus Quintius, who carried on the war against me; the Publius and Lucius, who vanquished Antiochu father and uncle, the lasting harmony of who death could not dissolve. But neither could the v the former, attended by an issue suitable to their you from your foolish quarrels; nor could the sou and good fortune of the latter bend you to wisd am alive and in health, you have both in you wicked desires laid hold on my inheritance. You to live just so long as that, surviving one, I should, by my death, make the other king without a competitor. You cannot endure to have either brother or father. You have no sense of affection, no religion, your insatiable passion for regal sway alone has supplied the place of all other feelings. Come, then, pollute your father's ears, contend with mutual accusations, as you soon will with the sword; speak openly either whatever truth you can, or are pleased to invent. My ears are now opened, which henceforward will be shut against

all secret charges of one against the other." When with furious passion he had uttered these words, tears gushed from the whole assembly and a sorrowful silence long prevailed.

9. At length Perseus spoke to this effect: "I ought then, it seems, to have opened my gate in the night, and admitted those armed revellers, and held out my throat to their swords; since nothing less than the perpetration of the deed can gain belief, and since I, who have been assailed by secret treachery, am accosted in the same language as a robber and an assassin might expect. It is not without reason, that those people say that you have but one son, Demetrius; and that I am supposititious, and born of a concubine; for if I held in your breast the rank of a son, or the affection due to one, you would wreak your anger not on me, who complain of discovered treachery, but on him who was the author of it; nor would my life be so worthless in your eyes, that you should neither be moved by the danger which I have already undergone, nor by that to which I must be exposed in future, if punishment be not inflicted on the assassins. If, therefore, it be our doom to die secretly let us be silent, only offering prayers to the gods that the wickedness commenced with me may terminate in me, and that you be not aimed at through my side. But if, as nature itself suggests to those encompassed with perils in a desert place, to implore assistance even from men whom they had never seen, so I, on seeing a sword drawn against me, may be allowed to raise my voice I beseech you then, by your own person, by the name of father, (and you long know which of us reveres that title most,) that you may hear me in the same manner as you would if, roused by cries and lamentations by night, you had come up, when I was crying for help, and in the dead of night had found Demetrius, with armed men, in the porch of my house. What I should, at that time, and in that case, have exclaimed with terror, I now, next day, lay before you in form of a complaint. Brother, it is long since you and I lived together on the terms of mutual hospitality; you certainly wish to be king; this my expectation, my age, opposes, the law of nations opposes, the ancient practice of Macedon opposes, and moreover the judgment of my father opposes. These you can surmount by no other means than by shedding my blood. You are making every scheme and every attempt. Hitherto,

either my care or fortune has prevented the fratricide you intended to commit. Yesterday, on occasion of the purification, the military exercise and mock representation of a fight, you almost rendered it a bloody battle; nor was I saved from death by any other means than by suffering myself and my party to be overcome. Pretending brotherly sport, you wanted to drag me from a hostile fight to your house to supper. Father, do you think that I, to whom they came in arms, that they might drink with me, would have supped there with unarmed guests. Do you think that I would have been in no danger from their swords by night, when they almost killed me with stakes, of which you were a spectator. Why, Demetrius, did you come at that time of night; why an enemy come to a person provoked; why with young men in arms? I did not venture to trust myself with you as a guest, and shall I admit you as a reveller, coming with armed men? Father, if the gate had been open, you would be preparing my funeral at this moment, in which you are hearing my complaint. I do not, as an accuser, urge any thing for the purpose of accusation; nor by collecting doubtful circumstances, in a train of artful arguments. For what can he say? Does he deny that he came to my gate with a large party, or that there were armed men with him? Send for the persons, whom I will name; they who dared to do this, might dare to do any thing; nevertheless, they will not dare to deny it. If I brought before you any who had been caught within my doors in arms, you would consider this an evident proof; consider those who confess in the same light as if actually caught in the fact.

10. "Curse now thirst for dominion. Call up the furies, the avengers of the wrongs of brothers; but, father, let not your curses be undiscriminating. Separate and distinguish the assassin, and him by treachery assailed, and charge the guilty head. Let him, who intended to kill a brother, feel the wrath of the gods, of his father; and let him, who was to have perished by a brother's wickedness, find refuge in his father's compassion and justice. For where else shall I seek refuge, who cannot find safety in the solemn purification of your army, in the exercise of the troops, in my own house, in a feast, nor in the night, which nature's bounty granted to mankind for a season of repose. If I go to my brother, according to his invitation,

I must die. If I admit my brother to a party of pleasure within my own gates, I must die. Neither by going, nor by staying, do I escape secret treachery. Whither then shall I betake me? Father, I have courted nothing save the gods and thee. I have not the Romans, to whom I may fly. They seek my destruction, because I grieve at the injuries which they have done you; because I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so many nations, and, lately, of the coast of Thrace. They have no hope that Macedonia will ever be their property, while either you or I am safe. If a brother's wickedness shall have carried off me, and old age thee, or if even this should not be waited for, they know that both the king and kingdom of Macedonia will become theirs. If the Romans had left you any thing beyond the limits of Macedon, I would suppose that even that had been left me as a shelter. But I have protection enough in the Macedonians. You were an eye-witness yesterday of the attack made on me by the soldiers. What did they want, but the steel? And what they wanted, in the day, my brother's guests took to themselves in the night. Why need I mention the greater part of the nobles, who have placed all their hopes of honour and fortune in the Romans, and in him who is all-powerful with the Romans? Nor, in truth, do they prefer him merely to me, his elder brother, but, they want little of preferring him to yourself, his king and father. For, he is the person out of regard to whom the senate remitted to you the intended punishment, who now screens you from the Roman arms; who thinks it fit that your advanced age should be under obligation to, and dependent on, his youth. Him the Romans, him the cities freed from thy jurisdiction, and him the Macedonians, rejoicing at the peace with Rome, defend; but for me, father, what hope or protection have I any where except in thee?

11. "What do you suppose to be the intention of the letter lately sent to you by Titus Quintius, in which he not only says, that you acted wisely for your own interest in sending Demetrius to Rome, but also advises you to send him back again, with a greater number of ambassadors, and nobles of Macedonia? Titus Quintius is now his counsellor, and master, in every thing. Having renounced you his father, he has substituted him in your place. There in preference to all other places their secret plans are concocted. When he desires

you to send greater numbers, and the chief men of Macedon, they are seeking assistants in their schemes. For those who go from this place unchanged and uncorrupted, and impressed with the idea that they had Philip as their king, return from thence tainted—infected by Roman blandishments. Demetrius alone is every thing to them. They give him the title of king already, even in his father's life-time. If I express my indignation at these things, you must forthwith understand that the crime of thirsting for dominion has been laid to my charge; not only by others, father, but even by you. But this charge, if made against both, I do not admit; for whom do I remove from his place, that I may succeed in his room? My father alone is before me; and that he may long be so, I entreat the gods. I his survivor, (and may I be so only on these terms, if, by my desert, he shall wish me to be so,) shall receive the inheritance of his kingdom, provided my father shall bequeath it to me. He covets rule, and covets it with criminal passion, since he hastily overleaps the order of age, of nature, of the Macedonian custom, and of the laws of nations. An elder brother stands in his way, to whom by right, and by the wish of his father, the kingdom belongs. Let him be carried off: I shall not be the first that acquired a kingdom by spilling a brother's blood. My father, being old, and forlorn from being bereaved of his son, will rather fear for himself, than revenge his son's death. The Romans will rejoice, they will approve, they will defend the deed. Father, these prospects are uncertain, but they are not groundless. For the matter stands thus: you can repel from me the fatal danger, by inflicting punishment on those who have taken up arms to kill me; if success attend the daring deed, you the very same shall not be able to avenge my death."

12. When Perseus concluded his speech, the eyes of all present were turned to Demetrius, as if he were going to reply immediately. Then, when it was evident to all that, bathed in tears, he was unable to speak, silence for a long time reigned: at length necessity itself, inasmuch as they called on him to speak, overcame his grief, and he began thus: "Father, all the aids which heretofore have been the privilege of the accused, my accuser has preoccupied. By his tears, counterfeited for the purpose of working another's ruin, he has caused my unfeigned tears to be suspected by you. Although, ever since I

returned from Rome, he, by holding secret consultations with his confederates, labours night and day to insnare me, yet nevertheless he represents me in the character, not only of a conspirator, but of an open assassin and murderer. He terrifies you with his danger, in order to hasten, through your means, the ruin of an innocent brother. He asserts, that he has a place of refuge no where in the world, that I may have no remaining hope even in thee. Circumvented, destitute, and helpless as I am, he loads me with odium arising from foreign favour, which proves detrimental rather than advantageous. Then how, accuser-like, has he blended that which was the crime of this night with other invectives against my conduct, that he might, by representing the tenor of the rest of my life, throw a colour of guilt both on the late transaction, the true nature of which you shall soon understand; and that he might support the other groundless insinuations respecting my views, wishes, and designs, by this latter, fictitious, fabricated story. He had, at the same time, this design, that his accusation might appear to be sudden and by no means premeditated, as if occasioned by sudden fright and disturbance of this night. But, Perseus, if I were a traitor against my father and his government; if I had formed plans with the Romans, or with other enemies of my father, the tale of last night ought not to have been waited for; I ought to have been long ago brought to answer for my treason. And if the former charge apart from the latter were unfounded, and tended to discover your hatred towards me, rather than my guilt, it ought on the present day also to be either omitted or postponed to some future period; in order that it might clearly appear, whether I plotted against you; or you, with indeed a strange and singular kind of hatred, against me. However, I will, as well as I am able in my present unforeseen perturbation of mind, distinguish those matters which you have confounded; and I will unveil the plot of the preceding evening, whether mine or yours. Perseus wishes it to be believed, that I had formed a design to take his life, with the view, forsooth, that having removed the elder brother, on whom by the law of nations, by the custom of Macedonia, and likewise by your judgment, as he says, the kingdom was to devolve, I, the younger, should succeed in the room of him whom I had slain. What, then, can be the meaning of that other part of his speech, where he

says that the Romans were courted by me, and from my reliance on them that I conceived hopes of the crown? For, if I believed that the Romans possessed such influence, that they could appoint whomsoever they pleased king of Macedon, and if I had such confidence in my interest with them, what need was there of fratricide? Could it be my wish to wear a diadem stained with a brother's blood, or to become execrable and odious in the eyes of those very people, with whom whatever interest I may happen to have, has been procured by zeal, or at least affected integrity of conduct? unless you believe that Titus Quintius, by whose power and advice you allege I am at present governed, though he lives in such cordial affection with his own brother, would recommend to me to murder mine? He has united for me, not only the favour of the Romans, but the opinions of the Macedonians, and the concurring sentiments almost of all the gods and men, by reason of all which he cannot believe that he would prove equal to me in the competition. Yet the same man accuses me of having (though I was inferior to him in every mode of proceeding) had recourse to an act of wickedness as my last resource. Do you wish that the formula of the judicial inquiry should be to this effect, that whichever feared lest the other should seem more worthy of the throne, shall be deemed guilty of designing his brother's destruction?

13. "But let us examine the process of this accusation, in whatever manner it has been fabricated. He has arraigned me of attempting his life, by several methods; and all these modes of attack he has crowded into the space of one day. I intended to kill him by day when we engaged after the purification, and, if it seems good to the gods, even on the day of purification. I intended, when I invited him to supper, to take him off by poison of course. I intended, when some armed persons followed me to join his party in their conviviality, to kill him with the sword. You see what sort of opportunities were chosen for this murder; those of sport, feasting, and revelling. What? on what sort of a day! On the day in which the army was purified; in which, after the royal armour of all the former kings of Macedon was carried in procession between the divided victim, when we two only rode along with you, father, at your sides, and the body of the Macedonian troops followed. Now, even supposing that I

had formerly been guilty of some crime requiring expiation, could I, after being purified and expiated in this sacred solemnity, at the very time especially when I was looking at the victim laid on each side of our road, revolved in my mind fratricide, poisons and swords prepared against the feast? With what other sacred rites could I afterwards atone for the guilt of a mind, contaminated with every kind of villany? But whilst his understanding, blinded by a desire for accusing, wishes to render every thing an object of suspicion, it confounds one thing with another. For if I intended to take you off by poison at supper, what could be more incongruous with my design, than to provoke you to rage by an obstinate contest and engagement, that you might have reason to refuse, as you did, my invitation to supper? But when, in your anger, you had refused, whether ought I to have taken pains to pacify you, that I might find another opportunity, since I had got the poison ready, or to pass over, as it were, from that design to another, namely, that of killing you with the sword, and on that same day, under pretence of feasting with you? If I thought that you declined supping with me, through fear for your life, how could I suppose that you would not, through the same fear, have declined drinking with me also.

14. "Father, I have no cause to blush, that on a festival day, among companions of my own age, I should have indulged too freely in wine; and I wish you would also inquire with what cheerfulness and mirth yesterday's entertainment, at my house, was rendered festive, that joy also (perhaps a blamable one) increasing it, our party not having been worsted in the fight. This my present misfortune, and my fears, have effectual dissipated the fumes of the liquor; but, if these had not intervened, we, the conspirators, would have been now lying fast asleep. If, Perseus, I designed to storm your house, and after the house had been taken to kill the owner, ought I not to have refrained from wine for that one day, and to have kept my soldiers sober? And that I should not be the only one to defend my cause with excessive candour, my brother himself also, not in the least inclined to malice or suspicion, says, I know nothing more, I charge them with nothing more, than that they came in arms to drink with me. If I should ask, From what source have you become acquainted with that very circumstance? you must necessarily acknowledge, either

that my house was full of your spies; or that my companions took arms so openly, as that every one could see them. Lest he should seem either on a prior occasion to have made any investigation, or now to adduce arguments for the purpose of convicting, he desired you to inquire of the persons whom he would name, whether they had swords, in order that, as it were, in a doubtful case, when you had investigated into that which they themselves confessed, they might be deemed convicted. Why do you not rather desire inquiry to be made after this, whether they carried swords for the purpose of killing you; whether by my direction and knowledge? this you wish to be believed, and not that which they confess, and what is, indeed, notorious, they say they carried them for the purpose of defending themselves. Whether they acted right or wrong, let them account for their own conduct. My cause, which is no way affected by this act, do not blend with it. Explain whether we intended to attack you openly, or secretly. If openly, why had we not all swords? why had no one a sword except those who had beaten your spy? If privately, what was the arrangement of our plan? Were four to remain, in order to fall on you in your sleep, when the banquet broke up, and I your guest had departed? How would they have escaped detection, as being strangers, and belonging to me; and, above all, being liable to suspicion, because they had been in a quarrel a little before? But how were they to have escaped after having killed you? Could your house have been taken and stormed by two swords?

15. "Why not rather, having dropped that fable of last night, recur to what really grieves you, what kindles your envy? Say,—Why, Demetrius, is mention made any where of your mounting the throne? Why do you appear, to some, a more worthy successor to your father's dignity than I? Why do you disturb with doubt and anxiety my hopes, which would be certain if you were not in being? These are the thoughts of Perseus, though he does not express them; these make that man my enemy, these create my accuser; these fill your house, these your kingdom, with accusations and suspicions. But, father, as I ought not now either to hope for the crown, or perhaps ever to contend for it, because I am the younger brother, and because you wish that I should yield to the elder; so neither ought I at any former time, or at the present, to act

in such a manner as to appear undeserving of you my father, and of all. For I should attain that by my own vices, not by yielding to him on whose side is law both human and divine, not by moderation. You upbraid me with the Romans; and what ought to be deemed an honour, you convert into a crime. I did not request, that I should either be delivered a hostage to the Romans, or sent as an ambassador to Rome. Being commissioned by you, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions, I conducted myself in such a manner, as to be no disgrace to you, to your kingdom, or to the Macedonian nation. You, therefore, father, have been the cause of my friendship with the Romans. As long as peace shall subsist between you and them, so long will I also continue in friendship with them; but, if war should arise, I, the same who have been there a hostage, and no unprofitable ambassador in my father's behalf, will be their most determined enemy. Nor do I, this day, require that the favour of the Romans should be any advantage to me; I only entreat that it be not detrimental. It neither commenced in war, nor is it reserved for war. I have been a pledge of peace; and, to procure a continuance of peace, I was sent ambassador. Let neither be esteemed an honour or a crime. Father, if I have been guilty of any undutiful behaviour towards you, or any criminal behaviour towards my brother, I beg to be freed from no punishment. If I be innocent, let me not, I beseech you, be destroyed by envy when I cannot by crime. My brother's accusation, this day, is not the first that he has brought against me; but it is the first made openly, and owing to no offence given him by me. If my father were angry with me, it would become you, the elder brother, to intercede for the younger, you to obtain pardon for his youth, and you for his error; but in the very person from whom I ought to receive protection, in him I meet my ruin. From a feast and revelry I have been hurried, almost half asleep, to plead my cause on a charge of fratricide. Without advocates, without patrons, I am compelled to plead my own cause. If I were to speak for another, I would have taken time to study and compose a speech; though, what else would I endanger than that of my reputation for abilities. But, before I knew why I had been summoned, I heard you, in a paroxysm of passion, ordering me to account for my conduct, and my brother accusing me. He employed against

me a speech long before prepared and studied; I had only the time in which the accusations were recited, for hearing what were the impeachments. During that short space, whether should I listen to my accuser, or study a defence? Thunder-struck by the sudden and unthought-of calamity, I was scarcely capable of understanding what was alleged against me, much less of being sufficiently aware what defence I should make. What hope indeed could I have, if I had not my father as judge, with whom, though I am outstripped by an elder brother in affection, yet surely, when accused, I ought not to be outstripped in his compassion. For my prayer is, that you would save me, for my sake, and for your own; he demands, that, for his security, you should put me to death. What do you think will he do, when you shall have delivered the kingdom into his hands, who even now thinks it reasonable that he should be gratified with my blood?" While he was uttering these words, tears interrupted his breath and voice at the same time. Philip, having sent them away, and conferred a short time with his friends, declared, that "he could not from a single hour's discussion give a formulary judgment on the cause between them, but by a scrutiny into the conduct and manners of both, and a close observation of their words and actions, on occasions great and small." That it appeared clearly to all, that the charge relating to the preceding night was effectually refuted; but that Demetrius' favour with the Romans had been an object of suspicion, as being too great. These, as it were, the seeds of the Macedonian war which was to be waged with Perseus, in particular, were sown, when Philip was still alive.

16. Both the consuls set out into Liguria, which at that time was the only consular province. A supplication for one day was decreed because prosperity had attended their affairs in that quarter. About two thousand Ligurians came to the extreme borders of the Gallic province, where Marcellus lay encamped, requesting him to receive their submission. Marcellus, having ordered the Ligurians to wait in the same place, consulted the senate through the medium of a letter. The senate ordered Marcus Ogulnius, prætor, to write back to Marcellus, that "it would have been more proper for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them, to decide what might tend to the interest of the republic; that in this case

too it was their pleasure, if he should receive the surrender of the Ligurians, that their arms should not be taken from them when admitted to a surrender, and that the senate thought proper that the Ligurians should be sent to the consul. The prætors arrived at the same time in Spain; Publius Manlius in the Farther province, which he had governed in his former prætorship, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in the Hither one, and he received the command of the army from Terentius; for the Farther province, by the death of the proprætor, Publius Sempronius, had been without a governor. The Celtiberians attacked Fulvius Flaccus while besieging a town of the Spaniards, called Urbicua. Many severe actions were fought there, and many of the Roman soldiers killed and wounded. They were vanquished by Fulvius' perseverance, because he could by no force be diverted from the siege; the Celtiberians, wearied out with so many battles, retired. The city, having lost their assistance, was within a few days taken and sacked; the prætor bestowed the booty on the soldiers. Fulvius having taken this town, and Publius Manlius having only gathered together his army, which had been scattered, without having achieved any other memorable action, led their armies into winter quarters. These were the transactions of that summer in Spain. Terentius, who had come home from that province, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds' weight of silver, eighty pounds' weight of gold, and two golden crowns of the weight of sixty-seven pounds.

17. In the same year the Romans were arbitrators on the spot in a dispute, subsisting between the people of Carthage and king Masinissa, about a tract of ground. This ground Gala, father of Masinissa, had taken from the Carthaginians. Syphax had expelled Gala, and afterwards, from respect to Hasdrubal, his father-in-law, had made a present of it to the Carthaginians. In this year, Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. This matter was debated before the Romans with no less mental ardour than they had contended for it with the sword, even in the field of battle. The Carthaginians claimed the ground first, as having been the property of their ancestors; and next, because it had come to them from Syphax. Masinissa urged, that "he had retaken possession of it as part of his father's kingdom, and held it under the law

f nations; and that he had the advantage, both in the merits if his cause and in the present possession. That, in this discussion, he had no other fear, than lest the moderation of the Romans might operate to his loss, whilst they dreaded the appearance of any partiality to a king who was their friend and ally, in prejudice to the common enemy of him and them." The deputies did not alter the right of possession, but referred the cause entire to the senate at Rome. There was nothing done afterwards in Liguria. The inhabitants, at first, retired into pathless forests; and afterwards, disbanding their army, separated in every direction among the villages and forts. The consuls, too, wished to disband their forces, and consulted the senators on this matter. They ordered that one of them should discharge his troops, and come to Rome to elect magistrates for the year; and that the other, with his legions, should pass the winter at Pisæ. A report prevailed, that the transalpine Gauls were arming their young men, and it was not known on what quarter of Italy that multitude would pour itself. The consuls settled the matter between them,—that Cneius Bæbius should go home to the elections, because his brother, Marcus Bæbius, was a candidate for the consulship.

18. The assembly for the election of consuls was held, and Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus were chosen. The prætors were afterwards elected, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petillius Spurinus, Marcus Pinarius Posca, and Lucius Duronius. When the magistrates entered into office, the provinces fell to these by lot in the following order: to the consuls, Liguria; to the prætors, Quintus Petillius, the city, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the foreign jurisdiction; to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Gaul; to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Marcus Pinarius, Sardinia; and to Lucius Duronius, Apulia, to which was annexed Istria also, because information was received at Tarentum and Brundusium, that the lands bordering on the sea were infested by robberies committed by foreign piratical ships. The Massilians made the same complaint, with regard to the ships of the Ligurians. The armies were then voted, to the consuls four Roman legions (each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse); and fifteen thousand foot and

eight hundred horse of the allies and Latins. In the Spains, the old prætors were continued in command, with the armies which they then had; and as an augmentation, there were voted for them, three thousand Roman citizens with two hundred horse, and six thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latin confederates. Nor was the business of the fleet neglected. The consuls were ordered to constitute duumvirs for conducting that department; by whom, twenty ships which they had launched were to be manned with Roman citizens who had been in servitude; with this proviso only, that free-born officers should command them. The duty of guarding the coast was so arranged between the duumvirs, each of whom had the command of ten ships, that the promontory of Minerva formed the point of division between them: one was to defend the part on the right, as far as Marseilles; the other, that on the left, extending to the town of Barium.

19. Many horrid prodigies were seen at Rome this year, and reported from abroad. It rained blood in the courts of the temples of Vulcan and Concord, and the priests reported that spears moved, and that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium shed tears. There was a pestilence in the country, in the market towns and market-places: and so violent was it in the city, that Libitina could scarcely supply the requisites for burying the dead. These prodigies, and the mortality, alarmed the senate so much, that they ordered the consuls to sacrifice to such gods as they thought proper, victims of the larger kinds, and likewise the decemvirs to consult the books. Pursuant to their direction, a supplication for one day was proclaimed, to be performed at every shrine in Rome. On the authority of these same, both the senate voted, and the consuls announced, that there should be a supplication and holidays for three days throughout the whole of Italy. The pestilence raged with so great fury, that when, in consequence of the revolt of the Corsicans, and a war raised in Sardinia by the Iliensians, it seemed good, that, from among the Latin allies, eight thousand foot and three hundred horse should be raised, whom Marcus Pinarius the prætor should convey with him into Sardinia;—the consuls returned a representation, that so great a number of men had died, and so many were sick, in every place, that the number of soldiers could not be made up. The prætor was ordered to take from Cneius Bæbius, proconsul,

who was in winter quarters at Pisæ, as many soldiers as would make up the deficiency, and transport them from thence to Sardinia. To Lucius Duronius the prætor, to whose lot Apulia had fallen, was given in addition the charge of making inquiry concerning the Bacchanalians; for some remaining seeds of the evils, formerly excited by those people, had shown themselves there the year before. The inquiries were rather commenced under the prætor, Lucius Pupius, than brought to any issue; the senate therefore ordered the new prætor to cut up that evil by the roots, lest it might spread again more extensively. The consuls, also, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people certain laws concerning canvassing for elections.

20. They next introduced the embassies to audience. And first, those of the kings, Eumenes and Ariarathes the Cappadocian; and Pharnaces of Pontus. No further answer was given to these, than that the senate would send persons to examine, and decide their disputes. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonian exiles, and from the Achæans, were next brought in. Hopes were given to the exiles, that the senate would write to the Achæans that they should be restored. The Achæans gave an account, to the satisfaction of the senate, of the recovery of Messene, and the settlement of affairs there. From Philip, king of Macedonia, came two ambassadors also,—Philocles and Appelles; not on any business with the senate, but rather to pry into and inquire concerning the correspondence with the Romans, of which Perseus had accused Demetrius, and, particularly, into that with Titus Quintius, concerning the kingdom, to the prejudice of his brother. The king had employed these men, believing them unbiassed and inclined in favour of neither party; but they were accomplices and agents of Perseus, in his treacherous designs against his brother. Demetrius, ignorant of all except the villanous scheme of his brother which had lately broke out, at first neither utterly despaired, nor yet entertained much hope of being reconciled with his father; but afterwards he trusted less and less every day to Philip's affection, having observed that an audience with him was prevented by his brother. Wherefore, not to increase the suspicions he laboured under, he used extreme circumspection in all his words and actions, and carefully avoided all

mention of, and communication with, the Romans; to such a degree as to wish that they should not write, as he knew that his father's mind was principally exasperated by charges of this nature.

21. Philip, lest his troops should be enervated by inactivity, and, at the same time, to avert all suspicion of his harbouring any design of a war with Rome, ordered his army to assemble at Stobi, in Pæonia; and thence he led it on into Mædica. He had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Hæmus, for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic Seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places, would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome. On inquiry, from people acquainted with the country, respecting the ascent to Mount Hæmus, when it was ascertained from them all, that there was no way by which an army could go up it, but that there was access for a small party, lightly accoutred, that he might soothe with familiar discourse his younger son, whom he had determined not to take with him, he first asked his opinion, "whether, as the difficulty of the journey was represented to be so great, he ought to persist in his design, or not?" He added, that, if he should resolve to proceed, he could not forget the caution of Antigonus, respecting undertakings of that kind; who being tossed about by a violent storm, when he had all his family in the same ship with him, was said to have advised his sons to remember, and hand down to their children, this maxim: "never to have the hardihood to rush into danger themselves, and their whole family together." He would therefore attend to this warning, and not expose his two sons at once to the chance of those perils, which were represented to lie in his way; and as he meant to take his elder son with him, he would send back the younger into Macedon, as a reserve to his hopes, and as guardian of the kingdom." It did not escape Demetrius that he was sent out of the way, that he might not be present at their deliberations, when, in view of those places, they should consult which were the shortest roads to the Adriatic Sea and to Italy, and what was the general plan to be pursued in the war. He was obliged however not only to obey his father on the occasion, but to express

his approbation of the measure, lest a reluctant obedience might beget suspicion. In order that his journey into Macedonia might be safe, Didas, one of the king's general officers, and governor of Pæonia, was ordered to escort him with a small party of men. Perseus took this man, as well as most of his father's friends, into the conspiracy to ruin his brother, from the time that it became plain to every one, from the tendency of the king's feelings, to which of the two the inheritance of the throne should come; and Perseus charged him on this occasion, to insinuate himself by every kind of obsequiousness into the most familiar communication with Demetrius, so as to draw from him all his secrets, and to pry into his hidden thoughts. The prince, therefore, set out with a guard more dangerous to him than if he had gone alone.

22. Philip marched first into Mædica, then crossing the deserts that lie between Mædica and Hæmus, at length, at his seventh encampment, he reached the foot of the mountain. There he halted one day, to make choice of those who were to accompany him, and on the next proceeded on his journey. At first, while they ascended the lower parts of the hills, the fatigue was moderate; but as they advanced upwards, they found the ground more thickly covered with woods, and many places impassable. They then came to a part of the way so shaded by the thickness of the trees, and the branches so interwoven with each other, that the sky could scarcely be seen; but when they drew near to the top, what is rarely seen in other places, the whole tract was covered with so thick a fog, that they were impeded no less than if they were journeying by night. At last, on the third day, they arrived at the summit. On coming down they did not discountenance the vulgar opinion, more, I suppose, lest the folly of the journey should be exposed to derision, than that it was there possible to see those seas, and mountains, and rivers, so widely distant from each other. They were all greatly fatigued by the difficulty of the way; and chiefly the king himself, in proportion as he was less fitted for exertion, owing to his advanced age. After sacrificing to Jupiter and the sun, on two altars which he consecrated on the spot, he descended in two days, though the ascent had cost him three; for he was particularly afraid of the night cold, which even at the rising of the dog-star was like the cold of winter.

After struggling with numerous hardships during those days, he found his camp in a condition not more pleasing, for as it lay in a country enclosed on all sides by deserts, there was extreme want. He halted therefore but one day, to refresh those whom he had taken with him, and then hastened away into the country of the Dentheletians, with a rapid march close resembling flight. These were allies, but the Macedonians, on account of their own necessities, plundered their country, as if it belonged to an enemy; for they first pillaged the country houses, and afterwards ravaged several villages, overwhelming the king with shame, when he heard the cries of his allies, calling in vain on the gods who witnessed their league, and on himself by name. Having carried off corn from hence, he marched back into Mædica, and laid siege to a town called Petra. He pitched his camp in a plain, and sent his son Perseus with a small party to attack the city from the higher ground. The townsmen, when danger pressed them on all sides, gave hostages, and for the present surrendered themselves; but as soon as the army retired, regardless of the hostages, they deserted the city, and fled into fastnesses and mountains. Philip returned to Macedon, after having exhausted his troops by every kind of fatigue, without effecting any purpose, and with his suspicions of his son augmented through the treachery of the governor Didas.

23. This man being sent, as before mentioned, to escort Demetrius, had, by flattering discourses, and even expressing his own indignation at the treatment shown him, imposed on the open temper of the youth, who was too much off his guard, and justly incensed against his relations; and by a voluntary offer of his assistance in all his measures, and giving a solemn assurance of fidelity, he elicited his secrets. Demetrius was meditating flight to Rome; and the governor of Pæonia appeared to him to have been sent by the kindness of the gods to aid him in his design;—through whose province he supposed he might make his escape. This scheme was immediately betrayed to his brother, and, by his direction, discovered to his father. A letter was brought the king while he was besieging Petra; and in consequence of it, Herodotus, who was the most intimate friend of Demetrius, was taken into custody, and an order was given that Demetrius himself should be guarded, without his perceiving it. These occurrences, added

to what had passed before, made the king's arrival in Macedon a sad one. The present charges had an effect on him; yet he resolved to wait the return of those whom he had sent to Rome, to procure intelligence of every particular. After he had passed several months under this uneasiness and anxiety, the ambassadors, who had preconcerted before they left Macedon, what information they should bring home from Rome, at last arrived; who, in addition to other grounds of accusation, produced to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of Titus Quintius. In this letter was a kind of interceding apology, that if the young prince, misled by the ambition of reigning, had offered some propositions to him on the subject, yet he was sure that "Demetrius would never attempt any thing against his relations; and that he himself was not such an individual as to appear capable of giving an undutiful advice." This letter confirmed the charges made by Perseus: Herodotus was, therefore, immediately put to the rack, which he endured a long time, and died under the torture, without giving information of any sort.

24. Perseus now brought before his father a second formal accusation against Demetrius. His preparations for flight through Pæonia were alleged against him, and his having bribed certain persons to accompany him on the journey; but the forged letter of Titus Quintius pressed hardest on him. There was, however, no severe sentence pronounced openly, in order that he might be put to death in secrecy, which they considered a preferable course: nor was this done through regard for himself, but lest the inflicting punishment on him might unmask designs against the Romans. The king himself having occasion to go from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent Demetrius, with the same attendant Didas, to Astræum in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive hostages from the Thracians, and is said, on parting with Didas, to have given him directions to put his son to death. A sacrifice was either intended or counterfeited by Didas, and Demetrius, being invited to be present at the solemnity, came from Astræum to Heraclea. It is said that poison was administered to him in that supper. The moment he had swallowed the draught, he was conscious of its deadly properties; and being quickly after seized with violent pains, left the banquet,

and retired to a chamber, where he continued for some time in agony, complaining of the cruelty of his father, inveighing against the fratricide of Perseus, and the villany of Didas. Then one Thyrsis of Stubera, and one Alexander of Berœa, were sent in, who, covering his head and mouth with blankets, suffocated him. In this manner perished that innocent youth, since in his case his enemies were not even content with a common kind of murder.

25. While these matters were passing in Macedon, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, being, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, led his army at the commencement of spring into the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. He had no sooner pitched his camp in the enemy's territory, than ambassadors came to him under pretext of suing for peace, but in reality as spies. When Paullus declared that he would enter into no treaty whatever, unless they first surrendered; to this they did not object, but said that it would require time to procure the consent of such a rude kind of people. When, for that purpose, a suspension of arms for ten days was granted, then they further requested that his men might not go beyond the mountains for wood or forage, for that was the part of their lands which they had under tillage. After they obtained this request, they collected all their forces behind those mountains, which they had prevented the Romans from approaching; and on a sudden, with a vast multitude, assaulted every gate of his camp at once. During that whole day, they prosecuted the attack with such vigour, that Paullus had not time to march out of the camp, nor room to draw out his troops: crowding together at the gates, they defended their camp by blocking up the passage, rather than by fighting. When the enemy had retired a little before sun-set, the general despatched two horsemen to Pisæ, to Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, with a letter, requesting him to come with all speed to his relief, as he was besieged in the midst of a truce. Bæbius had given up his army to Marcus Pinarius, the prætor, who was going into Sardinia, but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and also wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province lay the nearest, that, if he thought proper, he should march his army out of Gaul into Liguria, and relieve Lucius Æmilius from the blockade. These

succours would have come too late. The Ligurians returned next day to the attack of the camp. Æmilius, although he was aware that they would come, and although he could have drawn out his army to meet them, yet kept his men within the lines, in order that he might protract the business until such time as Bæbius should come with his army from Pisæ.

26. Bæbius's letter caused a great alarm at Rome, and it was increased by this circumstance, that, in a few days after, Marcellus coming to Rome, having given up the command of the army to Fabius, banished all hope of a possibility of the forces, then in Gaul, being removed into Liguria; for hostilities had commenced with the Istrians, who obstructed the settlement of the colony of Aquileia; and, as Fabius had led his army thither, he could not quit that country now that the war was begun. There was but one hope of relief, and even that too slow for the exigency of the time,—this was, that the consuls might hasten their march into that province, and the senators earnestly pressed them to do so. The consuls declared that they would not set out until the levies were completed, and that no indolence in them, but the violence of the epidemic sickness, was the cause of their being so long in finishing the levy. However, they could not withstand the united wishes of the whole senate, in urging them to depart in the military habit, and to proclaim a day to the troops which they had enlisted, on which they should assemble at Pisæ. Authority was given them to enlist hasty levies on their march, wherever they should go, and take them with them. Orders were likewise issued to the prætors, Quintus Petillius and Quintus Fabius, that Petillius should raise two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and compel every person under fifty years of age to enlist; and that Fabius should demand from the Latin allies, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Two commanders were appointed to the fleet, Caius Matienus and Caius Lucretius, and ships were put in readiness for them. An order was given Matienus, whose station was at the Gallic bay, to steer his squadron, with all expedition, to the coast of Liguria, and to try if he could be of any service to Lucius Æmilius and his army.

27. Æmilius, when no aid appeared in any quarter, believing that his couriers had been intercepted, resolved to

wait no longer, but to make a trial of fortune by himself; and for this purpose, before the coming of the enemy, who now made their attacks with less briskness and vigour, he drew up his troops at the four gates, that, on a signal being given, they might sally out from all sides at once. To four independent cohorts of auxiliaries, he added two others, and gave the command to Marcus Valerius, lieutenant-general, with orders to make his sally by the prætorian gate. At the right gate of the first cohort he formed the spearmen of the first legion, placing the first-rank men of the same legion in reserve: Marcus Servilius and Lucius Sulpicius, military tribunes, had the command of these. The third legion was drawn up opposite to the left gate of the first cohort, with this difference only, that here the first-rank men were posted in front, and the spearmen in reserve. Sextus Julius Cæsar and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, military tribunes, had the command of this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the right wing of the allies, was posted at the quæstorian gate: and two cohorts, with the veterans of the two legions, were ordered to stay within to guard the camp. The general himself went round by all the gates, haranguing the troops, and excited the wrath of the soldiers by all the incentives that he could use; at one time declaiming against the treachery of the enemy, who after suing for peace, and obtaining a truce, had come during the very time of that truce, in violation of the law of nations, to attack his camp; at another, setting before them what a shame it was that a Roman army should be besieged by Ligurians, people more properly styled robbers than a regular enemy. "With what face," continued he, "if you make your way hence by the assistance of others, and not by your own valour, will any of you meet, I do not say those soldiers that conquered Hannibal, or Philip, or Antiochus, the greatest kings and generals of the present age, but those who often drove those very Ligurians before them, flying like cattle through pathless forests, and put them to the sword? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians, or Carthaginians, never dared to attempt, a Ligurian enemy dares: he marches up to the trenches of a Roman camp, unexpectedly besieges and assaults it; although, formerly, we, searching carefully the recesses of the forests, were with difficulty able to find them lurking in their hiding-places." This was

answered by a general clamour, "that it was no fault of the soldiers, as no one had given them the order to sally forth. Let him but give the order, and he should soon be convinced, that both the Romans and the Ligurians were the same that ever they were."

28. There were two camps of the Ligurians on the hither side of the mountains, from which, on the former days, they had marched forward at sun-rise, all in order and regular array. On this day they did not take arms until they had made a full meal of food and wine; and then they came out in loose order, and regardless of their ranks, as they expected, with certainty, that the enemy would not venture out beyond the rampart. As they were approaching in this disorderly manner, the shout being raised by every one in the camp at once, even by the suttlers and servants, the Romans rushed out by all the gates at the same time. This event was so entirely unexpected by the Ligurians, that they were confounded no less than if they had been caught in an ambush. For a short time, some appearance of a fight was maintained, and then followed a hasty flight, and a general slaughter of the fugitives. When the signal was given to the cavalry to mount their horses, and not to suffer any to escape, they were all driven in a confused flight to their camps, and soon beaten out of them also. Above fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed, and two thousand five hundred taken. In three days after, the whole state of the Ingaunian Ligurians gave hostages, and surrendered. The masters and crews of the ships, which had been employed in piracies, were carefully sought for, and thrown into prison; and thirty-two ships of that description were taken by Caius Matienus, one of the two on the Ligurian coast. Lucius Aurelius Cotta, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, were sent to Rome to announce these transactions and bring a letter to the senate, and at the same time to request that, as the business of the province was finished, Lucius Æmilius might have permission to leave it, and to bring away his troops and disband them. Both requests were granted by the senate, and a supplication was decreed, at all the shrines, for three days; the prætors Petillius and Fabius received orders, the former to discharge the city legions, the latter to excuse the allies and Latins from the levies, and that the city prætor should write to the consuls, that the

senate thought proper that the occasional soldiers, enlisted on account of the sudden alarm, should be immediately discharged.

29. The colony of Gravisca was established this year in a district of Etruria, formerly taken from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land were given to each settler. The commissioners who conducted it were Caius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Terentius Istra. The year was rendered remarkable by a drought, and a scarcity of the productions of the earth. It is handed down on record, that during the space of six months no rain fell. In the same year, some workmen in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other, that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. When the owner of the ground had, by the advice of his friends, opened these chests, the one which, according to its inscription, contained the body of the king, was found perfectly empty, without any trace of a human body or of any thing else having ever been in it; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latin, and related to the pontifical law; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras, supporting, by this plausible fiction, the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read, first, by Petillius's friends, who were present at the discovery. Afterwards, when they became publicly spoken of in consequence of many others reading them, Quintus Petillius, the city prætor, having a desire to read those books, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when quæstor, made him a notary, and chosen him as one of ten. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived

that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines, and, thereupon, he told Lucius Petillius, that "he was determined to throw those books into the fire; but before he did so, he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or appeal to demand the restitution of them, to make the trial, which he might do and preserve his favour." The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The prætor declared, that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved; and the senate decreed, that "the prætor's having offered his oath ought to be deemed sufficient evidence that those books should, without delay, be burned in the comitium, and that such a price should be paid to the owner as might be judged reasonable by the prætor, Quintus Petillius, and the majority of the plebeian tribunes." The notary did not receive the money. The books, however, were burned in the comitium, in the view of the people, the fire being made by the public servants, whose duty it was to assist at sacrifices.

30. A formidable war broke out this summer in the Hither Spain, where the Celtiberians assembled such a force as they had hardly ever brought into the field before, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand men. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was governor of this province, who, because he heard that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, drew together all the succours he could procure from the allies. But he was by no means equal to the enemy in point of numbers. Early in spring, he marched his army into Carpetania, and fixed his camp close to the town of Æbura, in which he posted a small garrison. In a few days after, the Celtiberians pitched their camp at the foot of a hill, about two miles from that place. When the Roman prætor was informed of their approach, he detached his brother, Marcus Fulvius, with two troops of the allied horse, to the enemy's post, to take a view of them; ordering him to advance as near as possible to their rampart, so as to form a judgment of the size of the camp; and not to engage in fight, but to retreat if he should see the enemy's cavalry coming out. He acted according to his instructions, and for several days there was nothing further done than these two troops showing themselves, and then retreating when the enemy's cavalry sallied from their tents. At length,

the Celtiberians came out, with their entire force of horse and foot together, and drawing up in a line, posted themselves about midway between the two camps. The whole plain was level, and convenient for fighting, and here the Spaniards stood waiting for their enemy. The Roman general kept his men within the rampart during four successive days, while the others constantly drew up theirs, and formed in the same place. No motion was made by the Romans; and from that time the Celtiberians, because they had not an opportunity of engaging, remained quiet in their camp; their cavalry only advanced as out-posts, to be ready in case of any movement being made by Fulvius. Both parties went for wood and forage behind their own camps, neither interrupting the other.

31. When the Roman prætor thought that, by his inactivity for so many days, he had created in the Celtiberians a firm persuasion that he would not be first in any movement, he ordered Lucius Acilius, with the left wing of allies and six thousand provincial auxiliaries, to make the circuit of a mountain behind the enemy, and as soon as he should hear the shout, to pour down from them on their camp. This party, to avoid being seen, set out in the night. At the dawn of day Flaccus sent Caius Scribonius, a præfect of the allies, with the allied cavalry of the left wing, to the enemy's rampart; when the Celtiberians, observing that they approached nearer, and were also more numerous than usual, all their cavalry poured forth from the camp, and at the same time the signal is given to the infantry to sally forth. Scribonius, according to his instructions, no sooner heard the neighing of the enemy's cavalry than he wheeled about and retreated to the camp, on which they pursued with the more violence. First the cavalry, and in a short time the line of infantry, came up, confidently expecting that they should be able to assault the camp before night, and they were five hundred paces, not more, from the rampart. Flaccus, therefore, thinking that they were now drawn far enough from their camp, to hinder them from giving it any succour, as he had his troops already formed within the works, burst out from three sides at once; and at the same time raised the shout, not only to inspire ardour for the fight, but also that the party on the mountain might hear it. Nor did these make any delay, but, according

to their orders, poured down on the camp, where five thousand men, not more, were left to guard it, and when the smallness of their numbers, the multitude of the assailants, and the unexpectedness of the affair, had struck terror into them, the camp was taken almost without a struggle. Acilius set fire to that part of the camp which was most exposed to the view of the combatants.

32. The Celtiberians in the rear of their own line first observed the flames, and the news spread quickly through the whole army, that the camp was lost, and was even then completely in a blaze, which filled them with dismay, while it gave fresh spirits to the Romans; for now the shouts of victory raised by their friends struck their ear, and the enemies' camp appeared all on fire. The Celtiberians hesitated for some time, uncertain how to act, but when they considered that, in case of a defeat, they had no place of refuge, and that their only hope now lay in their arms, they renewed the combat afresh, with greater obstinacy. Their centre was pressed hard by the fifth legion; but their men advanced with more confidence against the left wing, where they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries, troops of their own kind. The left wing of the Romans was now near being defeated, had not the seventh legion come to its support. At the same time, the troops left in garrison at Æbura came up during the heat of the battle, and Acilius closed on the enemy's rear. Thus surrounded, the Celtiberians were, for a long time, cut off in great numbers, and at last the survivors betook themselves to flight in every direction. The cavalry, in two divisions, were sent in pursuit, and made great havoc. There were killed, of the enemy, on that day, twenty-three thousand, and four thousand seven hundred were taken, with more than five hundred horses, and eighty-eight military ensigns. The victory was great, but not obtained without loss of blood. There fell, of the two Roman legions, a few more than two hundred men; of the Latin confederates, eight hundred and thirty; and of foreign auxiliaries, about two thousand four hundred. The prætor led back his victorious troops to their tents: Acilius was ordered to remain in the camp which he had taken. Next day the spoils of the enemy were collected, and those whose bravery had been remarkable were presented with gifts in a public assembly.

33. The wounded were then conveyed into the town of

Æbura, and the legions marched through Carpetania, against Contrebia. The garrison there, on being invested, sent for succours to the Celtiberians; but these were long in coming, not because they were unwilling to give assistance, but that after they had begun their march the roads were rendered impassable, and the rivers swelled by continued rains, so that their countrymen, despairing of assistance, capitulated. Flaccus also, being compelled by the same severe weather, brought his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who were on their march, having heard nothing of the capitulation, when the rains abated at last, passed the rivers, and came to Contrebia. When they saw no camp before the town, supposing either that it was removed to the other side, or that the enemy had retired, they came up towards the walls in careless disorder. The Romans made a sally against them from two gates, and attacking them in confusion completely routed them. The same circumstance that disabled them from standing their ground and maintaining a fight,—their not having come in one body, or in a regular disposition, round their standards,—proved favourable to many in making their escape: for they scattered themselves widely over the whole plain, so that the Romans could no where enclose any considerable body of them. However, there were about twelve thousand killed, and more than five thousand taken, with four hundred horses, and sixty-two military standards. The stragglers, flying homewards, turned back another body of Celtiberians, whom they met on the road, by informing them of the surrender of Contrebia, and their own defeat; whereupon they all immediately dispersed, and made the best of their way to their several villages and forts. Flaccus, leaving Contrebia, led his legions through Celtiberia ravaging the country; he stormed many forts until at length the greatest part of the Celtiberians surrendered.

34. Such were the transactions of that year in Hither Spain. In the Farther province, Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. In the same year the Latin colony of Aquileia was established in the Gallic territory. Three thousand foot soldiers received each fifty acres, centurions a hundred, horsemen a hundred and forty. The three commissioners who conducted the settlement were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius and Lucius

Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated this year, one to Venus Erycina, at the Colline gate; Lucius Porcius Licinius, duumvir, son of Lucius, dedicated it. This temple had been vowed, during the Ligurian war, by Lucius Porcius, the consul. The other to Piety, in the herb-market. Manius Acilius Glabrio, the duumvir, dedicated this temple; he erected a gilded statue of his father Glabrio, the first of the kind that ever was seen in Italy. This was the person who vowed the temple, on the day whereon he gained the decisive victory over king Antiochus, at Thermopylæ, and who, likewise, had contracted for its being built, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. At the same time when these temples were consecrated, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the proconsul, triumphed over the Ingaunian Ligurians. He carried in the procession twenty-five golden crowns, but no other article of either gold or silver. Many Ligurian chiefs were led captives before his chariot, and he distributed to each of his soldiers three hundred *asses*.[1] The arrival of ambassadors from the Ligurians, begging that a perpetual peace might be established, enhanced the reputation of this triumph, and they asserted, that "the Ligurians had come to a resolution never again to take arms, on any occasion, except when commanded by the Roman people." This answer was given to the Ligurians, by Quintus Fabius, the prætor, by order of the senate, that "such kind of language was not new with the Ligurians; but it concerned chiefly their own interest that their disposition should be new, and conformable to their language. They must go to the consuls, and perform whatever was commanded by them; for the senate would never believe, from any other than the consuls, that the Ligurians were really and sincerely disposed to peace." Peace however was made with that people. In Corsica, a battle was fought against the inhabitants. The prætor, Marcus Pinarius, slew in the field about two thousand of them; by which loss they were compelled to give hostages, and a hundred thousand pounds of wax. The army was then carried over into Sardinia, and some successful battles were fought against the Iliensians, a nation, even at the present day, not in every particular friendly to us. In this year a hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians, and the Roman people enabled them to live in peace, not only among themselves,

[1] 19*s*. 4*d*.

but also with Masinissa, who at that time with an armed force held possession of the land in dispute.

35. The consuls had nothing to do in their province. Marcus Bæbius, being summoned home to Rome to preside at the elections, created consuls Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus and Caius Calpurnius Piso. Then Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula, Titus Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, and Caius Mænius were made prætors. All these entered into office on the ides of March. In the beginning of this year, in which Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius Calpurnius Piso were consuls, Lucius Minucius, lieutenant-general, and two military tribunes, Titus Mænius and Lucius Terentius Massilicta, who had come from Hither Spain from Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, were introduced to an audience of the senate by Aulus Postumius the consul. These, after informing the senate of the two victories gained, of the submission of Celtiberia, and of the conclusion of the business of the province, and that there was no occasion either to send pay, as usual, or corn to the army for that year, requested, first, that "on account of these successes a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods; and, then, that leave should be given to Quintus Fulvius, on his quitting the province, to bring home from it the army which had served under him and many former prætors, with much bravery. They represented, that this measure, besides the propriety of it, was in some degree necessary, for the troops were so obstinately bent on it, that it did not seem possible to keep them longer in the province; but, if they were not disbanded, they would either leave it without orders, or, if any one would attempt to detain them by compulsion, would break out into a dangerous mutiny." The senate ordered, that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. The prætors then cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Aulus Hostilius; the foreign, to Titus Minucius; Sicily, to Publius Cornelius; Sardinia, to Caius Mænius; Farther Spain, to Lucius Postumius; and Hither Spain, to Tiberius Sempronius. As this last was to succeed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and wished that the province might not be stripped of the veteran troops, he spoke thus: "Quintus Minucius, I demand of you, since you assert, in your report, that your province is subdued, do you

think, that the Celtiberians will always faithfully observe the treaty, so that the province may be kept in obedience without an army? If you cannot give us any assurance of, or undertake to answer for, the fidelity of the barbarians, but think that, at all events, there must be an army maintained there, I pray you, whether would you recommend to the senate to send a reinforcement into Spain, in order that those soldiers only who have served out their time may be discharged, and the recruits mixed with the veterans? or to withdraw the veteran legions, and enlist new ones, and send them in their place? and this, although the contempt entertained for such new recruits might rouse barbarians of more pacific tempers to a renewal of war? would it be a matter easier said than done, to reduce to complete subjection a province naturally fierce, and constantly renewing the war? A few states, as I am informed, who were awed, more than the rest, by the nearness of our winter quarters, have submitted to our authority and dominion, while those more remote are in arms. This being the case, conscript fathers, I now give notice before-hand, that, with the army at present there, I will undertake to execute the business of the republic; but, if Flaccus bring those legions home with him, I will choose some quiet part of the country for winter quarters, and will not expose raw soldiers to an enemy so remarkably ferocious."

36. To these questions, which he had been asked, the lieutenant-general answered, that "neither he nor any other could possibly divine what were the sentiments of the Celtiberians, or what they would be in future; therefore he could not deny that it would be proper to send an army among a barbarous people, who, though reduced to a state of quiet, were not yet sufficiently inured to subjection; but whether a new army or a veteran one might be requisite, rested with him to decide who could ascertain with what sincerity the Celtiberians would observe the peace; and who, at the same time, had assurance that the troops would remain quiet, if kept longer in the province. If a conjecture were to be formed of their intentions, either from their conversations with each other, or from the expressions with which they interrupted the general's harangues, they had openly and loudly declared, that they would either keep their commander in the province, or come home with him to Italy." This dis-

cussion, between the prætor and the lieutenant-general, was suspended by the consuls introducing other matters; for they thought it right, that their own provinces might be adjusted before they deliberated concerning the army of the prætor. An army entirely new was decreed to the consuls: two Roman legions to each, with their proportion of cavalry; and of the Latin allies, the usual number of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. With these forces, they were directed to make war on the Apuan Ligurians. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were continued in command, and ordered to hold the government of the provinces until the consuls should arrive. They were ordered then to disband their troops, and return to Rome. Then they deliberated concerning the army under Tiberius Sempronius. The consuls were ordered to enlist for him a new legion of five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse; and also a thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse; and to command the allies of Latium to furnish seven thousand foot and three hundred horse. With this army it was determined that Sempronius should go into Hither Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius, with respect to all those soldiers, whether Romans or allies, who had been transported into Spain previous to the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius; and likewise to such as, after the junction of the reinforcements, should be found in the two legions, above the number of ten thousand four hundred foot and six hundred horse; and in the Latin auxiliaries above twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse, who had behaved with courage under Quintus Fulvius in the two battles with the Celtiberians,—these, if he thought proper, he might bring home. Thanksgivings were also decreed, because he had managed the republic successfully; and the rest of the prætors sent into their provinces. Quintus Fabius Buteo had his command in Gaul. It was resolved that eight legions should be employed this year, besides the veteran army then in Liguria, which expected to be speedily disbanded; and that very army was made up with difficulty, in consequence of the pestilence which continued, for the third year, to depopulate the city of Rome and all Italy,

37. Tiberius Minucius, the prætor, died of this malady; and soon after, Caius Calpurnius, the consul; also many illus-

trious men of all ranks; so that at last this calamity began to be considered as a prodigy. Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, was ordered to find out proper atonements for the wrath of the gods; the decemvirs to inspect the books, and the consul to vow offerings, and to present gilded statues, to Apollo, Æsculapius, and Health; which he vowed and gave. The decemvirs proclaimed, on account of the sickness, a supplication of two days in the city, and in all the market-towns and villages; all persons above the age of twelve years offered the supplication, with garlands on their heads, and holding laurels in their hands. There had, also, crept into people's minds a suspicion of human villany in regard to it, whereupon Caius Claudius, the prætor, who had been substituted in the room of Tiberius Minucius, was commissioned by a decree of the senate, to make inquisition concerning acts of poisoning committed in the city, or within ten miles of it; and Caius Mænius was ordered to do the same, before he passed over to his province, Sardinia, in the market-towns and villages beyond the tenth stone. The death of the consul was most suspected. It was reported that he had been murdered by his wife, Quarta Hostilia; and when her son, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was proclaimed consul in the room of his stepfather, the death of Piso began to excite much more suspicion; for witnesses appeared, who testified, that, after Albinus and Piso were declared consuls, in which election Flaccus had suffered a disappointment, his mother upbraided him with being refused the consulship a third time, and then desired him to make ready to stand candidate again, saying, "she would take such measures that within two months he should be made consul." This expression verified by the event, which was but too real, joined to many other evidences of the same tendency, appeared such strong proof, that Hostilia was condemned. In the spring of this year, the levies detained the new consuls at Rome; while the death of one of them, and the holding of the assembly to substitute another in his place, occasioned still further delays. In the mean time Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius, who, in their consulate, had done nothing worth mention, led their troops into the country of the Apuan Ligurians.

38. The Ligurians, who did not expect an attack before the arrival of the consuls in the province, were surprised, and

surrendered to the number of twelve thousand men. Cornelius and Bæbius, having consulted the senate by letter, determined to bring them down from their mountains into a plain country, so far from home, that they should have no hope of a return; for they were convinced, that before this was done no end could be put to the war in Liguria. There was a tract of land in Samnium, the public property of the Roman people, formerly occupied by the Taurasinians. When they intended to transplant the Apuan Ligurians to this country, they published an order, that this people should quit the mountains, with their wives and children, and bring all their effects along with them. The Ligurians made, by their ambassadors, many humble supplications that they might not be compelled to relinquish their native home, the soil in which they were born, and the tombs of their forefathers. They promised to give up their arms, and deliver hostages. After they failed in all their solicitations, and were destitute of strength for the maintenance of a war, they obeyed the order. Forty thousand men, of free condition, with their women and children, were transplanted at the expense of the public, and a hundred and fifty thousand sesterces[1] were given them, to provide necessaries for their new habitations. Cornelius and Bæbius, who removed them, were commissioned to divide and apportion the lands; but, at their own request, the senate appointed five other commissioners, by whose advice they should act. When they had finished this business, and brought home their veteran soldiers to Rome, a triumph was decreed them by the senate. These were the first who ever triumphed without having fought an enemy. Hostages only were led before their chariots; for there appeared not, in their triumphs, either spoils to be carried, or prisoners to be led captives, or money to be distributed to the soldiers.

39. In the same year Fulvius Flaccus, the proconsul in Spain, as his successor did not come to the province at the usual time, having drawn out the troops from their winter quarters, proceeded to lay waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whose inhabitants had not come in to make submission. But by this proceeding he rather provoked than terrified the spirits of the barbarians; so that, having collected secretly a body of forces, they beset the Manlian pass, through which

[1] 1210*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

they knew, with certainty, that the Roman army would march. Gracchus had commissioned his colleague, Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to the Farther Spain, to desire Quintus Fulvius to bring his forces to Tarraco, where he intended to discharge the veterans, to distribute the reinforcements among the respective corps, and reorganize the entire army. The day also was mentioned to Flaccus, and that not very distant, on which his successor would arrive. When tidings of this new arrangement had compelled Flaccus to drop the business which he had undertaken, and to lead away the troops in haste out of Celtiberia, the barbarians, unacquainted with the reason, and supposing that he had discovered their revolt and secret assembling of an army, and that he was retreating through fear, beset the pass with the greater determination. When the Roman army entered this defile, at the dawn of day, immediately the enemy starting up attacked it at two sides at once. And when Flaccus saw this, he put down the confusion arising among the soldiers by giving orders through the centurions that every man should keep his post, in the order of march, and make ready his arms; then collecting the baggage and beasts of burden, into one spot, partly by himself, partly by the help of the lieutenants-general, and military tribunes, he formed his troops as the time and place required, without any confusion. He put them in mind, that they were to engage with men "who had been twice reduced to submission; that guilt and perfidy, not valour or courage, were their only accessions. That these people had put it in their power to make their return to their country which otherwise would have been ignoble, glorious and splendid; for they would now carry home their swords red from the slaughter, and spoils dropping blood." The time did not allow more to be said, as the enemy were rapidly advancing upon them; the extremities of the wings were already engaged, and quickly after the entire lines.

40. The battle was furious in every part, but the success various. The two legions fought with extraordinary bravery, nor were the two cohorts of the allies remiss; but the foreign auxiliaries were hard pressed, by men armed like themselves, and rather a better description of soldiers; nor were they able to maintain their ground. The Celtiberians, as soon as they perceived that, in a regular line, and in fair fighting, they were no match for the legions, made a charge against them,

in the form of a wedge, in which sort of attack they excel so much, that on whatever part they direct their assault they cannot be withstood. On this occasion, too, the legions were disordered, and the line was almost broken. When Flaccus observed this disorder, he rode up to the legionary cavalry, asking them, "Have we any support in you? Is the whole army to be lost?" Whereupon they called to him from all sides, to "tell them what he wished to be done; and that it should be instantly attempted." "Cavalry of the two legions, double your troops," he replied, "and charge the wedge, which is attacking our soldiers; you will make a more violent charge, if you spur your horses without bridles against the foe. This expedient is recorded to have been often employed by the Roman cavalry with great advantage." They obeyed his orders, and taking off the bits of the bridle, they spurred in full career through that body twice, forward and backward, breaking their spears to pieces, and making great havoc of the enemy. The Celtiberians, on this dispersion of their wedge, on which had been their whole reliance, were quite dismayed, and almost giving over the fight, looked about for ways to escape. And now, when the allied horse saw this brilliant exploit of the Roman cavalry, they were so inflamed by the example of their bravery, that without waiting for orders, they made a charge on the enemy, while they were in confusion. Then truly all the Celtiberians scatter and fly, and the Roman general, when he saw their backs, vowed a temple to Equestrian Fortune, and games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great. The fugitives, dispersing, were pursued with much slaughter, through the whole length of the pass. Seventeen thousand of the enemy are recorded to have been killed on this occasion, and more than four thousand taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven military standards, and near one thousand one hundred horses. The victorious army pitched no camp on that day. This victory, however, was not gained without loss; four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers, one thousand and nineteen of the allies and Latins, and besides these three thousand of the auxiliaries perished. The victorious army, having thus reasserted their former renown, finished their march to Tarraco. The prætor, Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived two days before, came out to meet Fulvius on the road, and congratulated

him on the important services which he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then, with perfect unanimity, settled what soldiers they should discharge, and what they should retain; and Fulvius, embarking the disbanded soldiers in the fleet, set sail for Rome, while Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

41. Both the consuls led their armies into Liguria, but on different sides. Postumius, with the first and third legions, invested the mountains of Balista and Suismontium; and, by securing the narrow passes leading thereto with guards, cut off all supplies of provisions; and by want of every thing he reduced them to an entire obedience. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians; and having received the submission of that part of them which inhabited the banks of the river Macra, he put them, to the number of seven thousand men, on board ships, and sent them along the Etrurian coast to Neapolis, from whence they were conducted into Samnium, and lands were assigned to them among their countrymen. The vineyards of the Ligurians of the mountains were cut down and their corn burnt by Aulus Postumius, until, compelled by all the calamities of war, they surrendered and delivered up their arms. From thence Postumius proceeded, by sea, to visit the coast of the Ingaunian and Intemelian tribes. Before these consuls joined the army which had been ordered to meet at Pisæ, Aulus Postumius, and a brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, had the command of it. Fulvius was military tribune of the second legion. He in his months[1] of command disbanded the legion, after obliging the centurions to swear, that they would carry the money in their hands to the treasury, and deliver it to the quæstors. When this was announced to Aulus at Placentia, to which place he happened to have made an excursion, he set out with some light horsemen, in quest of the disbanded men; and such as he could overtake, he sharply rebuked and brought back to Pisæ, and then apprised the consul of the whole matter. When he laid the business before the senate, a decree was passed that Marcus Fulvius should be banished into that part of Spain beyond New Carthage; and a letter was given him by the consul,

[1] As there were six tribunes in each legion, they took the command of it in turn, each holding it for two months.

to be carried into Farther Spain, to Publius Manlius. The soldiers were ordered to return to their standards; and it was decreed, that, as a mark of disgrace, that legion should, for that year, receive but half a year's pay. The consul was likewise ordered to sell the person and property of every soldier who should not return to the army.

42. In the same year Lucius Duronius, who had been prætor the year before, returned with ten ships from Illyricum to Brundusium, and leaving the fleet in that harbour, came to Rome, and in giving a recital of the services which he had performed in his province, he threw the blame of all the piracies committed by sea, on Gentius, king of Illyricum, as their undoubted cause. "From his kingdom," he said, "came all the ships that had ravaged the coast of the Hadriatic; that he had sent ambassadors on the subject, but they were not even allowed an audience of the king." Some time before this, ambassadors had come to Rome from Gentius, who said, that "when the Romans came for the purpose of holding a conference with the king, he happened to be sick in a remote part of his dominions; and that Gentius requested of the senate, not to give credit to the forged charges which his enemies had made against him." Duronius added, that injuries were offered to many Roman citizens and Latin allies, in Gentius's dominions; some of whom he held in confinement in Corcyra. It was their pleasure that all these should be brought to Rome; that the prætor, Caius Claudius, should inquire into that business; and that until this were done, no answer should be given to king Gentius, or his ambassadors. Among many others whom the pestilence of this year cut off, several priests also died. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died of it; and in his room was substituted Quintus Fabius Labeo. Publius Manlius, who had lately come home from the Farther Spain, and was triumvir of religious feasts, died also; Quintus Fulvius, son of Marcus, then a mere youth, succeeded him. The appointing of a king of the sacrifices in the room of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, gave rise to a dispute between Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, naval duumvir; whom the pontiff ordered to resign his office, to the end that he might inaugurate him; and on the duumvir's refusing to do this, a fine was therefore imposed on him by the pontiff; and when the latter appealed, they contended about the affair

before the people. After a majority of the tribes, being called in, had ordered that the duumvir should comply with the requisition of the pontiff, and that if he would resign his commission the fine should be remitted, an unfavourable omen from the heavens intervened, which broke off the proceedings of the assembly. After this the pontiffs were prevented by religious scruples from inaugurating Dolabella. They consecrated Publius Clælius Siculus, who had been installed in the second place. Towards the end of the year, Caius Servilius Geminus, the chief pontiff, also died; the same was decemvir of religious affairs. In his room, as pontiff, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was nominated by the college; but Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, was elected chief pontiff, though many illustrious men sought that office; and Quintus Marcius Philippus was appointed to the office of the same, as decemvir of religious affairs. Spurius Postumius Albinus, an augur, died; and the augurs elected into his place Publius Scipio, son of Africanus. On the request of the people of Cumæ that year, leave was granted them to use the Latin language in their public business, and that their auctioneers should have a right to use the Latin language in selling.

43. To the Pisans, offering ground for the establishment of a Latin colony, thanks were returned by the senate, and triumvirs were appointed to conduct that business; these were Quintus Fabius Buteo, Marcus Pompilius Lænas, and Publius Pompilius Lænas. A letter was brought from Caius Mænius, the prætor, (to whom, after that the province of Sardinia had fallen to his lot, orders were given to make inquisition concerning sorceries, in places more than ten miles distant from the city,) the purport of which was, "that he had already passed sentence on three thousand people; and that still, in consequence of fresh discoveries, the business of the inquisition increased so much on his hands, that he must either drop the prosecution of the inquiries, or give up the province." Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned to Rome from Spain, with a high reputation for his military exploits; and while he waited without the city in expectation of a triumph, was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus. And after a few days, he rode through the city in triumph, accompanied by the soldiers whom he had brought with him. He carried in the procession a hundred and twenty-four golden crowns,

together with thirty-one pounds' weight of gold, and of coined Oscan silver a hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred pieces.[1] He gave out of the booty to each of the soldiers, fifty denariuses; double that sum to a centurion; triple it to a horseman; and the same sums to the Latin allies, with double pay to all. This year, for the first time, a law was proposed by Lucius Villius, plebeian tribune, ascertaining at what ages men might sue for, and hold each office in the state. Hence the surname Annalis was given to his family.

44. Four prætors were elected, after a lapse of many years, by the Bæbian law, which enacted that four should be elected every alternate year; and the persons appointed were Cneius Cornelius Scipio, Caius Valerius Lævinus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, and Publius Mucius Scævola, sons of Quintus. To the consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, was decreed the same province as to the preceding ones, and the same number of forces, infantry, cavalry, citizens, and allies. In the two Spains, Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius were continued in command, with the same armies which they then had; and to recruit their numbers, the consuls were ordered to enlist, of Romans three thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the Latin allies, five thousand foot and four hundred horse. Publius Mucius Scævola obtained by lot the city jurisdiction, and likewise the business of the inquisitions concerning sorcery, in the city, and within ten miles of it; Cneius Scipio, the foreign jurisdiction; Quintus Mucius Scævola, Sicily; and Caius Valerius Lævinus, Sardinia. The consul, Quintus Fulvius, before he meddled with any of the public business, declared that "he intended to acquit both himself and the state of the obligation of fulfilling the vows which he had made; that on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberians, he had vowed to perform games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to build a temple to Equestrian Fortune; and that by the Spaniards a contribution of money had been made for these purposes." A vote was passed that the games should be performed, and that duumvirs should be appointed to contract for the building of the temple. With regard to the expenses, a limitation was fixed, that "no greater sum should be expended on the games than that which had been voted to Fulvius Nobilior, when he

[1] 5592*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

exhibited games on the conclusion of the Ætolian war; and that the consul should not, on account of these games, send for, collect, or receive, or do any thing contrary to the decree of the senate passed concerning games in the consulate of Lucius Æmilius and Cneius Bæbius." The senate qualified their vote in this manner, on account of the lavish expense occasioned by the games of Tiberius Sempronius, the ædile, which had been burthensome not only to Italy and the Latin allies, but even to the provinces abroad.

45. The winter of that year was rendered severe by falls of snow and storms of every kind; those kinds of trees which are susceptible of injury from cold, were all blighted; and it continued at that time somewhat longer than on other occasions. Wherefore a tempest coming on suddenly, and with intolerable violence, shortly after, interrupted the Latin festivals on the mount; and they were celebrated afterwards, pursuant to an order of the pontiffs. The same storm also threw down many statues in the Capitol, disfigured very many buildings by lightning, as the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the white temple at Capua, and a Roman gate; and in some places the battlements of the wall were overthrown. Among the rest of these prodigies, an account was received from Reate, that a three-footed mule had been foaled there. On account of those portents, the decemvirs, having been ordered to consult the books, declared to what gods, and with how many victims, sacrifices should be performed; and that on account of very many places being disfigured by lightning, a supplication of one day should be performed at the temple of Jupiter. Then the votive games of the consul Quintus Fulvius were exhibited with great magnificence, during ten days. Soon after was held the election of censors. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were chosen. Apparent hostilities existed between these men, which were frequently displayed in many violent disputes, both in the senate and in the assemblies of the people. When the election was ended, the censors, according to ancient custom, seated themselves in curule chairs in the Campus Martius, near the altar of Mars; whither in a few minutes came the principal senators, accompanied by the body of the citizens, of whom Quintus Cæcilius Metellus spoke as follows:—

46. "Censors, we are not unmindful that you have been just now, by the whole body of the Roman people, set over our morals; and that we ought to be admonished and ruled by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, that should be pointed out, which in you may either give offence to all good men, or at least what they would wish to be altered. When we look at you separately, Marcus Æmilius, Marcus Fulvius, we know not, in the whole state, any one person whom, if we were called back again to vote, we could wish to be preferred to you; but when we behold you both together, we cannot avoid fearing that you are but ill associated; and that the public may not reap as much advantage from your being exceedingly pleasing to every one of us, as injury, from your being displeasing one to another. You have for many years past harboured an enmity, violent in its degree, and detrimental to yourselves; and it is to be feared, that from this day forward it may prove more detrimental to us and to the state, than it has been to you. As to the reasons why we fear this, many observations which might be made occur to yourselves; had you not happened to be implacable they would have engrossed your senses. These feuds we all beseech you to terminate this day, in that sacred place, and to suffer those whom the Roman people have united by their suffrages, to be united by us, through this re-establishment of friendship also. May you, with unanimity and harmony, choose the senate, review the knights, hold the census, and close the lustrum, as truly and sincerely as you would wish that to happen which you express in the words, used in almost all your prayers, 'that this affair may prove good and prosperous to me and my colleague:' and cause us men also to believe that you really desire that which you entreat of the gods. Titus Tatius and Romulus, after they had engaged in battle as public enemies, in the midst of the forum of this city, reigned there with unanimity. Not only quarrels, but wars, are ended; and from deadly foes men frequently become faithful allies, nay, sometimes, even fellow-citizens. The Albans, after the demolition of Alba, were brought over to Rome: the Latins, the Sabines, were admitted into the number of citizens. It is a common saying, and, because founded in truth, has become a proverb, that 'friendships ought to be immortal, but enmities mortal.'" A roar of approbation burst forth: and

presently after, the voices of every one present, joining in the same request, interrupted his speech. Then Æmilius, besides other complaints, represented, that through Marcus Fulvius he had been twice deprived of the consulship, which seemed sure. On the other hand, Fulvius complained that he had always been assailed by Æmilius, and that security had been given for him, which was attended with great disgrace. Nevertheless, each of them intimated that if the other would wish, he was ready to submit to the direction of such a number of the most respectable members of the state; and all present urgently repeating their request, they mutually pledged their right hands, and their honour, to dismiss in reality and forget all animosity. Then the whole assembly expressing the highest applause of their behaviour, they were escorted to the Capitol. Both the attention paid to such a matter by the persons of the first consequence, and the compliance of the censors, were most warmly approved and commended by the senate. The censors then demanded that a sum of money should be assigned to them, which they might expend in public works; and the customs of one year were accordingly decreed to them.

47. In the same year the proprætors in Spain, Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Sempronius, settled between them, that Albinus should march through Lusitania, against the Vaccæans, and thence return into Celtiberia, and Gracchus penetrate into the remotest parts of that province, if the commotions there were more dangerous. First, having made an unexpected assault on the city of Munda, by night, he took it by storm; then, after having received hostages and placed a garrison, he proceeded to attack their forts and ravage the country with fire, until he arrived at another very strong city, (the Celtiberians call it Certima,) there, when he was already advancing his works, deputies came out from the town, whose speech partook of all the simplicity of the earliest times, not dissembling their wishes to continue the war, if they had strength to support it.—For they requested permission to go into the camp of the Celtiberians, and procure assistance from them; and said, that "if they did not obtain it they would then deliberate apart from them. By the permission of Gracchus they went; and in a few days after brought with them ten other ambassadors. It was mid-day. The first thing that they asked of the prætor was, that he would order some

drink to be given them. After drinking off the first cups, they asked a second time, causing thereby loud laughter from those present, at minds so unpolished, and ignorant of all civilization. The eldest of them then says, "We have been sent by our nation to ask, on what do you rely that you attack us?" To this question Gracchus answered, that "he came relying on an excellent army; which if they chose to see, in order to carry back more certain information to their friends, he would give them an opportunity;" and he orders the military tribunes to draw up, in array, all the forces both horse and foot, and make them go through their exercise in arms. After this sight, the ambassadors, being dismissed, deterred their people from attempting to succour the besieged city. When the townsmen had from the towers raised fires, (which was the signal agreed upon,) to no purpose, and had been disappointed in their only hope of relief, they capitulated. A contribution of two million four hundred thousand sesterces[1] was imposed on them; and they were ordered to furnish forty horsemen of the highest rank among them, not under the denomination of hostages, for they were ordered to serve as soldiers, but in reality to be pledges for their fidelity.

48. From thence Gracchus now marched to the city of Alce, where lay the camp of the Celtiberians, from which the ambassadors had lately come. When he had harassed them for some days with skirmishes, by sending his light troops to charge their advanced guards, he made attacks more important every day, in order to entice them all out of their intrenchments. As soon as he perceived that his object had been effected, he gives orders to the præfects of the auxiliaries, that after a short contest they should suddenly turn their backs, as if they were overpowered by numbers, and fly with all haste to the camp: in the mean time he himself drew up all his forces in order, within the rampart, at all the gates. No long time had intervened, when he saw a body of his own troops flying back, according to the preconcerted plan, and the barbarians following in a disorderly pursuit. He had his army drawn up within the trench in readiness for this very opportunity. He therefore delayed only so long as to allow his own men to retreat into the camp by a free passage; then, raising the shout, he rushed forth from all the

[1] 19,375*l.*

gates at the same time. The enemy did not sustain the unexpected shock. They who came to assault his camp could not defend even their own. For they were instantly routed, put to flight, driven in a panic within their trenches; and at last beaten out of them. On that day nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and three hundred and twenty taken, with a hundred and twelve horses and thirty-seven military ensigns. Of the Roman army there fell a hundred and nine.

49. After this battle, Gracchus led the legions to ravage Celtiberia. And when he was carrying and driving off all things from every quarter, some states voluntarily, others through fear, submitted to his yoke; within a few days he received the submission of a hundred and three towns; he got immense booty. He then marched back to Alce, whence he came, and set about besieging that city. The townsmen withstood the first assault of the enemy; as soon as they found themselves attacked, not only by arms but by works also, having despaired of any protection in the city, they all retired to the citadel. And then at last they sent envoys, and surrendered themselves, and every thing belonging to them, to the Romans. Great plunder was obtained from this. Many prisoners of distinction fell into his power, among whom were two sons and a daughter of Thurrus. This chieftain, who governed those tribes, was by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards. On hearing the disasters of his countrymen he sent persons to request protection for himself when coming to the camp to Gracchus, and he came. And he first asked him, "Whether the lives of himself and his subjects would be spared?" When the prætor answered that they would; he asked again, "Whether it would be allowed him to bear arms on the side of the Romans?" To this too Gracchus assenting, he said, "I will follow you then against my old allies, since they have not thought proper to pay any regard to me." From that time he united himself to the Romans, and by his brave and faithful exertions he in many places advanced the Roman interest.

50. After this, Ergavia, a celebrated and powerful city, terrified by the disasters of the surrounding states, opened its gates to the Romans. There are some writers who say, that this submission of the towns was not made with sincerity; that, from whatever district he might have led the legions,

hostilities were there renewed forthwith; and that he afterwards fought, near Mount Caunus, a pitched battle with the Celtiberians, from break of day to the sixth hour; that many fell on both sides, and that the Romans did not perform any feat, from which you might believe that they were not vanquished, excepting that, next day, they offered battle to the enemy remaining in their intrenchments: that they employed that whole day in collecting the spoils, on the third day they fought again a more desperate battle, then there was no doubt that the Celtiberians were at last completely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered. Twenty-two thousand of the enemy were killed on that day, more than three hundred taken, and almost an equal number of horses, and seventy-two military standards. This put an end to the war: the Celtiberians concluded a sincere peace, and did not waver in their allegiance as before. They say also, that during the same summer Lucius Postumius fought twice with success in the Farther Spain against the Vaccæans, killed thirty-five thousand of the enemy, and took their camp. It is however more probable, that he came into the province too late to succeed well in that summer.

51. The censors inspected the senate with sincere unanimity. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the censor, who was likewise chief pontiff, was chosen head of the senate; three were expelled from that body. Lepidus restored some who were rejected by his colleague. They completed these works with the money which had been assigned, and divided between them: —Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, an unpopular work, because he had estates there, and brought into the account of the public expenditure what ought to have been done at his own expense. He contracted for the building of a theatre and stage near the temple of Apollo, the whitening of the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, and the columns around it; he also removed from those columns the statues that stood unseemingly before them, and took down from them the shields and military ensigns of all sorts hung thereon. Marcus Fulvius made contracts for works more numerous and of more use; a haven on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it; on which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, who were the censors, many years after, bargained for the erection of arches; a court of justice behind the new bankers' houses, and a fish-market sur-

rounded with shops, which he sold to private persons; also a forum and portico, on the outside of the gate Trigemina; another portico behind the dock-yard, and one at the temple of Hercules; also a temple of Apollo Medicus, behind that of Hope, on the bank of the Tiber. They had besides, some of the money undivided, and out of this they jointly agreed to pay for water being brought, and arches being made; but Marcus Licinius Crassus hindered this work, for he would not suffer it to be brought through his grounds. They also established many port duties and customs, and took care that very many public chapels, which had been occupied by private individuals, should be public and consecrated, and open to the people. They likewise made an alteration in the mode of voting; for, through all the regions, they divided the tribes[1] according to the different ranks, conditions, and callings of men.

52. One of the censors, Marcus Æmilius, petitioned the senate, that a sum of money should be voted for the celebration of games, in honour of the dedication of the temples of Imperial Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years before, when employed in the Ligurian war. They accordingly voted twenty thousand *asses*.[2] He dedicated those temples each in the Flaminian circus; and celebrated theatrical games for three days after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and for two after that of Diana, and each day in the circus. He also dedicated a temple to the deities of the sea[3] in the field of Mars, which Lucius Æmilius Regillus had vowed eleven years before this, in a naval engagement against the commanders of king Antiochus. Over the gate of the temple was hung up a tablet with this inscription: "This temple was vowed by Lucius Æmilius, the son of Marcus Æmilius, on coming forth from a battle which he fought for the purpose of establishing peace, in which he concluded a mighty war and subdued kings, —because under his auspices, command, and successful generalship, the fleet of king Antiochus, under the very eyes of Antiochus himself and his entire army, cavalry and elephants, was conquered, thrown into confusion, shattered, and put to flight, on the eleventh day before the calends of January; and there on that day thirteen ships of war with all their crews

[1] In consequence of which regulation, all those of each tribe, who were of the same rank and occupation, voted together.

[2] 64*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* [3] Neptune, Thetis, and Glaucus.

were taken. When that battle was fought, king Antiochus and his dominions * * * * * * *[1] On this account he vowed a temple to the titular gods of the sea." In the same manner a tablet was placed over the gate of the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol.

53. Two days after the censors had inspected the senate, the consul Quintus Fulvius marched against the Ligurians; and having with his army crossed over pathless mountains and woody valleys, he fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy, and all that tract of Liguria, surrendered. The consul brought down all those who surrendered into the low-lands, and posted guards on the mountains. His letters from that province quickly reached Rome, and thanksgivings for three days were voted on account of his successes. The prætors, during these thanksgivings, celebrated divine worship by sacrificing forty victims of the larger kind. By the other consul, Lucius Manlius, nothing worth recording was done in Liguria. Transalpine Gauls, to the number of three thousand, coming over into Italy, without offering to commit hostilities on any one, petitioned the consul and senate for some land, that they might live as peaceable subjects, under the government of the Roman people. But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the consul Quintus Fulvius to search after and punish those who had been the first to advise them to cross the Alps.

54. This year died Philip, king of the Macedonians, being worn out with old age, and grief occasioned by his son's death. He spent the winter at Demetrias, in great anguish of mind, occasioned both by regret for his son and contrition for his own cruelty. His other son also disquieted his mind, who, both in his own opinion and that of others, was undoubtedly king. The eyes of all were turned to him, and his own old age was desolate. Some only waiting for his death, while others did not even wait for that event. By which circumstance he was still more distressed, and with him Antigonus, son of Echecrates, named after his uncle Antigonus, who had

[1] Here are given, in the original, some lines, as the inscription; but so corrupted and so defective, as to be utterly unintelligible. Gronovius endeavours, in vain, to explain them; Crevier gives the matter up.

been guardian to Philip, a man of royal dignity, and famed also for a remarkable battle which he fought against Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian. The Greeks called him the Guardian, to distinguish him from the other princes of that surname.[1] His nephew Antigonus, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured with his favours, alone remained uncorrupted; and this faithful attachment to him had made Perseus, who had been in no wise his friend, become now his most inveterate enemy. He, foreseeing in his mind with what danger to himself the inheritance of the kingdom would fall to Demetrius, as soon as he perceived the king's mind to waver, and that he sometimes sighed with regret for the loss of his son; at one time by listening, and at another by making mention of the deed, as being rashly done, he himself was at hand, adding his complaint to the frequent lamentations of the king;—and, as the truth usually affords many traces of itself, he assisted with the most zealous diligence, in order that the whole might be brought to light as speedily as possible. Of the agents employed in that business, those who were most generally supposed guilty, were Apelles and Philocles, who had gone ambassadors to Rome, and had brought the letter under the name of Flamininus, which had proved so ruinous to Demetrius. They generally murmured in the palace, that it was a forgery, falsified by the secretary, and that the seal was counterfeited.

55. But while this thing was rather a matter of suspicion than of certainty, Antigonus accidentally met Xychus, whom he seized and brought to the palace; then leaving him in custody of guards, Antigonus went on to the apartment of Philip, to whom he said, "I think I understood from many conversations, that you would value it highly, if you could ascertain the whole truth respecting your sons, which of the two was assailed by the other's deceit and secret machinations. Xychus, the only man in the world who can unravel this mystery, is now in your power. I met him by accident, and I have brought him to the palace; order him to be called into your presence." On being brought in, he at first denied; but with such irresolution, as showed that by a slight application to his fears he would become a ready informer. He did not withstand the sight of the executioner

[1] They called him also Euergetes, and Soter.

and the instruments of torture, but disclosed the whole process of the villany of the ambassadors, and his own services therein. Persons were instantly despatched to seize the ambassadors, and they apprehended by surprise Philocles, who was present, but Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a person called Chærea, having heard of the information given by Xychus, went over into Italy. With respect to Philocles, no certain account has been published: some say, that for a time he boldly denied all knowledge of the matter; but that when Xychus was confronted with him, he persisted no longer; others, that he even suffered the rack without confessing. Philip's grief was renewed and doubled; and he felt his unhappiness, with regard to his children, press the heavier on him, because one of them was not.

56. When Perseus was told that all was discovered, he was too powerful to think that flight was necessary. He only took care to keep out of the way, intending to guard himself, in the mean time, during the remainder of Philip's life, from the flame, as it were, of his burning resentment; who, having lost hopes of subjecting the person of Perseus to punishment, meditated on this, as the last resource, that he would not, besides impunity, enjoy the reward of his wickedness also. Therefore he addresses himself to Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for the discovery of the fratricide; and whom he supposed the Macedonians, considering the fresh renown of his uncle Antigonus, would neither be ashamed nor displeased at having for their king. "Antigonus," says he, "since I have been brought into such a situation that the being childless, a state which other parents reckon a curse, ought to be wished for by me, I am resolved to transfer to you the kingdom which I received from your uncle, and which his faithful and resolute guardianship not only preserved for me, but even enlarged. You are the only friend I have, whom I can judge worthy of the throne; and, if I had not one such, I should wish it to perish and become extinct, rather than be a prize to the treacherous villany of Perseus. I shall think Demetrius recalled from the dead, and restored to me, if I can leave you substituted in his room, who alone have wept for his innocent death, and for my unhappy error." After this discourse he did not fail to advance him by conferring on him honours of every kind; and, as Perseus was absent in Thrace, he went

round the cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to the chief men; and, had his life been prolonged, there is no doubt but that he would have left him in possession of the throne. After leaving Demetrias, he staid a very long time at Thessalonica; and when he had gone thence to Amphipolis, he was there seized with a severe sickness. Yet it was evident that it was a disorder of the mind rather than of the body, and that, owing to his anxieties and want of sleep, for apparitions and phantoms of his innocent murdered son ever and anon disquieted him, he breathed his last uttering awful imprecations on the other. Nevertheless Antigonus might have been first acquainted with the death of the king, had it not been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the physician, who had the charge of his treatment, not expecting the king's death, sent to Perseus, on the first appearance of desperate symptoms, messengers who had been previously stationed at different places; and till his arrival he concealed the death of the king from all but those who were in the palace.

57. Perseus therefore surprised them all, when not expecting, and totally ignorant of, his arrival, and seized on the throne, which was obtained by wickedness. The demise of Philip happened very seasonably for the purpose of gaining time and collecting strength for the support of a war: for, in a few days after, the nation of the Bastarnians, in consequence of long solicitation, set out from their own abodes, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, and crossed the Danube. Antigonus and Cotto (the latter was a Bastarnian of distinction, and Antigonus had been sent, much against his will, with this same Cotto, as ambassador, to persuade his countrymen to take arms) went forward, to carry intelligence of this to the king; but at a small distance from Amphipolis a rumour, and then authentic information, acquainted them with the king's death; which event disconcerted the whole arrangement of their plan. It had been arranged in this manner;—Philip was to procure for the Bastarnians a safe passage through Thrace, and supplies of provisions. In order to be able to effect this, he had courted the chieftains in that country by presents, having pledged his faith that the Bastarnians should march through it in a peaceable body. It was proposed to exterminate the nation of the Dardanians, and to establish settlements for the Bastarnians in their country:

from which measure a double advantage would accrue, if both the Dardanians, a nation ever hostile to Macedonia, and anxiously looking to the unfortunate periods of its kings, would be removed out of the way; and the Bastarnians, having left their wives and children in Dardania, might be sent to ravage Italy. That the road to the Adriatic Sea and Italy was through the country of the Scordiscians, and that the army could not be led by any other way; that the Scordiscians would readily grant a passage to the Bastarnians, for they would have no dislike to people resembling themselves in language and manners, and would probably join them in an expedition, when they saw that they were on their way to the plunder of a most opulent nation. The remaining plans were accommodated to every kind of event that might take place; for if the Bastarnians would be cut off by the Romans, still the removal of the Dardanians, and the booty to be gained from the remains of the former, and the full possession of Dardania, would prove a consolation; or if they should be successful, then, while the Romans would be employed in the Bastarnian war, he might recover what he had lost in Greece. Such had been the designs of Philip.

58. The Bastarnians commenced their march in a peaceable array, relying on the word of Cotto and Antigonus. But, not long after the report of Philip's death, neither the Thracians were easily dealt with, nor would the Bastarnians be content with what they could purchase; nor could they be kept in a body, so as not to go out of the road. In consequence, injuries were committed on both sides; and, from the daily multiplication of these, war at last burst forth. When at last the Thracians were unable to withstand the great strength and numbers of the enemy, having deserted their towns in the plains, they betook themselves to a high mountain (they call it Donuca). When the Bastarnians wished to come up, such a tempest there discomfited them, when in vain approaching the summit of the mountain, as, we are told, destroyed the Gauls, when plundering Delphi. They were not only overwhelmed with a deluge of rain, followed by prodigious thick showers of hail, accompanied by tremendous noises in the sky, thunder, and lightning which dazzled their sight; but the thunderbolts, also, fell so frequently on all sides, that their bodies seemed to be aimed at: and not only the soldiers, but their officers also,

being struck by them, fell. When therefore, in hasty flight, they, rushing on blindly, were scattered, and tumbling over very high rocks, and the Thracians also attacked them when already in dismay, they themselves then said, that the gods were the cause of the flight, and that the sky was falling on them. When, being dispersed by the storm, as by a shipwreck, they had returned (most of them half armed) to the camp whence they had set out, they then began to consider what they should do; on which a disagreement ensued, some advising to return home, and others to advance to Dardania. About thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, arrived at that place; the rest marched back, by the same road through which they came, to the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, having got possession of the kingdom, ordered Antigonus to be put to death; and, until he could settle his affairs on a firm foundation, sent ambassadors to Rome, to renew the treaty concluded by his father, and to request the senate to give him the title of king. These were the transactions of that year in Macedon.

59. One of the consuls, Quintus Fulvius, triumphed over the Ligurians; which triumph, it was agreed, was granted rather to the greatness of his influence, than to that of his exploits. He carried in the procession a vast quantity of arms, taken from the enemy, but no money; yet he distributed to each soldier three hundred *asses*, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman. There was nothing in this triumph more remarkable, than that it happened to be celebrated on the same day of the year on which he had triumphed, after his prætorship, the year before. After the triumph he proclaimed the assembly of election, in which were chosen consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, and Aulus Manlius Vulso. Afterwards, a storm interrupted the election of prætors, though three had been already elected; but on the following day, the fourth before the ides of March,[1] the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and Titus Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were renewed by the curule ædiles, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, and Appius Claudius Centho, on account of the prodigies which had occurred. In the public forum, where a lectisternium was being celebrated, there was an earthquake, and the heads of the gods who were on the couches turned away their faces, and the cloak and

[1] The eleventh of March.

robes placed on Jupiter fell off. It was also construed as a prodigy, that the mice gnawed the olives on the table. For the expiation of these, nothing more was done than repeating the celebration of the games.

BOOK XLI.

The sacred fire was extinguished in the temple of Vesta. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus conquered the Celtiberians and received their submission, and built the town Gracchuris in Spain, as a memorial of his exploits. The Vaccæans and Lusitanians also were subdued by the proconsul Postumius Albinus. Both generals triumphed. Antiochus, the son of Antiochus, having been delivered to the Romans by his father, as a hostage, on the death of his brother Seleucus, who had succeeded his father on his demise, being sent from Rome to the sovereignty of Syria, acted the part of a very worthless king, with the exception of his attention to religion, owing to which he erected many magnificent temples in various places; at Athens to Olympian, and at Antioch to Capitoline Jupiter. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and sixty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-four citizens are said to have been rated. Quintus Voconius Saxa, tribune of the people, proposed a law, that no one should make a woman his heir. Marcus Cato advocated the law: his speech is extant. This book contains besides the successes against the Ligurians, Istrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians, and the commencement of the Macedonian war, which Perseus, the son of Philip, was planning; for he had sent an embassy to the Carthaginians, which had been heard by them at night; and besides he was tampering with different states of Greece.[1]

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1. *The Roman people had now carried their victorious arms over all parts of the world, and far and wide had penetrated countries at a vast distance, and separated by several seas. Nevertheless, in such a tide of success flowing according to their wishes, having obtained a high character for modera-*

[1] This book is very imperfect; a great part of the beginning of it is lost; and there are, besides, considerable chasms in other parts of it. The supplemental passages which the translator has introduced, to complete the connexion, are taken from Crevier. They are printed in a different character.

tion, they were more powerful by their influence than by their military sway; and they boasted frequently that they carried more measures with foreign nations by policy, than by violence and terror. Never insulting conquered nations and kings, generous to their allies, seeking for themselves the honour of victory only, to kings they had preserved their rank, to nations their laws, rights, and liberty, whether in a treaty formed with an equal or with an inferior; and although they had so encompassed, by their arms, both coasts of the Mediterranean, from Cadiz even as far as Syria, and had gained respect for the Roman name through immense tracts of territory, yet the only subjects they had, were the nations of Sicily, and the islands on the coast of Italy, and the tribes of the greater part of Spain, which had not yet learned to bear their yoke with resignation. It was the ill-timed treachery of their enemies and rivals, rather than their own ambition, that afforded them cause and material for the increase of their sway. As a special instance: the cruelty of Perseus, who obtained the kingdom of Macedon by treachery and crime, displayed towards his subjects, detested by all, his frantic avarice in the midst of boundless wealth, his inconsiderate levity in the adoption and prosecution of his plans, both destroyed him, and whatever could remain independent, as long as he existed, the principal restraint on the Roman power; for his fall recoiled upon others, and brought with it not only the downfal of his neighbours, but also that of those who were far removed from him. The fall of Carthage and of the Achæans followed the ruin of the Macedonians: and when the state of all was convulsed by their disasters, the rest of the empires, already tottering for some time, were overthrown shortly after, and all fell beneath the Roman sway. It was my intention to lay here before the reader at a glance these events, so intimately connected in interest, though occurring at different times and places, whilst he contemplated the war impending over the Romans from Perseus, from which especially the Roman power drew the sources of its growth. Perseus was then concocting that war in secret; the Ligurians and Gauls provoked rather than employed the Roman arms.

2. *Gaul and the Ligurians were the provinces assigned to the consuls, Marcus Junius Brutus, Aulus Manlius Vulso: Gaul was assigned to Manlius, Liguria to Junius. As to the prætors,*

the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Titinius Curvus; the foreign, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Sicily, to Publius Ælius Ligus; Sardinia, to Titus Æbutius; Hither Spain, to the other Marcus Titinius, for there were two of that name prætors in that year; and the Farther Spain, to Titus Fonteius Capito. A fire broke out in the forum, by which very many buildings were burnt to the ground, and the temple of Venus was entirely consumed. The sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished: the virgin who had the care of it was punished with stripes, by order of Marcus Æmilius, the chief pontiff, and supplication was performed, as usual in such cases. In this year the lustrum was closed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, censors, in which were rated two hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and forty-four citizens. The ambassadors of Perseus arrived, requiring that he should be saluted by the senate as king, ally, and friend, and that the treaty should be renewed with him which had existed with his father Philip. Perseus was an object of hatred and suspicion to the Romans, and most of them had no doubt, that as soon as an opportunity was presented, and his strength appeared to him adequate to the struggle, he would wage against the Romans the war, prepared in secret by Philip, for so many years. However, that they might not appear to have provoked him when quiet and desirous of peace, and to have themselves furnished him with a cause for war, they conceded to him his demands. Perseus, when this answer was received, supposing that the kingdom was secured to him, began to acquire influence among the Greeks. Being desirous therefore of procuring their friendship, he recalled into Macedon all, without exception, who had gone into exile, when condemned for debt or by any judicial proceeding, and those who had left Macedon for high treason, by edicts, openly announced in the island of Delos, and at Delphi, and at the temple of Minerva at Itone, in which he granted to those returning not only pardon, but also restoration of all their property, with the income, from that period in which each became an exile. He also remitted to those who were living in Macedon whatever was due to the royal exchequer; and released all those imprisoned for high treason. When by these acts he had encouraged the minds of many, he turned the attention of all Greece towards himself, and filled

it with great hope. And besides, in the entire deportment of the rest of his life, he preserved the dignity of a king; for his mien was noble, and his person well fitted to discharge all the duties of war and peace; and his age, now matured, possessed a graceful majesty, beaming from brow and forehead. He had none of his father's wantonness, and licentious passions for women and wine. By these praise-worthy acts Perseus rendered the beginning of his reign agreeable, although it was destined to have a termination very different from its commencement.

3. *Before those prætors who had obtained by lot the Spains could come to their provinces, great exploits were there performed by Postumius and Gracchus. But the praise of Gracchus was extraordinary, for he being in the prime of life, since he far surpassed all his coevals in courage and prudence, even then was lauded greatly by fame, and raised greater hope of himself with regard to the future. Twenty thousand Celtiberians were besieging Carabi, a city in alliance with the Romans. Gracchus hastened to bear aid to his allies. That anxiety tortured him, how he could signify his intention to the besieged, while the enemy pressed the city with so close a blockade, that it scarcely appeared possible that an enemy could reach it. The daring of Cominius executed the difficult task. He being præfect of a troop of horse, having previously weighed over the matter with himself, and having informed Gracchus of what he was preparing, dressed himself in a Spanish military cloak, and mixed with the enemy's foragers. Having entered the camp with them he galloped from it to the city, and announced the approach of Tiberius. The townsmen, being aroused by this intelligence from the depth of despair to cheerfulness and daring, and having determined to fight bravely to the last, were relieved from blockade on the third day, in consequence of the enemy having departed on the arrival of Gracchus. He himself having been afterwards attacked by a stratagem of the barbarians, by the union of skill and strength, so repelled the danger, that the artifice recoiled on its originators. There was a town, Complega by name, that had been built several years before, but strengthened by fortifications and increased by speedy additions, into which many of the Spaniards had flocked, who previously straggled here and there in need of territory. About twenty thousand men coming forth from that city in the garb of suppliants, and holding forth*

branches of olive, stood in view of the camp as if entreating peace. Immediately, having cast away the emblems of suppliants, and having suddenly attacked the Romans, they fill every place with alarm and consternation. Gracchus, by a prudent counsel, deserted the camp under the pretence of flight: and whilst they were plundering it with the usual greediness of barbarians, and were encumbering themselves with the spoil, he suddenly returned, and attacking them when in no apprehensions of such an evil, slew the most of them, and even made himself master of their town. There are some who tell the story differently: that Gracchus, when he had discovered that the enemy were distressed from want of food, abandoned his camp, which was very well furnished with all articles of food; that the enemy, having taken possession of it, and having intemperately filled themselves with what they had found, and gorged themselves to repletion, were suddenly cut off by the return of the Roman army.

4. *But whether this is a different way of telling the same exploit, or quite a different affair and different victory, it is certain that Gracchus completely conquered several tribes, and moreover the entire nation of the Celtiberians. I would not however have the hardihood to assert that he took and destroyed three hundred of their cities, although Polybius, a writer of the highest authority, makes mention of it; unless that under the name of cities we include towers and castles: by which description of falsehood both the generals in wars and the writers of histories take delight in setting off exploits. For Spain, with its dry and uncultivated soil, could not support a large number of cities. The wild and uncivilized manners of the Spaniards, with the exception of those that dwell on our sea, are also at variance with the assertion, since the dispositions of men are accustomed to become more mild by the meeting with fellow-citizens which occurs in towns. But whatever we may determine concerning the number or description of the cities taken by Sempronius, (for writers vary also in the number, and some have related that one hundred and fifty towns were taken by him, others that one hundred and three was the number,) he certainly performed noble achievements; nor was he distinguished by the praises he received in war only; but he also proved himself unparalleled in arranging and arbitrating peace and laws for the*

conquered nations. For he distributed lands among the poor and assigned them habitations, and by giving and receiving an oath, secured to all the tribes inhabiting that country, laws clearly defined, according to which they were to live in friendship and alliance with the Roman people. And posterity often appealed to the authority of this treaty in the wars which afterwards broke out. Gracchus appointed that the town which was hitherto called Illurcis, should be distinguished by his own name, and called Gracchuris, as a monument of his merit and actions. The report of the acts of Postumius is more involved in obscurity. However the Vaccæans and Lusitanians were conquered by him, and forty thousand of these nations were slain. These affairs being transacted, they both, when they had delivered up the armies and provinces to their successors on their arrival, went home to triumph. In Gaul, Manlius the consul, to whom that province had fallen, when material for a triumph was wanting, eagerly seized an opportunity presented by fortune, of waging war against the Istrians. They had aided the Ætolians on a former occasion when making war against the Romans, and lately too had given trouble. At that time Æpulo, a king of a violent disposition, ruled them, who was said to have armed the nation trained to peace by his father, and therefore was much endeared to the youth desirous of plundering.

I. When the consul held a council on the subject of a war with Istria, some were of opinion that it ought to be begun immediately, before the enemy could collect forces; others, that the senate ought first to be consulted; the opinion was adopted which opposed delay. Accordingly the consul, marching from Aquileia, pitched his camp at the lake Timavus, which lies very near the sea. Thither came Caius Furius, one of the naval commanders, with ten ships; for two naval commanders had been appointed against the fleet of the Illyrians, and these commanders, with twenty ships for the protection of the coast of the Hadriatic, were to make Ancona, as it were, the pivot of their position; so that Lucius Cornelius had to guard the coasts on the right, extending from the latter place to Tarentum; and Caius Furius those on the left, as far as Aquileia. This squadron was sent to the nearest port in the Istrian territory, with a number of transports and a large store of provisions; while the consul, following with the

legions, encamped at the distance of about five miles from the coast. A plentiful market was soon established at the port, and every thing conveyed thence to the camp. That this might be done with greater safety, out-posts were fixed around the camp; a newly-levied cohort of Placentines was posted between the camp and the sea, as a picket in the direction of Istria; and that the watering-parties might likewise have protection at the river, orders were given to Marcus Æbutius, military tribune, to take thither two companies of the second legion. Titus and Caius Ælius, military tribunes, led out the third legion on the road towards Aquileia, in support of those that went for food and forage. In the same quarter, nearly a mile distant, was the camp of the Gauls: Catmelus acted as their chieftain, and they were not more than three thousand armed men.

2. When the Roman army first reached the lake Timavus, the Istrians took post behind a hill, where they could not be seen; and on its march thence followed it through by-ways, watching attentively for some opportunity that might give them an advantage; nor did any thing that was done, either on land or sea, escape their observation. When they saw that the advanced guards of the Romans were weak, and that the market-place was filled with an unarmed crowd of persons trafficking between the camp and the sea, and that they had not fortified themselves either by works on land, or by the help of ships, they made an assault on two of their posts at once, that of the Placentine cohort, and that of the two companies of the second legion. A morning fog concealed their design; and when this began to disperse as the sun grew warm, the light piercing through it in some degree, yet still being far from clear, and, as usual in such cases, magnifying the appearance of every thing, deceived the Romans, and made the army of the enemy appear much greater to them than it really was. And when the troops in both the posts, terrified, had fled in the utmost confusion to the camp, there they caused much greater alarm than that which they were under themselves: for they could neither tell what made them fly, nor answer any question that was asked. Then a shouting was heard at all the gates, since there were no guards at them which could withstand an attack: and the crowding together of the soldiers, who fell one against the other in the

dark, raised a doubt as to whether the enemy was within the rampart. One only cry was heard, that of those urging to the sea. This cry uttered by one, and without an object and by chance, resounded every where throughout the entire camp. At first, therefore, a few with their arms and a greater part without them, as if they had received orders so to do, ran off to the sea shore; then followed more, and at length almost the whole of the army, and the consul himself, when, having attempted in vain to call back the fugitives, he had effected nothing by commands, advice, and, at last, by entreaties. Marcus Licinius Strabo, a military tribune of the third legion, with three companies alone, remained, being left behind by his legion. The Istrians having made an attack on the empty camp, after that no other had met them in arms, came upon him while he was drawing up and encouraging his men at the general's quarters; the fight was maintained with more resolution than might be anticipated, from the small number of the defenders; nor did it cease until the tribune, and those who stood round him, were all slain. The enemy then, tearing down the general's tent, and seizing on all they could find, went on to the quæstor's quarters, and the adjoining forum, called Quintana. Thereupon, when they found all kinds of food dressed and laid out in the quæstor's tent, and the couches placed in order, their chieftain lay down and began to feast. Presently all the rest, thinking no more of fighting or of the enemy, did the same; and being unaccustomed to any sort of rich food, they greedily gorged themselves with meat and wine.

3. The appearance of affairs among the Romans was by no means the same. There was confusion both on land and sea; the mariners struck their tents, and hastily conveyed on board the provisions which had been sent on shore; the soldiers in a panic rushed into the boats, and even into the water. Some of the seamen, in fear lest their vessels should be overcrowded, opposed the entrance of the multitude, while others pushed off from the shore into the deep. Hence arose a dispute, and in a short time a fight, accompanied by wounds and loss of lives, both of soldiers and seamen; until by order of the consul, the fleet was removed to a distance from the shore. He next set about separating the armed from the unarmed; out of so large a number, there were scarcely found

twelve hundred who had preserved their arms; very few horsemen who had brought their horses with them; while the rest were an ill-looking throng, like servants and sutlers, and would certainly have fallen a prey, if the enemy had not neglected the war. At length an express was despatched to call in the third legion and the out-post of the Gauls; and at the same time the troops began to march back from all parts in order to retake the camp, and wipe off their disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered their men to throw away the forage and wood, and commanded the centurions to mount two elderly soldiers on horses from which the loads were thrown down, and each of the cavalry to take a young foot soldier with him on his horse. He told them, "it would be a great honour to their legion, if they should recover, by bravery, the camp which had been lost by the cowardice of the second; and that this might be easily effected, if the barbarians were surprised while busied in plundering. In like manner as they had taken it, so might it be retaken." His exhortation was received by the army with the utmost alacrity; they eagerly bear on the standards, nor do the soldiers delay the standard-bearers. However the consul, and the troops which were led back from the shore, reached the rampart first. Lucius Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only urged on his men, but informed them also, that "if the Istrians meant to retain the camp, which they had taken, by the same arms by which they took it, they would, in the first place, have pursued their enemy driven from his camp to the sea; and, in the next place, they would certainly have stationed guards outside the rampart; and that it was very likely that they were lying in sleep, or drowned in wine."

4. Immediately after this, he ordered his own standard-bearer, Aulus Bæculonius, a man of known bravery, to bear in the standard; who replied, that if the men were willing to follow him, he would cause it to be done more quickly. Then, exerting all his strength, after throwing the standard across the intrenchment, he was the first that entered the gate. And on the other side, Titus Ælius and Caius Ælius, military tribunes of the third legion, with their cavalry arrived; and, quickly after them, the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the beasts of burden; also the consul with the main

body. Only a few of the Istrians, who had drunk in moderation, betook themselves to flight: death succeeded as the continuation of the sleep of the others; and the Romans recovered all their effects unimpaired, except the victuals and wine which had been consumed. The soldiers, too, who had been left sick in the camp, when they saw their countrymen within the trenches, snatched up arms, and committed great slaughter. The bravery of Caius Popilius, a horseman, was pre-eminent above that of all. His surname was Labellus. He had been left behind in the camp, on account of a wound in his foot, notwithstanding which he slew by far the greatest number of the enemy. About eight thousand Istrians were killed, but not one prisoner taken; for rage and indignation had made the Romans regardless of booty. The king of the Istrians, though drunk after his banquet, was hastily mounted on a horse by his people, and effected his escape. Of the conquerors there were lost two hundred and thirty-seven men; more of whom fell in the fight in the morning, than in the retaking of the camp.

5. It happened that Cneius and Lucius Cavillius, new citizens of Aquileia, coming with a convoy of provisions, and not knowing what had passed, were very near going into the camp after it was taken by the Istrians. These men, when, leaving their baggage, they had fled back to Aquileia, filled all things with consternation and alarm, not only there, but, in a few days after, at Rome also; to which intelligence was brought, not only that the camp was taken, and that the troops ran away, as was really the case, but that every thing was lost and that the whole army was entirely cut off. Wherefore, as is usual in a dangerous emergency, extraordinary levies were ordered by proclamation, both in the city and throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were raised, and ten thousand foot and five hundred horse were demanded from the allies of the Latin nation. The consul Marcus Junius was ordered to pass on into Gaul, and demand from the several states of that province, whatever number of troops each was able to supply. At the same time it was decreed that Tiberius Claudius, the prætor, should issue orders for the fourth legion, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, of the Latins, to assemble at Pisæ; and that he should guard that province during the consul's absence; and

that Marcus Titinius, the prætor, should order the first legion, and an equal number of allied foot and horse, to meet at Ariminum. Nero, habited in general's robes, set out for Pisæ, which was in his province. Titinius, after sending Caius Cassius, military tribune, to Ariminum, to take the command of the legion there, held a levy at Rome. The consul, Marcus Junius, passed over from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and having immediately ordered a levy of auxiliaries through the states of Gaul, and having ordered the colonies to send soldiers, came to Aquileia. There he learned that the army was safe; wherefore, after despatching a letter to Rome, that they might be no longer alarmed, he sent home the auxiliaries, which he had ordered the Gauls to furnish, and proceeded himself to join his colleague. There was great joy at Rome after the unexpected news; the levies were stopped, the soldiers who had taken the military oath were discharged, and the troops at Ariminum, who were afflicted with a pestilential sickness, were remanded home. The Istrians, when they with a numerous force were encamped at no great distance from the consul, after they heard that the other consul was arrived with a new army, dispersed, and returned to their several states. The consuls led back their legions into winter quarters at Aquileia.

6. The alarm caused by the affairs of Istria being at length composed, a decree of the senate was passed, that the consuls should settle between themselves which of them should come to Rome, to preside at the elections. When two plebeian tribunes, Aulus Licinius Narva and Caius Papirius Turdus, in their harangues to the people, uttered severe reflections on Manlius, then abroad; and proposed the passing of an order, that although the government of their provinces had already been continued to the consuls for a year, yet Manlius should not hold command beyond the ides of March; in order that he might immediately, after going out of office, be brought to trial. Against this proposition, Quintus Ælius, another tribune, protested; and, after violent struggles, prevailed so far, as to prevent its being passed. About this time, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus came home from Spain, an audience of the senate is granted to them, by Marcus Titinius the prætor, to speak of the services which they had rendered, and demand the honours they had merited, and also that thanksgiving should be offered

to the immortal gods. At the same time also it was known, by the letters of Titus Æbutius the prætor, which his son brought to the senate, that there was great commotion in Sardinia. The Iliensians, having added to their forces Balearian auxiliaries, had invaded the province though at peace with them; nor could resistance be offered to them by a weak army, which had besides lost great numbers by a pestilence. Ambassadors from the Sardinians made the same representations, entreating the senate to send relief to their cities; for as to the country, it was already entirely ruined. This embassy, and every thing which referred to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. There was an embassy from the Lycians, no less entitled to commiseration, who complained of the cruel treatment which they suffered from the Rhodians, to whose government they had been annexed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio. "They had formerly," they said, "been under the dominion of Antiochus, and their bondage under that king, compared to their present condition, appeared an honourable state of liberty; that they were not only oppressed by acts of government, but individually underwent real slavery. That they themselves, their wives, and children, were abused alike by them; that cruelties were practised on their persons, and their character blotted and dishonoured, a circumstance which would excite the indignation of every one. They were openly treated with contemptuous insults, merely for the purpose of exercising an usurped prerogative, that they might not doubt that there was no difference between them and purchased slaves." The senate was highly displeased at such proceedings, and gave the Lycians a letter to the Rhodians, acquainting them, that "it was the will of the senate, that neither the Lycians should be subjected to the Rhodians as slaves, nor should any other men who were born free become the slaves of any one; but that the Lycians should be under the government, and, at the same time, the protection of the Rhodians, in like manner as the allied states were subjected to the Roman people."

7. Two triumphs for conquests in Spain were then successively celebrated. First, Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies; next day, Lucius Postumius triumphed over the Lusitanians, and the other Spaniards in that quarter. Tiberius Gracchus carried in the procession forty

thousand pounds' weight of silver, Albinus twenty thousand. They distributed to each of their soldiers twenty-five denariuses,[1] double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; the same sums to the allied troops as to the Roman. The consul, Marcus Junius, happened to arrive at Rome at this time from Istria, in order to hold the elections. The plebeian tribunes, Papirius and Licinius, after harassing him in the senate, with questions relative to what had passed in Istria, brought him into the assembly of the people. To which inquiries the consul answered, that "he had been not more than eleven days in that province; and that as to what had happened when he was not present, he, like themselves, gained his information from report." But they still proceeded to ask, "why, then, did not Manlius rather come to Rome, that he might account to the Roman people for his having quitted Gaul, the province allotted to him, and gone into Istria? When had the senate decreed a war with that nation? When had the people ordered it? But he will say, 'Though the war was indeed undertaken by private authority, yet it was conducted with prudence and courage.' On the contrary, it is impossible to say, whether it was undertaken with greater injustice than the rashness with which it was conducted. Two advanced guards were surprised by the Istrians; a Roman camp was taken, with whatever infantry and cavalry were in it; the rest in disorder, without arms, and among the foremost the consul himself, fled to the shore and the ships. But he should answer for all these matters when he became a private citizen, since he had been unwilling to do so while consul."

8. The elections were then held, in which Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day the following persons were elected prætors, Publius Ælius Tubero, a second time, Caius Quintus Flamininus, Caius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Valerius Lævinus. The city jurisdiction fell, by lot, to Tubero; the foreign, to Quintus; Sicily, to Numisius; and Sardinia, to Mummius; but this last, on account of the importance of the war there, was made a consular province. Gracchus obtains it by lot; Claudius, Istria; Scipio and Lævinus received Gaul, which was divided into two provinces. On the ides of March, the day when Sempronius and Claudius

[1] 15*s.* 7½*d.*

assumed the administration, a cursory mention only was made of the provinces of Sardinia and of Istria, and of those who had commenced hostilities there; but on the day following, the ambassadors of the Sardinians, who had been referred to the new magistrates, were introduced, and Lucius Minucius Thermus, lieutenant-general under the consul Manlius in Istria, attended; and by them the senate was accurately informed how far these provinces were involved in war. Ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience, made a powerful impression on the senate. The amount of their complaints was, that "their citizens, having been rated in the general survey at Rome, had most of them removed thither; and that if this practice were allowed, it would come to pass, in the course of a very few lustrums, that their deserted towns and country would be unable to furnish any soldiers." The Samnites and the Pelignians also represented, that four thousand families had emigrated to Fregellæ; and that neither of these places furnished less soldiers on that account. That there had been practised two species of fraud in individuals changing their citizenship: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latins, who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by an abuse of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people. For, at first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. Afterwards, they neglected even these appearances of law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, and getting themselves included in the survey. To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law that no one should make any man his property, or alienate such property for the purpose of a change of citizenship; and that if any person should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he should not enjoy the rights of a citizen."

9. The senate granted their petitions; and then Sardinia and Istria, the provinces which were in arms, were disposed of. Two legions were ordered to be enrolled for Sardinia, each containing five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and of allies and Latins, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse; and it was decided that the consul should have ten ships, of five banks of oars, if he should think it requisite to take them from the docks. The same numbers of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Istria as for Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to send into Spain to Marcus Titinius, one legion, with three hundred horse and five thousand foot, and two hundred and fifty horse of the allies. Before the consuls cast lots for their provinces, several prodigies were reported: that in the Crustumine territory, a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars; that in the Roman territory, a boy was born defective in his limbs; that a serpent with four feet had been seen; that at Capua, many buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; and, that at Puteoli, two ships were burned by lightning. Amidst these prodigies which were reported from abroad, a wolf also, after entering Rome by the Colline gate, was chased during the day, and, to the great consternation of its pursuers, escaped through the Esquiline gate. On account of these prodigies, the consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and there was a supplication, for one day, at all the shrines. When the sacrifices were duly performed, they cast lots for their provinces; Istria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, proposed a law and issued a proclamation, that "any of the allies and Latin confederates, who themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November." Inquiry concerning such as did not obey, was intrusted to Lucius Mummius the prætor. To the law and the proclamation of the consul, was added a decree of the senate, that "the dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or prætor, who then should be in office, before whom any slave should be brought, to receive manumission, should cause the said slave who was about to be made free, to make oath, that the person giving him liberty did not do it for the purpose of his changing his citizenship;" they

ordered that he, whoever would not swear this oath, should not be manumitted. The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business was, for the future, assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

10. While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, the consuls of the preceding year, after remaining during the winter at Aquileia, led their army early in the spring into the Istrian territories; where when they spread their depredations through a great part of the country grief and indignation, rather than any well-grounded hope of being able to make head against these joint forces, roused the Istrians, on perceiving the plunder of their property. A hasty levy of their young men being made from all their cantons, this raw and tumultuary army made its first onset with more vigour than perseverance. About four thousand of them were slain in the field; and the rest, giving over the war, fled in different directions to their respective states. Soon after, they sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and then delivered up the hostages required of them. When these transactions were made known at Rome, by letters from the proconsul, Caius Claudius, the consul, fearing that this proceeding might, perhaps, take the province and the army out of his hands, without offering vows, without assuming the military habit, and unaccompanied by his lictors, having acquainted his colleague alone with his intention, set out in the night, and with the utmost speed hastened to the province, where he conducted himself even with less prudence than he had shown in coming. For, in an assembly which he called, after making severe remarks on Manlius's running away from the camp, which were very offensive to the ears of the soldiers, as they themselves had begun the flight, and after railing at Marcus Junius, as having made himself a sharer in the disgrace of his colleague, he at last ordered both of them to quit the province. And when they replied, that when the consul should come, in the regular manner, agreeably to ancient practice; when he should set out from the city, after offering vows in the Capitol, attended by his lictors and dressed in the military habit, then they would obey his orders. Maddened by anger, he summoned the person who acted as quæstor to Manlius, and ordered him to bring fetters, threatening to send Junius and Manlius to Rome in chains. The consul's command was slighted by this man too; and the sur-

rounding crowd of soldiers, who favoured the cause of their commanders, and were incensed against the consul, supplied him with resolution to refuse obedience. At last the consul, overpowered by the reproaches of individuals and the scoffs of the multitude, for they even turned him into ridicule, went back to Aquileia in the same ship in which he had come. Thence he wrote to his colleague, desiring him to give notice to that part of the new-raised troops who were enlisted for Istria, to assemble at Aquileia, in order that he should have no delay at Rome, but set out, in the military habit, as soon as the ceremony of offering vows was finished. These directions his colleague punctually executed, and an early day was appointed for the assembling of the troops. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he called an assembly, that he might represent the conduct of Manlius and Junius; and, staying only three days in Rome, he offered his vows in the Capitol, put on the military habit, and, attended by his lictors, set out to his province with the same rapid speed which he had used in the former journey.

11. A few days before his arrival, Junius and Manlius had laid vigorous siege to the town of Nesatium, in which the principal Istrians, and Epulo their king, had shut themselves up. Claudius, bringing thither the two new legions, dismissed the old army, with its commanders; invested the town himself; and prosecuted the siege with regular works. He by the labour of many days changed the course of, and carried away in a new channel, a river which flowed on the outside of the wall, and greatly impeded the proceedings of the besiegers, while it supplied the Istrians with water. This event, of the water being cut off, terrified the barbarians, as if effected by some supernatural power; yet still they entertained no thoughts of peace, but set about killing their wives and children; exhibiting a spectacle shocking even to their enemies; and, after putting them to death in open view on the walls, tumbled them down. Amid the simultaneous shrieking of women and children, and this horrid carnage, the soldiers, scaling the walls, effected an entrance into the town. As soon as the king heard the uproar of the captured city, from the cries of terror uttered by the flying inhabitants, he plunged his sword into his breast, that he might not be taken alive; the rest were either killed or

taken prisoners. After this, two other towns, Mutila and Faveria, were stormed and destroyed. The booty, which exceeded expectation, considering the poverty of the nation, was all given up to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two persons were sold by auction, and the fomenters of the war were beaten with rods and beheaded. By the destruction of these three towns, and the death of the king, the whole country of Istria was brought to terms of peace; every one of its states, giving hostages, submitted to the dominion of the Romans.

12. For some time before the conclusion of the war with Istria, consultations were held among the Ligurians about the renewal of hostilities. Tiberius Claudius, proconsul, who had been consul the year before, with a garrison of one legion, held the command of Pisæ. And when the senate was informed by his letter of their proceedings, they vote that "the same letter should be carried to Caius Claudius," for the other consul had already crossed over into Sardinia; and they added a decree, that, since the province of Istria was subdued, he might, if he thought proper, lead his army into Liguria. At the same time, a supplication for two days was decreed, in consequence of the letter which he wrote concerning his actions in Istria. The other consul, Sempronius, likewise was successful in his operations in Sardinia. He carried his army into the territory of the Ilian tribe of Sardinians. Powerful reinforcements from the Balarians had come to the Ilians. He fought a pitched battle against the combined forces of the two states. The enemy were routed and put to flight, and driven from their camp; twelve thousand armed men were slain. Next day, the consul ordered their arms to be gathered into a heap and burned, as an offering to Vulcan. He then led back his victorious troops into winter quarters in the allied cities. Caius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius and the decree of the senate, marched his legions out of Istria into Liguria. The enemy, having advanced into the plains, were encamped on the river Scultenna: here a pitched battle was fought, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and about seven hundred captured in the fight, and in the camp, for that too was stormed; and also fifty-one military standards were taken. The Ligurians who survived the slaughter, fled back in every direction into the mountains.

No appearance of arms any where met the consul while ravaging the low country. Claudius, having thus in one year subdued two nations, and, what has rarely been achieved in a single consulate, completed the reduction of two provinces, came home to Rome.

13. Several prodigies were reported this year: that at Crustuminum a bird, which they call the ospray, cut a sacred stone with its beak; that a cow spoke in Campania; that at Syracuse a brazen statue of a cow was mounted by a farmer's bull, which had strayed from the herd. A supplication of one day was performed in Crustuminum, on the spot; the cow at Campania was ordered to be maintained at the public expense, and the prodigy at Syracuse was expiated, the deities to whom supplications should be offered, being declared by the aruspices. This year died, in the office of pontiff, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor; and his son, Marcus Marcellus, was chosen into the vacant place. The same year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was settled at Luca. The triumvirs, Publius Ælius, Lucius Egilius, and Cneius Sicinius, planted it. Fifty-one acres and a half of land were given to each. This land had been taken from the Ligurians, and had been the property of the Etrurians, before it fell into their possession. Caius Claudius, the consul, arrived at the city, and after laying before the senate a detail of his successful services in Istria and Liguria, a triumph was decreed to him on demanding it. He triumphed, in office, over the two nations at once. In this procession he carried three hundred and seven thousand denariuses,[1] and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two quinariuses.[2] To each soldier fifteen denariuses[3] were given, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman. The allied soldiers received less, by half, than the native troops, for which reason they followed his chariot in silence to show their disgust.

14. While this triumph over the Ligurians was celebrated, that people, perceiving that not only the consular army returned to Rome, but also that the legion at Pisæ had been disbanded by Tiberius Claudius, shaking off their fears, and collecting an army secretly, crossed the mountains by winding paths, and came down into the plains, and after ravaging the lands of Mutina, by a sudden assault they gained possession

[1] 9593*l.* 15*s.* [2] 1339*l.* 1*s.* 10½*d.* [3] 9*s.* 4½*d.*

of the colony itself. When this account was brought to Rome, the senate ordered Caius Claudius, the consul, to hold the elections as soon as possible, and (after appointing magistrates for the ensuing year) to go back to his province, and rescue the colony out of the hands of the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had directed; and Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, with Quintus Petillius Spurinus, were chosen consuls. Then Marcus Popillius Lænas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, and Lucius Aquilius Gallus, were elected prætors. To Caius Claudius, the consul, his command was prolonged for a year, and likewise the administration of the province of Gaul; and he was ordered, lest the Istrians should follow the example of the Ligurians, to send into Istria the allied Latin troops, which he had brought home to attend his triumph. When the consuls, Cneius Cornelius and Quintus Petillius, on the day of entering into office, according to custom, sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, the head of the liver was not found in the victim sacrificed by Petillius; which being reported to the senate, he was ordered to sacrifice oxen until the omens should be favourable. The senate being then consulted concerning the provinces, decreed Pisæ and Liguria to be the provinces of the consuls. They ordered that he to whose lot Pisæ fell, should, at the time of the elections, come home to preside at them; and that they should severally enlist two new legions and three hundred horse; and should order the allies, and Latin confederates, to furnish ten thousand foot and six hundred horse to each. The command was prolonged to Tiberius Claudius, until such time as the consul should arrive in the province.

15. While the senate was employed in these affairs, Caius Cornelius, being called by a beadle, went out of the senate-house; and, after a short time, returned with a troubled countenance, and told the conscript fathers that the liver of a fat ox, which he had sacrificed, had melted away; that, when this was told him by the person who dressed the victims, he did not believe it, and he himself ordered the water to be poured out of the vessel in which the entrails were boiled; and he saw all entire but the liver, which had been unaccountably consumed. While the fathers were under much terror on account of this prodigy, their alarm was augmented by

the other consul, who informed them that, on account of the first victim having wanted the head of the liver, he had sacrificed three oxen, and had not yet found favourable omens. The senate ordered him to continue sacrificing the larger victims until he should find favourable omens. They say that the victims offered to the other deities at length presented good omens; but that in those offered to Health, Petillius could find none such. Then the consuls and prætors cast lots for their provinces, when Pisæ fell to Cneius Cornelius; Liguria, to Petillius. Of the prætors, Lucius Papirius Maso obtained the city jurisdiction; Marcus Abutius, the foreign; Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis, the Farther Spain; Lucius Aquilius Gallus, Sicily. Two of them petitioned to be excused from going into their provinces. First, Marcus Popillius requested that he might not be obliged to go to Sardinia, alleging that "Gracchus was bringing that province into a state of tranquillity; that Titus Æbutius the prætor had been given to him by the senate as his assistant; and that it was by no means expedient to interrupt the train of business, for the completion of which there was no method so efficacious as the continuing the management in the same hands; that, amid the transfer of command and initiation of the successors, who must be impressed with a knowledge of circumstances before they can proceed to action, opportunities of successfully transacting matters were frequently lost." The excuse of Popillius was admitted. Then Publius Licinius Crassus alleged that he was prevented from going into his province by solemn sacrifices. That which had fallen to his lot was Hither Spain. But he was ordered either to proceed thither, or to swear in the public assembly that he was hindered by the performance of solemn anniversary sacrifices. When this determination was made in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius demanded that his oath, of the like import, might be admitted as an excuse for his not going into the Farther Spain. Both the prætors accordingly took an oath in the same words. Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius, proconsuls, were ordered to remain in Spain, with authority as before; and it was decreed that a reinforcement should be sent to them of three thousand Roman foot, with two hundred horse; and five hundred Latin foot, with three hundred horse.

16. The Latin festival was celebrated on the third day before the nones of May;[1] and because, on the offering of one of the victims, the magistrate of Lanuvium had not prayed for the ROMAN PEOPLE, THE QUIRITES, religious scruples were felt. When the matter was laid before the senate, and they referred it to the college of pontiffs, the latter determined that the Latin festival had not been duly performed, and must be repeated; and that the Lanuvians, on whose account they were repeated, should furnish the victims. Besides the concern excited by matters of a religious nature, another incident caused no small degree of uneasiness. The consul Cneius Cornelius, as he was returning from the Alban mount, fell down. And being paralysed in part of his limbs, set out for the waters of Cumæ, where, his disorder still increasing, he died. His body was conveyed to Rome to be buried, and the funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence: he was likewise a pontiff. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, was ordered to hold an assembly, as soon as the auspices could be taken, for the election of a consul in the room of his late colleague, and to proclaim the Latin festival. Accordingly, by proclamation, he fixed the election for the third day before the nones of August,[2] and the Latin festival for the third before the ides of the same month.[3] While the minds of the people were full of religious fears, to add thereto, several prodigies were reported to have happened; that a blazing torch was seen in the sky at Tusculum; that the temple of Apollo, and many private buildings at Gabii, and a wall and gate at Graviscæ, were struck by lightning. The senate ordered these to be expiated as the pontiffs should direct. While the consuls were detained, at first by religious ceremonies, and afterwards, one of them, by the death of the other, and then by the election and the repetition of the Latin festival, in the mean time Caius Claudius marched the army to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. Before three days had elapsed from the commencement of the siege he retook it, and delivered it back to the colonists; on this occasion eight thousand Ligurians were killed within the walls. He immediately despatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only represented this success, but likewise boasted that through his good conduct and good fortune there was

[1] 5th May. [2] 3rd August. [3] 11th August.

not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, which might be distributed among many thousand men, giving each a share.

17. During the same period, Tiberius Sempronius, after gaining many victories, totally subdued the people of Sardinia. Fifteen thousand of the enemy were slain. All the tribes of the Sardinians, who had revolted, were brought under the dominion of Rome. On those which had formerly been tributary, double taxes were imposed and levied; the rest paid a contribution in corn. When he had thus restored peace in the province, and received hostages from all parts of the island, to the number of two hundred and thirty, deputies are sent by him to Rome, to give information of these transactions, and to request of the senate, that in consideration of those services, performed under the conduct and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius, a thanksgiving might be offered to the immortal gods, and permission granted him to quit the province and bring home the army with him. The senate, having given audience to the deputies in the temple of Apollo, ordered a thanksgiving for two days, and that the consuls should sacrifice forty victims of the larger kinds; but commanded the proconsul, Tiberius Sempronius, and his army, to continue in the province for the year. Then the election for filling the vacant place of a consul, which had been fixed by proclamation for the third day before the nones of August, was finished in one day, and the consul Quintus Petillius declared Caius Valerius Lævinus duly elected his colleague, who was to assume immediately the administration of his office. This man, having been long ambitious of the government of a province, when, very seasonably for the gratification of his wishes, a letter now arrived with intelligence that the Ligurians were again in arms, on the nones of August[1] assumed the military habit; and ordered that, on account of this alarm, the third legion should march into Gaul, and join Caius Claudius, proconsul, and that the commanders of the fleet should sail with their ships to Pisæ, and coast along the Ligurian shore, to terrify that people by the sight of a naval power also. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, had appointed a day for his troops to assemble in the same place. Besides, Caius Claudius, proconsul, on hearing of the rebellion

[1] 5th August.

in Liguria, having hastily collected some soldiers, in addition to those whom he had with him at Parma, brought this army to the frontiers of Liguria.

18. On the approach of Caius Claudius, the enemy, reflecting that this was the same commander who had defeated them at the river Scultenna, resolving to rely on situation, rather than arms, for their defence against a force with which they had so unsuccessfully struggled, took post in two mountains, called Letum and Balista; and, for greater security, surrounded their encampment with a wall. Some, who were too slow in removing from the low grounds, were surprised and put to the sword,—one thousand five hundred in number. The others kept themselves close on the mountains; and retaining, in the midst of their fears, their native savage disposition, vented their fury on the prey taken at Mutina. They put their prisoners to death after shocking mutilation: the cattle they butchered in the temples, rather than decently sacrificed: and then (satiated with the destruction of living creatures) they turned their fury against things inanimate, dashing against the walls even vessels made for use rather than for show. Quintus Petillius, the consul, fearing that the war might be brought to a conclusion before he arrived in the province, wrote to Caius Claudius to bring the army into Gaul, saying, that he would wait for him at the Long Plains. Claudius, immediately on receipt of the letter, marched out of Liguria, and gave up the command of the army to the consul at the Long Plains. To the same place came, in a few days after, the other consul, Caius Valerius. There having divided their forces before they separated, they both together performed a purification of the troops. They then cast lots for their respective routes, it having been resolved that they should not assail the enemy on the same side. It was certain that Valerius cast his lot auspiciously, because he was in the consecrated ground; the augurs afterwards announced that there was this defect in the case of Petillius, that he himself when outside the consecrated ground cast his lot into the urn, which was subsequently brought into the sacred place. They then began their march in different directions; Petillius pitched his camp against the ridge of Balista and Letum, which joined the two together with one continued range. They report, that while he was here encouraging his soldiers, whom he had assembled

for the purpose, without reflecting on the ambiguity of the word, he uttered this ominous expression: "This day I will have Letum."[1] He made his troops march up the mountain in two places at the same time. The division in which he was advanced briskly: the other was repulsed by the enemy; and the consul riding up thither, to remedy the disorder, rallied his troops; but whilst he moves about too carelessly in the front, he was pierced through with a javelin, and fell. The commanders of the enemy did not know that he was killed; and the few of his own party who saw the disaster, carefully covered the body from view, knowing that the victory rested on this. The rest of the troops, horse and foot, though deprived of their leader, dislodged the enemy, and took possession of the mountains. Five thousand of the Ligurians were slain, and of the Roman army only fifty-two were lost. Besides this evident completion of the unhappy omen, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say, that there had been a defect in the auspices, and that the consul was not ignorant of it. Caius Valerius, *when he was informed of the death of Quintus Petillius, made the army, thus bereft of its commander, join his own; then, attacking the enemy again, in their blood he offered a noble sacrifice to the shade of his departed colleague. He had the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. The legion, at whose head the consul was killed, was severely punished by the senate. They determined that the campaign of this year should not be counted to the entire legion, and that their pay should be stopped, for not exposing themselves to the enemy's weapons in defence of their commander. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from the Dardanians, who were greatly distressed by the numerous army of Bastarnians, under Clondicus, mentioned above. These ambassadors, after describing the vast multitude of the Bastarnians, their tall and huge bodies, and their daring intrepidity in facing danger, added, that there was an alliance between them and Perseus, and that the Dardanians were really more afraid of him than even of the Bastarnians; and therefore begged of the senate that assistance should be sent them. The senate thereupon agreed, that ambassadors should be sent to examine into the affairs of Macedonia; and immediately a commission was given to Aulus Postu-*

[1] Letum, the name of the place, in the Latin language, signifies death.

mius to go thither. They gave to him as colleagues some young men, that he might have the principal direction and management of the embassy. The senate then took into consideration the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, on which subject there was a long debate; for people skilled in the rules of religion and politics affirmed, that, as the regular consuls of the year had died, one by the sword, the other by sickness, the substituted consuls could not with propriety hold the elections. *An interregnum, therefore, took place, and the interrex elected consuls Publius Mucius Scævola, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, a second time. Then Caius Popillius Lænas, Titus Annius Luscus, Caius Memmius Gallus, Caius Cluvius Saxula, Servius Cornelius Sulla, and Appius Claudius Centho, were chosen prætors. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. Of the prætors, Cornelius Sulla obtained Sardinia, Claudius Centho gained Hither Spain. There is no record of those to whom the other prætorian provinces fell. This year was notorious for an epidemic, which however attacked cattle only. The Ligurians, a nation ever vanquished, yet ever rebelling, ravaged the lands of Luna and Pisæ; and at the same time there were alarming rumours of disturbances in Gaul. Lepidus having easily quelled the commotions among the Gauls, then marched into Liguria. Several states of this country submitted themselves to his disposal; and he, supposing that they were rendered savage by the rugged mountain tops which they inhabited, as the dispositions of the inhabitants of a country generally resemble its natural features, by the precedent of some former consuls, brought them* down to the plains. Of these the Garulians, Lapicinians, and Hercatians had lived on the other side of the Apennine, and the Briniatians on the farther side.

19. On the hither side of the river Audena, Quintus Mucius made war on those who had wasted the lands of Luna and Pisæ: and having reduced them all to subjection, he took away their arms from them. On account of these services, performed under the conduct and auspices of the two consuls, the senate voted a thanksgiving for three days, and sacrifices of forty victims. The commotions which broke out in Gaul and Liguria, at the beginning of this year, were thus speedily sup-

pressed, without any great difficulty; but the apprehensions of the public, respecting a war with Macedon, still continued. For Perseus laboured to embroil the Bastarnians with the Dardanians; and the ambassadors, sent to examine into the state of affairs in Macedon, returned to Rome, and brought certain information that hostilities had commenced in Dardania. At the same time came envoys from king Perseus, to plead in excuse that neither had the Bastarnians been invited by him, nor had they done any thing at his instigation. The senate neither acquitted the king of the imputation, nor urged it against him; they only ordered him to be warned to be very careful to show, that he considered the treaty between him and the Romans as inviolable. The Dardanians, perceiving that the Bastarnians, so far from quitting their country, as they had hoped, became daily more troublesome, as they were supported by the neighbouring Thracians and Scordiscians, thinking it necessary to make some effort against them, though without any reasonable prospect of success, assembled together in arms from all quarters, at the town that was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnians. It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries. As soon as they heard that these were gone, and the Bastarnians left by themselves, they divided their forces into two parts, that one might march openly along the straight road to attack the enemy; and that the other, going round through a wood, which lay out of sight, might assault them on the rear. But, before these could arrive at the enemy's post, the fight commenced, and the Dardanians were beaten, and pursued to the town, which was about twelve miles from the Bastarnian camp. The victors immediately invested the city, not doubting that, on the day following, either the enemy would surrender it from fear, or they might take it by storm. Meanwhile the other body of Dardanians, which had gone round, not having heard of the defeat of their countrymen, *easily* possessed themselves of the camp of the Bastarnians, which had been left without a guard. *The Bastarnians, thus deprived of all their provisions and warlike stores, which were in their camp, and having no means of replacing them in a hostile country, and at that unfavourable season, resolved to return to their native home. Having*

therefore retreated to the Danube, they found it, to their great joy, covered with ice, so thick as to seem capable of sustaining any weight. But when the entire body of men and cattle, hastening on, and crowding together, pressed on it at the same time, the ice, splitting under the immense weight, suddenly parted, and being overcome and broken up, left in the middle of the water the entire army which it had supported so long. Most of them were immediately swallowed in the eddies of the river. The fragments of the broken ice passed over many of them in their attempt to swim and drowned them. A few out of the entire nation with difficulty escaped to either bank, with their persons severely crushed. About this time, Antiochus, son to Antiochus the Great, who had been for a long time a hostage at Rome, came into possession of the kingdom of Syria, on the death of his brother Seleucus. For Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, after having received the kingdom of Syria, which had been greatly debilitated by the misfortunes of his father, during an idle reign of twelve years never distinguished by any memorable enterprise at all, called home from Rome this his younger brother, sending, in his stead, his own son Demenlius, according to the terms of the treaty, which allowed the changing of the hostages from time to time. Antiochus had but just reached Athens on his way, when Seleucus was murdered, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Heliodorus, one of the nobles. Eumenes and Attalus expelled him aiming at the crown, and put Antiochus in possession of it, and valued it highly that they had bound him to them by this so important a favour. They now began to harbour some jealousy of the Romans, on account of several trifling causes of disgust. Antiochus, having gained the kingdom by their aid, was received by the people with such transports of joy, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or Rising Star, because when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right. He was not deficient in capacity or vigour of mind to make a figure in war; but he was so perverse and indiscreet in the whole tenor of his conduct and behaviour, that they soon changed the surname which they had given him, and instead of Epiphanes, called him Epimanes or Madman. For often having gone forth

from the palace without the knowledge of his servants, with one or two attendants, crowned with roses, and dressed in robes embroidered with gold, he used to go through the city, sometimes striking those that he met with stones that he carried under his arms; sometimes, on the other hand, throwing money among the mob, and shouting out, "Let him take to whom fortune shall give." But at another time he used to go through the workshops of the goldsmiths, and engravers and other artisans, arguing vainly concerning the art of each; at another time he engaged in conversation in public with any of the plebeian she met; again, wandering around the common taverns, he indulged in potations with foreigners and strangers of the lowest grade. If by chance he had learned that any young men were celebrating an untimely banquet, he himself at once came upon them suddenly, with a glass and a concert, revelling and wantoning, so that most of them, struck with terror at the strangeness of the matter, fled away, and the remainder were silent in fear. It is ascertained also that, in the public baths, he used to bathe with the mob. As however there he was in the habit of using the most precious unguents, they report that a plebeian one day said to him: "You are happy, O king: you savour of perfumes of the highest value." To whom Antiochus, delighted at his words, said, "I will immediately make you so happy, that you will confess that you are sated:" and immediately ordered a large pot of most valuable unguent to be poured on his head, so that, the floor being drenched with it, both the others began to fall on the slippery surface, and the king himself, laughing heartily, came to the ground.

20. *Lastly, having assumed the Roman gown instead of his royal robes, he used to go about the market-place, as he had seen done by the candidates for office at Rome, saluting and embracing each of the plebeians; soliciting at one time for the ædileship, at another for the plebeian tribuneship, until at last he obtained the office by the suffrages of the people, and then, according to the Roman* custom, he took his seat in an ivory chair, where he heard causes, and listened to debates on the most trivial matters.

So far was his mind from adhering to any routine, for it wandered through every sort of life, that it was not ascertained either by himself or any one else what was his real character. He was accustomed not to speak to his

friends, nor scarcely afford a smile to his acquaintance. By an inconsistent kind of liberality, he made himself and others subjects of ridicule; for to some in the most elevated stations, and who thought highly of themselves, he would give childish presents of sweetmeats, cakes, or toys; others expecting nothing he enriched. Wherefore to many he appeared not to know what he was doing; some said that he acted from a silly, sportive temper; others, that he was evidently mad. In two great and honourable instances, however, he showed a spirit truly royal,—in the presents which he made to several cities, and the honour he paid to the gods. To the inhabitants of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, he made a promise to build a wall round their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for the purpose. At Tegea he began to erect a magnificent theatre of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytaneum, the state-room of the city, where such as are entitled to that honour dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required, but none very remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions, in every thing respecting the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens can be a sufficient testimony: being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty, and abundance of statues. A magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he promised to build at Antioch, of which not only the ceilings, but all the walls, were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended in various places, he did not finish, as his reign was very short. He surpassed his predecessors, too, in the magnificence of the public games of every description; of which all the games but one were after their own custom, and celebrated by an immense number of Grecian actors. He gave a show of gladiators in the Roman manner, which at first, among a people unaccustomed to such sights, caused more terror than pleasure; but by frequently repeating them, and sometimes permitting the combatants to go no further than wounds, at other times to fight until one was killed, he rendered such kind of shows not only familiar to people's eyes, but even agreeable, and kindled in most of the young men a passion for

arms; so much so that, although, at the beginning, he was obliged to entice gladiators from Rome, by high rewards, *he soon found a sufficient number in his own dominions willing to perform for a moderate hire. But he displayed the same worthlessness and levity in exhibiting the games, as in the rest of his life, so that nothing could be seen more magnificent than the preparation for the games, nothing more vile or contemptible than the king himself. And when this appeared often on other occasions, it was then most conspicuous in those games, which, in emulation of the magnificence of those which were given by Paulus in Macedon, after the conquest of Perseus, he exhibited at immense expense, and with corresponding dishonour. To return, however, to the Roman affairs, from which the mention of this king has caused us to digress too far. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, after holding the government of Sardinia two years, resigned it to Servius Cornelius Sulla, the prætor, and, coming home to Rome, triumphed over the Sardinians. We are told that he brought such a multitude of captives from that island, that from the long continuance of the sale, "Sardinians for sale" became a vulgar proverb, to denote things of little price. Both the consuls (Scævola and Lepidus) triumphed over the Ligurians; Lepidus over the Gauls also. Then were held the elections of magistrates for the ensuing year. Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scævola were chosen consuls. In the election of prætors, fortune involved Lucius or Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Africanus, one of the candidates, in a very invidious struggle with Caius Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary. For, after five prætors had been declared, namely, Caius Cassius Longinus, Publius Furius Philus, Lucius Claudius Asellus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio; although Scipio struggled hard to be admitted even in the last place, yet he was thought to have degenerated so far from the virtues of his father, that Cicereius would have been preferred by the votes of all the centuries, had not the latter, with singular modesty, corrected what might be considered either the fault of fortune or error of the elections. He could not reconcile it to himself, that, in a struggle in the elections, he should gain the victory over the son of his patron; but immediately throwing off the white gown, he became, from a com-*

petitor sure of success, the grateful friend and supporter of the interest of his rival. Thus, by the help of Cicereius, Scipio obtained an honour which he did not seem likely to gain from the people, and which reflected greater glory on Cicereius than on himself.

21. *The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. On the prætors casting lots, the city jurisdiction fell to Caius Cassius Longinus,* and the foreign, to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. The province of Sardinia fell to Marcus Atilius, who was ordered to sail over to Corsica with a new legion, raised by the consuls, and consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and while he was engaged in carrying on the war there, Cornelius was continued in command, that he might hold the government of Sardinia. To Cneius Servilius Cæpio, for the service of Farther Spain; and to Publius Furius Philus for that of Hither Spain, the following troops were assigned—to each, three thousand Roman foot with one hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Latin foot with three hundred horse. Sicily was decreed to Lucius Claudius, without any reinforcement. The consuls were ordered to levy two more legions, of the regular numbers of foot and horse, and to demand from the allies ten thousand foot and six hundred horse: but they met great difficulty in making the levies; for the pestilence, which the year before had fallen on the cattle, in the present year attacked the human species. Such as were seized by it, seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive, lingered under a tedious disorder, which generally turned to a quartan ague. The slaves especially perished, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. The necessary requisites could not be procured for the funerals of those of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed, that during that and the preceding year, while the mortality of cattle and men was so great, no vultures were any where seen. Of the public priests, there died by this contagion, Cneius Servilius Cæpio, father of the prætor, a pontiff; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, decemvir of religious rites; Publius Ælius Pætus, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augurs; Caius Mamilius Vitulus, chief curio; and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a

pontiff. In the vacant places of pontiffs[1] were chosen * * * * and Caius Sulpicius Galba, in the room of Tuditanus. The augurs substituted were, Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in place of Gracchus; and Quintus Ælius Pætus, in place of Publius Ælius. Caius Sempronius Longus was made decemvir of religious rites, and Caius Scribonius Curio, chief curio. When the termination of the plague was not visible, the senate voted that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline books; and, by their directions, a supplication of one day was performed; and the people assembled in the forum made a vow, whilst Quintus Marcius Philippus dictated the words, that "if the sickness and pestilence should be removed out of the Roman territory, they would solemnize a festival and thanksgiving of two days' continuance." In the district of Veii, a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessa, one with a single hand; and at Oximum, a girl with teeth; in the middle of the day, the sky being perfectly clear, a rainbow was seen, stretching over the temple of Saturn, in the Roman forum, and three suns shone at once; and the following night many lights were seen gliding through the air, about Lanuvium. The people of Cære affirmed that there had appeared in their town a snake with a mane, having its body marked with spots like gold; and it was fully proved that an ox had spoken in Campania.

22. On the nones of June,[2] the ambassadors returned from Africa, who having first had an interview with king Masinissa, proceeded to Carthage; but they received much more certain information respecting what had taken place in Carthage from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. They said they had sufficient proof that ambassadors had come from king Perseus, and that an audience of the senate was given to them by night, in the temple of Æsculapius; and the king asserted, that the Carthaginians had sent ambassadors to Macedon, which they themselves did not positively deny. The senate, hereupon, resolved to send an embassy to Macedonia. They made choice of Caius Lælius, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digitius, who accordingly proceeded thither. About this time, Perseus, because some of

[1] So in the original; the name of the person who was chosen in the room of Cæpio being lost.

[2] 7th of June.

the Dolopians were refractory, and in the matters in dispute were for referring the decision from the king to the Romans, marched an army into their country, and reduced the whole nation under his jurisdiction and dominion. Thence he passed through the mountains of Œta, and on account of some religious scruples affecting his mind, went up to Delphi, to apply to the oracle. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece caused a great alarm, not only in the neighbouring states, but also caused alarming intelligence to be brought into Asia to king Eumenes. He staid only three days at Delphi, and then returned to his own dominions, through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without doing the least injury or damage to those countries. He did not think it sufficient to conciliate the esteem of the several states through which his road lay; but despatched either ambassadors or letters to every one of the Grecian powers, requesting that they would "think no more of the animosities which had subsisted between them and his father; that the disputes had not been so violent that they might not, and ought not, to cease with regard to himself. On his part, there was no kind of obstacle to the forming of a cordial friendship." Above all, he wished particularly to find some way of ingratiating himself with the Achæan nation.

23. This nation, and the state of Athens, solitary exceptions to the whole of Greece, had carried their resentment to such a length, as to prohibit the Macedonians entering their territories. In consequence of this, Macedonia became a place of refuge for slaves running away out of Achaia; for, as the Achæans had forbidden the inhabitants of Macedon to set foot in their territories, they could not presume to pass the boundaries of that kingdom. When Perseus observed this, he seized all the fugitives, and wrote a letter * * * * * * * * * "but that they ought to consider of the proper means of preventing such elopements for the future." When this letter was read by the prætor Xenarchus, who was seeking a path to private influence with the king, the greater part who were present, but especially those who, contrary to their expectations, were about to receive the slaves they had lost, commended the moderation and kindness with which it was written; but Callicrates, one who thought that the safety of the nation depended on the treaty with Rome being preserved inviolate, delivered his sentiments to

this effect;—"To some of you, Achæans, the matter under consideration appears trifling and unimportant. I think that a very great and important subject is not only under consideration, but to a certain extent decided. For we, who prohibited the kings of Macedonia, and all their subjects, from entering our territories, and made a perpetual decree, not to receive from those sovereigns either ambassadors or messengers, by whom the minds of any of us might be tampered with; we, I say, listen to the king speaking in a manner, though absent, and what is more, approve of his discourse. Although wild beasts generally reject and shun the food laid in their way for their destruction; yet we, blinded by the specious offer of an insignificant favour, swallow the bait, and would, for the sake of recovering a parcel of wretched slaves, of no value worth mentioning, suffer our independence to be undermined and subverted. For who does not see that a way is being paved to an alliance with the king, by which the treaty with Rome in which all our interests are involved would be violated? That there must be a war between Perseus and the Romans, is not, I believe, a matter of doubt to any one, and the struggle which was expected during the life of Philip, and interrupted by his death, will, now that he is dead, most certainly ensue. Philip, you all know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius was much superior in birth, on the mother's side, in merit, capacity, and in the esteem of the Macedonian nation. But Philip, having set up the crown as the prize of hatred towards the Romans, put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than having contracted a friendship with that people; and made Perseus king, because he knew him to be an enemy to the Roman people almost before he determined on making him king. Accordingly, what else has the present king done since his father's death, than prepare for the war? In the first place, to the terror of all the surrounding nations, he brought the Bastarnians into Dardania; where if they had made a lasting settlement, Greece would have found them more troublesome neighbours than Asia found the Gauls. Disappointed in that hope, he did not drop his design of a war; nay, if we choose to speak the truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He subdued Dolopia by force of arms; and would not listen when they wished to appeal concerning their disputes to the arbitration of the Romans.

Then, crossing Œta, that he might show himself in the very centre of Greece, he went up to Delphi. To what, think you, did his taking a journey so uncommon tend? He next traversed Thessaly; and as to his refraining on his route from doing injury to the people whom he hated, I dread his machinations the more on that very account. He then sent a letter to us, with the hollow show of an act of kindness, and bade us to consider measures by which we may not require this gift for the future; that is, to repeal the decree by which the Macedonians are excluded from Peloponnesus; to receive again ambassadors from him their king; to renew intimacies contracted with his principal subjects; and, in a short time, we should see Macedonian armies, with himself at their head, crossing over the narrow strait from Delphi into Peloponnesus, and thus we should be blended with the Macedonians, while they are arming themselves against the Romans. My opinion is, that we ought not to resolve on any new proceeding, but to keep every thing in its present state, until the question shall be reduced to a certainty, whether these our fears be well or ill grounded. If the peace between the Romans and Macedonians shall continue inviolate, then may we also have a friendship and intercourse with Perseus; but to think of such a measure now, appears to me both premature and dangerous."

24. After him, Arco, brother to the prætor Xenarchus, said:—"Callicrates hath made the delivery of our sentiments difficult both to me and to every one who differs in opinion from him; for after his pleading in favour of the Roman alliance, alleging that it was undermined and attacked, (although no one either undermines or attacks it,) he has caused that whoever dissents from him must seem to argue against the cause of the Romans. In the first place, as if he had not been here with us, but had just left the senate-house of the Roman people, or had been admitted into the privy councils of kings, he knows and tells us every transaction that passes in secret. Nay more, he divines what would have happened if Philip had lived, why Perseus became heir of the kingdom: in such a manner, what are the intentions of the Macedonians, and what the thoughts of the Romans. But we, who neither know for what cause, nor in what manner, Demetrius perished, nor what Philip would have done, if he had lived, ought to accommodate our resolutions to the transactions that have passed

in open view. We know that Perseus, on his coming to the throne, sent ambassadors to Rome, and received the title of king from the Roman people, and we hear that ambassadors came from Rome to the king, and were graciously received by him. I consider that all these circumstances are signs of peace, not of war; and that the Romans cannot be offended, if, as we imitated their conduct in war, so we follow now their example in peace. For my part, I cannot see why we alone, of all mankind, wage implacable war against the kingdom of the Macedonians. Are we exposed to insult by a close neighbourhood to Macedon? or are we like the Dolopians, whom Perseus subdued lately, the weakest of all states? No; on the contrary, by the bounty of the gods, we are sufficiently secured, as well by our own strength, as by the remoteness of our situation. But we have as much reason to apprehend ill treatment, as the Thessalians and Ætolians; have we no more credit or influence with the Romans, though we were always their friends and allies, than the Ætolians, who but lately were their enemies? Whatever reciprocal rights the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, in short, every state in Greece, allow to subsist between them and the Macedonians, let us allow the same. Why have we alone what may be termed a cursed neglect of the ties of humanity? Philip may have done some act on account of which we should pass this decree against him when in arms and waging war against us: What has Perseus deserved, a king just seated on the throne, guiltless of all injury against us, and effacing by his own kindness his father's feuds? Why should we be his only enemies? Although I might make this assertion, that so great have been our obligations to the former kings of Macedon, that the ill usage, suffered from a single prince of their line, if any has really been suffered from Philip, * * * especially after his death. When a Roman fleet was lying at Cenchreæ, and the consul, with his army, was at Elatia, we were three days in council, deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip. Now, granting that the fear of immediate danger from the Romans had no influence on our judgments, yet there was, certainly, something that made our deliberation last so long; and that was, the connexion which had long subsisted between us and the Macedonians; the distinguished favours in ancient times received from their kings. Let the same

considerations prevail at present,—not to make us his singular friends, but to hinder us from becoming his singular enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, pretend what is not even thought of. No one advises us to form a new alliance, or sign a new treaty, by which we might inconsiderately compromise ourselves, but merely that we may have the intercourse of affording and demanding justice, and that we may not by excluding his subjects from our territories, exclude ourselves from his dominions, and that our slaves may not have any refuge to fly to. How does this operate against the Roman treaty? Why do we give an air of importance and suspicion to a matter which is trifling and open to the world? Why do we raise groundless alarms? Why, for the sake of ingratiating ourselves still more particularly with the Romans, render others odious and suspected? If war shall take place, even Perseus himself does not doubt our taking part with the Romans. While peace continues, let animosities if they are not terminated, be at least suspended." When those who approved of the king's letter expressed their approbation of this speech, the decree was postponed, owing to the indignation of the chief men that Perseus should obtain by a letter of a few lines a matter which he did not even deign worthy of an embassy. Ambassadors were afterwards sent by the king, when a council was held at Megalopolis; but exertions were made by those, who dreaded a rupture with Rome, that they should not be admitted to an audience.

25. During this period the fury of the Ætolians, being turned against themselves, seemed likely to cause the total extinction of that nation by the massacres of the contending parties. Then both parties, being wearied, sent ambassadors to Rome, and also opened a negotiation between themselves for the restoration of concord: but this was broken off by an act of barbarity, which revived their old quarrels. When a return to their country had been promised to the exiles from Hypata, who were of the faction of Proxenus, and the public faith had been pledged to them by Eupolemus, the chief man of the state; eighty persons of distinction, whom even Eupolemus, among the rest of the multitude, had gone forth to meet on their return, though they were received with kind salutation, and right hands were pledged to them, were butchered on entering the gate, though they implored in vain the honour that

had been pledged, and the gods the witnesses of the transaction. On this the war blazed out anew, with greater fury than ever. Caius Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Caius Memmius, Marcus Popilius, and Lucius Canuleius, being sent as ambassadors by the senate, arrived in that country. When the deputies from both parties pleaded their respective causes with great energy, Proxenus appeared to have greatly the advantage as well in the justice of his cause as in eloquence; a few days after, he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula, who being convicted of the crime, went into banishment. The same madness was wasting the Cretans also; but, on the arrival of Quintus Minucius, lieutenant-general, who was sent with ten ships to quiet their contentions, the inhabitants had some prospect of peace; however, they only concluded a suspension of arms for six months, after which the war was again renewed with much greater violence. About this time, the Lycians, too, were harassed in war by the Rhodians. But the wars of foreign nations among themselves, or the several methods in which they were conducted, it is not my business to detail; since I have a task of more than sufficient weight in writing the deeds performed by the Roman people.

26. In Spain, the Celtiberians, (who, since their reduction by Tiberius Gracchus, and their consequent surrender to him, had remained quiet; when Marcus Titinius, the prætor, held the government of that province,) on the arrival of Appius Claudius, resumed their arms, and commenced hostilities by a sudden attack on the Roman camp. It was nearly the first dawn when the sentinels on the rampart, and the men on guard before the gates, descrying the enemy approaching at a distance, shouted "to arms." Appius Claudius instantly displayed the signal of battle; and, after exhorting the troops, in few words, ordered them to rush out by three gates at once. But they were opposed by the Celtiberians in the very passage; and in consequence, the fight was for some time equal on both sides, as, on account of the narrowness, the Romans could not all come into action in the entrance; then pressing forward on one another, whenever it was possible, they made their way beyond the trenches, so that they were able to extend their line, and form a front equal to the wings of the enemy, by which they were surrounded; and now they

made their onset with such sudden impetuosity, that the Celtiberians could not support the assault. Before the second hour, they were driven from the field; about fifteen thousand were either killed or made prisoners, and thirty-two standards were taken. Their camp, also, was stormed the same day, and a conclusion put to the war; for those who survived the battle fled by different ways, to their several towns, and thenceforth submitted quietly to the Roman government.

27. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius, being created censors, reviewed the senate this year. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, was chosen chief of the senate. Nine senators were expelled. The remarkable censures pronounced were on Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who had been prætor in Spain two years before; on Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who was then prætor and exercised the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners; and on Cneius Fulvius, brother to the censor, and, as Valerius Antias says, partner in property. The consuls, after offering vows in the Capitol, set out for their provinces. Marcus Æmilius was commissioned by the senate to suppress an insurrection of the Patavians in Venetia; for their own ambassadors had given information that by the violent contests of opposing factions they had broken out into civil war. The ambassadors who had gone into Ætolia, to suppress commotions of a similar kind, reported on their return, that the outrageous temper of that nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival among the Patavians saved them from ruin; and having no other business in the province, he returned to Rome. The present censors were the first who contracted for paving the streets of Rome with flint stones, for laying with gravel the foundation of roads outside the city, and for forming raised foot-ways on the sides; for building bridges in several places; and affording seats in the theatre to the prætors and ædiles; they fixed up goals in the circus, with balls on the goals for marking the number of courses of the chariots; and erected iron grates, through which wild beasts might be let in. They caused the Capitoline hill to be paved with flint, and erected a piazza from the temple of Saturn, in the Capitol, to the council-chamber, and over that a public hall. On the outside of the gate Trigemina, they also paved a market-place with stones, and enclosed it with a paling; they repaired the Æmilian portico, and formed an ascent,

by stairs, from the Tiber to the market-place. They paved, with flint, the portico, from the same gate to the Aventine, and built a court-house: contracted for walls to be built at Galatia and Oximum, and, after selling lots of ground there, which belonged to the public, employed the money arising from the sale in building shops round the forums of both places. Fulvius Flaccus (for Postumius *declared*, that, without a decree of the senate, or order of the people, he would not expend any money belonging to them) agreed for building a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum; and another at Fundi; for bringing water to Pollentia; for paving the street of Pisaurum, and for many various works at Sinuessa; among which were, the structure of a sewer to fall into the river, the enclosure of the forum with porticoes and shops, and erection of three statues of Janus. These works were all contracted for by one of the censors, and gained him a high degree of favour with those colonists. Their censorship was also very active and strict in the superintendence of the morals of the people. Many knights were deprived of their horses.

28. At the close of the year, there was a thanksgiving, for one day, on account of the advantages obtained in Spain under the conduct and auspices of Appius Claudius, the proconsul; and they sacrificed twenty victims, of the larger kinds. There was also a supplication, for another day, at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Liberia, because a violent earthquake with the destruction of many houses was announced from the Sabines. When Appius Claudius came home from Spain, the senate voted that he should enter the city in ovation. The election of consuls now came on: when they were held, after a violent struggle in consequence of the great number of candidates, Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas were elected consuls. Then Numerius Fabius Buteo, Marcus Matienus, Caius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, a second time, Marcus Atilius Serranus, a second time, and Caius Cluvius Saxula, a second time, were chosen prætors. After the elections were finished, Appius Claudius Centho, entering the city in ovation over the Celtiberians, conveyed to the treasury ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and five thousand of gold. Cneius Cornelius was inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. In the same year a tablet was hung up in the temple of mother Matuta, with this inscription:—UNDER

THE COMMAND AND AUSPICES OF TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, CONSUL, A LEGION AND ARMY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE SUBDUED SARDINIA; IN WHICH PROVINCE ABOVE EIGHTY THOUSAND OF THE ENEMY WERE KILLED OR TAKEN. HAVING EXECUTED THE BUSINESS OF THE PUBLIC WITH THE HAPPIEST SUCCESS; HAVING RECOVERED THE REVENUES, AND RESTORED THEM *to the commonwealth*,—HE BROUGHT HOME THE ARMY SAFE, UNINJURED, AND ENRICHED WITH SPOIL, AND, A SECOND TIME, ENTERED THE CITY OF ROME IN TRIUMPH. IN COMMEMORATION OF WHICH EVENT HE PRESENTED THIS TABLET AS AN OFFERING TO JUPITER. A map of the island of Sardinia was engraved on the tablet, and pictures of the battles fought there were delineated on it. Several small exhibitions of gladiators were given to the public this year; the only one particularly remarkable, was that of Titus Flamininus, which he gave on occasion of his father's death, and it was accompanied with a donation of meat, a feast, and stage-plays, and lasted four days. Yet, in the whole of this great exhibition, only seventy-four men fought in three days. *The close of this year was rendered memorable by the proposal of a new and important rule, which occupied the state, since it was debated with great emotion. Hitherto, as the law stood, women were as equally capable of receiving inheritances as men. From which it happened that the wealth of the most illustrious houses was frequently transferred into other families, to the great detriment, as it was generally supposed, of the state; to which it was no small advantage that there should be a sufficiency of wealth to the descendants of distinguished ancestors, by which they might support and do honour to their nobility of birth, which otherwise would form a burden rather than honour to them. Besides, since with the now growing power of the empire, the riches of private persons also were increasing, fear was felt, lest the minds of women, being rather inclined by nature to luxury, and the pursuit of a more elegant routine of life, and deriving from unbounded wealth incentives to desire, should fall into immoderate expenses and luxury, and should subsequently chance to depart from the ancient sanctity of manners, so that there would be a change of morals no less than of the manner of living. To obviate these evils, Quintus Voconius Saxa, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people, that "no person who should be rated after the censorship of Aulus Postumius and Quintius*

Fulvius should make any woman, whether married or unmarried, his heir; also, that no woman, whether married or unmarried, should be capable of receiving, by inheritance, goods exceeding the value of one hundred thousand sesterces."[1] *Voconius, also, thought it proper to provide that estates should not be exhausted by the number of legacies, which sometimes happened. Accordingly he added a clause to his law, that no person should bequeath to any person or persons property exceeding in value what was to go to the immediate heirs." This latter clause readily met the general approbation; it appeared reasonable, and calculated to press severely on nobody. Concerning the former clause, by which women were utterly disqualified from receiving inheritances, there were many doubts. Marcus Cato put an end to all hesitation, having been already, on a former occasion, a most determined adversary and reprover of women, in the defence of the Oppian law, who, although sixty-five years of age, with loud voice and good lungs advocated this law of still greater importance, against them, inveighing, with his usual asperity, against the tyranny of women, and their unsufferable insolence when opulent: on the present occasion, too, he declaimed against the pride and arrogance of the rich matrons, "because they oftentimes, after bringing a great dowry to their husband, kept back and retained for themselves a great sum of money, and lent that money on such terms afterwards to their husbands, on their asking it, that as often as they were angry they immediately pressed importunately on their husbands, as if they were strange debtors, by a reserved slave who followed them and daily importuned payment." Moved by indignation at this, they voted for passing the law as Voconius proposed it.*

[1] 885*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

BOOK XLII.

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, spoiled the temple of Juno at Lacinium of the marble tiles, to roof a temple which he was dedicating. The tiles were returned by a decree of the senate. Eumenes, the king of Asia, complained before the senate of Perseus, the king of Macedon; the outrages of the latter are laid before the Roman people. And when a war was proclaimed against him on account of these, Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul to whom it was intrusted, passed over into Macedon, and in trifling expeditions and cavalry actions, fought with Perseus in Thessaly, by no means successfully. An arbiter was appointed by the senate to decide concerning land disputed between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. Ambassadors were sent to request of the allied states and kings, that they would abide by their agreements, as the Rhodians wavered. The lustrum was closed by the censors. Two hundred and fifty-seven thousand two hundred and thirty-one citizens were rated. It includes besides, the successes gained over the Corsicans and Ligurians.

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1. When Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas brought before the senate first of all the distribution of the provinces, Liguria was assigned the joint province of both, with directions that they should enlist new legions, by which they would hold that province (two were decreed to each); and also ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latin confederates; and as a supplement to the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. One thousand five hundred Roman foot and one hundred horse were ordered to be raised; with which the prætor, to whose lot Sardinia might fall, should cross over to Corsica, and carry on the war there; and it was further ordered, that in the mean time the former prætor, Marcus Atilius, should obtain the province of Sardinia. The prætors then cast lots for their provinces. Aulus Atilius Serranus obtained the city jurisdiction; Caius Cluvius Saxula, that between natives and foreigners; Numerius Fabius Buteo, Hither Spain; Mar-

cus Matienus, Farther Spain; Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sicily; and Caius Cicereius, Sardinia. The senate resolved that, before the magistrates went abroad, Lucius Postumius should go into Campania, to fix the bounds between the lands which were private property and those which belonged to the public; for it was understood that individuals, by gradually extending their bounds, had taken possession of a very considerable share of the common lands. He, being enraged with the people of Præneste because, when he had gone thither as a private individual to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, no honour had been paid him, either in public or private, by the people of Præneste, before he set out from Rome, sent a letter to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him, and to provide him lodging at the public expense; and that, at his departure, cattle should be ready to carry his baggage. No consul before him ever put the allies to any trouble or expense whatever. Magistrates were furnished with mules, tents, and every other requisite for a campaign, in order that they might not make any such demands. They had private lodgings, in which they behaved with courtesy and kindness, and their houses at Rome were always open to their hosts with whom they used to lodge. Ambassadors indeed sent to any place, on a sudden emergency, demanded each a single horse in the several towns through which their journey lay; but the allies never contributed any other portion of the expense of the Roman magistrates. The resentment of the consul, which, even if well founded, ought not to have been exerted during his office, and the too modest or too timid acquiescence of the Prænestines, gave to the magistrates, as if by an approved precedent, the privilege of imposing orders of this sort, which grew more burdensome daily.

2. In the beginning of this year the ambassadors, who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedon, returned, and reported that "they had not been able to obtain an interview with Perseus, as some of his court said that he was abroad, others that he was sick; both of which were false pretences. Nevertheless, that it was quite evident that war was in preparation, and that he would no longer put off the appeal to arms. That in Ætolia, likewise, the dissensions grew daily more violent; and the leaders of the contending parties were not to be restrained by their authority." As a war with Macedon was

daily expected, the senate resolved, that before it broke out, all prodigies should be expiated, and the favour of such gods, as should be found expressed in the books of the Fates, invoked by supplications. It was said that at Lanuvium the appearance of large fleets was seen in the air; that at Privernum black wool grew out of the ground; that in the territory of Veii, at Remens, a shower of stones fell; and that the whole Pomptine district was covered with clouds of locusts; also that in the Gallic province, where a plough was at work, fishes sprung up from under the earth as it was turned. On account of these prodigies the books of the Fates were accordingly consulted, and the decemvirs directed both to what gods, and with what victims, sacrifices should be offered; likewise that a supplication should be performed, in expiation of the prodigies; and also that another, which had been vowed in the preceding year for the health of the people, should be celebrated, and likewise a solemn festival. Accordingly, sacrifices were offered in accordance with the written directions of the decemvirs.

3. In the same year, the temple of Juno Lacinia was uncovered. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the censor, was erecting a temple to Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed when prætor during the Celtiberian war, with anxious desire that it should not be surpassed by any other at Rome, either in size or magnificence. Thinking that he would add a very great ornament to this temple if the tiles were marble, he went to Bruttium, and stripped off about the half of those belonging to the temple of the Lacinian Juno; for he computed that so many would be sufficient to cover the one he was building. Ships were in readiness to take on board the materials, while the allies were deterred by the authority of the censor from preventing the sacrilege. When the censor returned, the marble was landed and carried to the temple; but though he made no mention of the place from which it was brought, yet such an affair could not be concealed. Accordingly, considerable murmuring arose in the senate; from all sides of the house a demand was made that the consuls should lay that matter before the senate. When the censor, on being summoned, appeared in the senate-house, they all, both separately and in a body, inveighed against him with great asperity. They cried out that "he was not content with

violating the most venerable temple in all that part of the world, a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated; but he had stripped it shamefully, and almost demolished it. Though created censor for the purpose of regulating men's manners, and bound in duty, according to long-established rules, to enforce the repairing of edifices for public worship, and the keeping them in due order, he had nevertheless gone about through the cities of the allies, stripping the roofs of their sacred buildings, and even demolishing them. In a word, what might be deemed scandalous if practised on private houses, he committed against the temples of the immortal gods; and that he involved the Roman people in the guilt of impiety, building temples with the ruins of temples; as if the deities were not the same in all places, but that some should be decorated with the spoils of others." When it was evident what were the sentiments of the senators, before their opinion was asked; when the question was put, they unanimously concurred in voting, that a contract should be entered into for carrying the tiles back to the temple, and that atonements should be offered to Juno. What regarded the atonements was carefully executed; the contractors made a report that they were obliged to leave the marble in the court of the temple, because no workman could be found who knew how to replace the same.

4. Of the prætors who set out for the provinces, Numerius Fabius, on his way to Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. Therefore when this was announced by envoys from Marseilles, the senate resolved that Publius Furius and Cneius Servilius, to whom successors had been sent, should cast lots to determine which of them should hold the government of Hither Spain, with a continuation of authority; and the lot determined, very fortunately, that Publius Furius, whose province it had formerly been, should continue. During the same year, on its appearing that large tracts of land in Gaul and Liguria, which had been taken in war, lay unoccupied, the senate passed a decree, that those lands should be distributed in single shares; and Aulus Titilius, city prætor, in pursuance of the said decree, appointed ten commissioners for that purpose, namely, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Caius Cassius, Titus Æbutius Carus, Caius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Appuleius, Marcus Cæcilius, Caius

Salonius, and Caius Munatius. They apportioned ten acres to each Roman, and three to each Latin colonist. During the same time in which these transactions took place, ambassadors came to Rome from Ætolia with representations of the quarrels and dissensions subsisting in that country; likewise Thessalian ambassadors, announcing the transactions in Macedon.

5. Perseus, revolving in his mind the war, which had been resolved on during the life-time of his father, endeavoured, by sending embassies, and by promising a great deal more than he performed, to attach to himself not only the commonwealth of Greece, but also each particular state. However the feelings of the majority were inclined in his favour, and much better disposed towards him than Eumenes, although all the states of Greece, and most of the leading men, were under obligations to the latter for benefits and gifts; and although he so conducted himself in his sovereignty, that the cities which were under his dominion would not exchange their condition for that of any free state. On the contrary, there was a general report that Perseus, after his father's death, had killed his wife with his own hand; that Apelles, formerly the agent of his treachery in the destruction of his brother, and on that account sought anxiously by Philip, for punishment, being in exile, was invited by him, after the death of his father, by great promises, to receive a guerdon for rendering so important services, and was secretly put to death. Although he had rendered himself infamous by many other murders, both of his own relations and of others, and possessed not one good quality to recommend him, yet the Grecian states in general gave him the preference to Eumenes, who was so affectionate towards his relations, so just towards his subjects, and so liberal towards all mankind; either because they were so prejudiced by the fame and dignity of the Macedonian kings, as to despise a kingdom lately formed, or were led by a wish for a change in affairs, and wished him to be exposed to the arms of the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only people in a state of distraction, on account of the intolerable burden of their debts: the Thessalians were in the same situation; and the evil, acting by contagion like a pestilence, had spread into Perrhæbia also. As soon as it was known that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent

Appius Claudius, as ambassador, to examine and adjust their affairs. He severely reprimanded the leaders of both parties; and after cancelling so much of the debts as had been accumulated by iniquitous usury, which he did with the consent of the greater part of the creditors themselves, he ordered the remaining just debts to be discharged by annual payments. Affairs in Perrhæbia were arranged in the same manner by the same Appius. In the mean time, Marcellus, at Delphi, gave a hearing to the disputes of the Ætolians, which they maintained with no less hostile acrimony than they had shown against each other in the heat of their civil war. Perceiving that they vied with each other in inconsiderate violence, he did not choose to make any determination, to lighten or aggravate the grievances of either party, but required of both alike to cease from hostilities, and, forgetting what was past, to put an end to their quarrels. The good faith of the mutual reconciliation was confirmed by a reciprocal exchange of hostages.

6. Corinth was agreed upon as the place where the hostages should be lodged. Marcellus crossed over from Delphi, and the Ætolian council, into Peloponnesus, where he had summoned a diet of the Achæans. There, by the praises which he bestowed on that nation, for having resolutely maintained their old decree, which prohibited the admission of the Macedonian kings within the limits of their territories, he manifested the inveterate hatred of the Romans towards Perseus; and this hatred broke out into effect the sooner, in consequence of king Eumenes coming to Rome, and bringing with him a written statement of the preparations made for war, which he had drawn up, after a full inquiry into every particular. Five ambassadors were now sent to the king, in order to take a view of affairs in Macedon. The same were ordered to proceed to Alexandria to Ptolemy, to renew the treaty of friendship. These were Caius Valerius, Cneius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Bæbius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, and Marcus Cœcilius Denter. About the same time, came ambassadors from king Antiochus; and the principal of them, called Apollonius, being admitted to an audience of the senate, presented, on behalf of his king, many and reasonable apologies for paying the tribute later than the day appointed. "He now brought," he said, "the whole of

it, that the king might require no favour except the delay of time. He brought besides a present of gold vases, in weight five hundred pounds. Antiochus requested, that the treaty of alliance and amity, which had been made with his father, might be renewed with him; and that the Roman people might demand from him every service which might be required from a king who was a good and faithful ally: that he would never be remiss in the performance of any duty. Such had been the kindness of the senate towards him when he was at Rome, such the courtesy of the young men, that, among all ranks of men, he was treated as a sovereign, not as a hostage." A gracious answer was returned to the ambassadors, and Aulus Atilius, city prætor, was ordered to renew with Antiochus the alliance formerly made with his father. The city quæstors received the tribute, and the censors the golden vases; and the business of placing them in whatever temples they should judge proper, was assigned to them. One hundred thousand *asses*[1] were presented to the ambassador, and a house at the public cost was given him for his accommodation, and it was ordered that his expenses should be paid as long as he would remain in Italy. The ambassadors, who had been in Syria, represented him as standing in the highest degree of favour with the king, and a very warm friend to the Roman people.

7. The following were the events in the provinces during this year. Caius Cicereius, prætor in Corsica, fought the enemy in a pitched battle, in which seven thousand of the Corsicans were slain, and more than one thousand seven hundred taken. During the engagement the prætor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted to the Corsicans, on their petitioning for it, and a contribution was imposed, of two hundred thousand pounds' weight of wax. Cicereius crossed over from Corsica, which he had reduced to subjection, to Sardinia. In Liguria, also, a battle was fought in the territory of Satiella, at the town of Carystas. A large army of Ligurians had assembled there, who, for some time after Marcus Popilius' arrival, kept themselves within the walls; but afterwards, when they perceived that the Roman general would lay siege to the town, they marched out beyond the gates, and drew up in order of battle. The consul did not

[1] 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d*

decline an engagement, as that was the object which he endeavoured to gain by threatening a siege. The fight was maintained for more than three hours, in such a manner, that the hope of victory leaned to neither side; but when the consul perceived that the Ligurian battalions no where gave ground, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses, and charge in three places at once, with all possible violence. A great part of the horse broke through the middle of the enemy's line, and made their way to the rear of the troops engaged, owing to which manœuvre, terror was struck into the Ligurians. They fled in different directions on all sides. Very few ran back into the town, because in that quarter, chiefly, the cavalry had thrown themselves in their way. So obstinate a contest swept off great numbers of the Ligurians, and many perished in the flight; ten thousand of them are said to have been killed, and more than seven hundred taken, in various places; besides which, the victors brought off eighty-two of their military standards. Nor was the victory gained without loss of blood; above three thousand of the conquerors fell in the conflict; for as neither party gave way, the foremost on both sides were cut off.

8. When the Ligurians re-assembled in one body, after their scattered flight, they found that a much greater number of their countrymen were lost than left alive (for there were not above ten thousand men surviving); on which they surrendered.* They did not stipulate for any terms, yet entertained hopes that the consul would not treat them with greater severity than former commanders. But he immediately took their arms from them, razed their town, and sold themselves and their effects; and he then sent a letter to the senate, relating the services which he had performed. When Aulus Atilius, the prætor, read this letter in the council, (for the other consul, Postumius, was absent, being employed in surveying the lands in Campania,) the proceeding appeared to the senate in a heinous light; "that the people of Satiella, who alone, of all the Ligurian nation, had not borne arms against the Romans, should be attacked, when not offering hostilities, and even after surrendering themselves in dependence on the protection of the Roman people, should be butchered and exterminated, that so many thousands of innocent persons suffering, who had implored the protection of the Roman people, estab-

lished the worst possible precedent, calculated to deter any one from ever venturing to surrender to them; dragged as they were away into various parts of the country, and made slaves to those who were formerly the avowed enemies of Rome, though now reduced to quiet. That for these reasons the senate ordered, that the consul, Marcus Popilius, should reinstate the Ligurians in their liberty, repaying the purchase-money to the buyers, and should likewise use his best endeavours to recover and restore their effects. That arms should be made for them, as soon as possible; and that the consul should not depart from his province before he restored to their country the Ligurians that had surrendered. That victory derived its lustre from conquering the enemy in arms, not from cruelty to the vanquished."

9. The consul exerted the same ferocious spirit in disobeying the senate, which he displayed towards the Ligurians. He immediately sent the legions into winter quarters at Pisæ, and, full of resentment against the senators and the prætor, went home to Rome; where, instantly assembling the senate in the temple of Bellona, he used many invectives against the prætor, who, "when he ought to have proposed to the senate that thanksgiving should be offered to the immortal gods, on account of the happy successes obtained by the Roman arms, had procured a decree of the senate against him, in favour of the enemy, by which he might transfer his victory to the Ligurians; and, though only a prætor, he had ordered the consul, in a manner, to be surrendered to them: he therefore gave notice, that he would sue to have him fined. From the senate he demanded, that they should order the decree of the senate passed against him to be cancelled; and that the thanksgiving, which they, though they were far from him, ought to have voted on the authority of his letter, sent from abroad, with an account of the success of the arms of the commonwealth, should, now when he was present, be voted; first, in consideration of the honour due to the immortal gods, and next, out of some kind of regard to himself." Being censured to his face no less severely than in his absence, in the speeches of several of the senators, and having obtained neither request, he returned to his province. The other consul, Postumius, after spending the whole summer in surveying the lands, without even seeing his province, came

home to Rome to hold the elections. He appointed Caius Popillius Lænas and Publius Ælius Ligus, consuls. Then Caius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Cneius Sicinius, and Caius Memmius, a second time, were elected prætors.

10. The lustrum was closed this year. The censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Postumius Albinus, the latter of whom performed the ceremony. In this survey were rated two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen Roman citizens. The number was considerably less, because the consul, Lucius Postumius, gave public orders, in assembly, that none of the Latin allies (who, according to the edict of the consul, Caius Claudius, ought to have gone home) should be surveyed at Rome, but all of them in their respective countries. Their censorship was conducted with perfect harmony and zeal for the public good. They disfranchised and degraded from their tribes every one whom they expelled the senate, or from whom they took away his horse; nor did either approve a person censured by the other. Fulvius, at this time, dedicated the temple of Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed six years before, and when proconsul in Spain, during the battle with the Celtiberians; he also exhibited stage-plays, which lasted four days, in one of which the performance was in the circus. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir, in religious matters, died this year, and Aulus Postumius Albinus was substituted in his room. Such great crowds of locusts were suddenly brought by the wind over the sea into Apulia, that they covered the country far and wide with their swarms. In order to remove this pest, so destructive to the fruits of the earth, Caius Sicinius, prætor elect, was sent in command, with a vast multitude of people assembled, to gather them up, and spent a considerable time in that business. The beginning of the year in which Caius Popilius and Publius Ælius were consuls, was employed in the disputes which had arisen in the last. The senators were desirous that the business respecting the Ligurians should be re-considered, and the decree renewed. Ælius, the consul, was willing to propose it, but Popillius warmly interceded for his brother, both with his colleague and the senate; and by giving notice, that if they would pass any vote on the subject he would enter his protest, he deterred him from proceeding

in the matter. The senate being hereby equally incensed against them, persisted the more obstinately in their intention; and when they took into consideration the distribution of the provinces, although Macedon was earnestly sought by the consuls, because a war with Perseus was daily expected, yet the Ligurians were assigned as the province of both. They declare that they would not vote Macedonia to them, unless the question were put on the affair of Marcus Popilius. The consuls afterwards demanded that they might be authorized to raise either new armies, or recruits to fill up the old; both demands were refused. To the prætors also, when seeking a reinforcement for Spain, a refusal is given: to Marcus Junius for Hither Spain, and to Spurius Lucretius for the Farther. Caius Licinius Crassus obtained by lot the city jurisdiction; Cneius Sicinius, the foreign; Caius Memmius, Sicily; and Spurius Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, enraged against the senate on account of this conduct, having proclaimed an early day for the Latin festival, declared openly that they would go away to their province, and would not transact any kind of business, except what belonged to their own government.

11. Valerius Antias writes, that, in this consulate, Attalus, brother to king Eumenes, came to Rome as ambassador, to lay heavy charges against Perseus, and give an account of his preparations for war. But the greater number of historians, and those deemed most worthy of credit, assert, that Eumenes came in person. Eumenes then, on his arrival, being received with every degree of respect which the Roman people judged suitable, not merely to his deserts, but also to their own former favours, bestowed on him in great abundance, was introduced to the senate. He said, that "The cause of his coming to Rome, besides his wish to visit those gods and men who had placed him in a situation beyond which he could not presume to form a wish, was, that he might in person forewarn the senate to counteract the designs of Perseus." Then, beginning with the projects of Philip, he mentioned his murder of Demetrius, because that prince was averse to a war with Rome; that the Bastarnian nation was summoned from their homes, that, relying on their aid, he might pass over into Italy. "While his thoughts were busied in plans of this sort, he was surprised by the approach of death, and left his kingdom to the person whom he knew to be, of all men,

the bitterest foe to the Romans. Perseus therefore," said he, "having received this scheme of a war, as a legacy bequeathed by his father, and descending to him along with the crown, advances and improves it, as his primary object, by every means that he can devise. He is powerful, in respect of the number of his young men, since a long peace has produced a plentiful progeny; he is powerful in respect to the resources of his kingdom, and powerful, likewise, in respect to his age. And as, at his time of life, he possesses vigour of body, so his mind has been thoroughly trained, both in the theory and practice of war; for even from his childhood he became inured to it, in his father's tent, not only in the wars against the neighbouring states, but also against the Romans, being employed by him in many and various expeditions. Already, since he has received the government, he has, by a wonderful train of prosperous events, accomplished many things which Philip, after using his best efforts, could never effect, either by force or artifice.

12. "There is added to his strength such a degree of influence as is usually acquired, in a great length of time, by many and important kindnesses. For, in the several states throughout Greece and Asia, all men revere the dignity of his character; nor do I perceive for what deserts, for what generosity, such uncommon respect is paid him; neither can I with certainty say whether it occurs through some good fortune attending him, or whether, what I mention with reluctance a general dislike to the Romans attaches men to his interest. Even among sovereign princes he is great by his influence. He married the daughter of Seleucus, a match which he did not solicit, but to which he was solicited by her friends; and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias, in compliance with his earnest prayers and entreaties. Both these marriages were solemnized amidst congratulations and presents from innumerable embassies, and were escorted by the most renowned nations, acting as bridal attendants. The Bœotians could never be brought, by all the intrigues of Philip, to sign a treaty of friendship with him; but now, a treaty with Perseus is engraved at three different places, at Thebes, in Delos, in the most venerable and celebrated temple, and at Delphi. Then, in the diet of Achaia, (only that the proceeding was quashed by a few persons, threatening them with the

displeasure of the Roman government,) the business was nearly effected of allowing him admission into Achaia. But, as to the honours formerly paid to myself, (whose kindness to that nation have been such, that it is hard to say whether my public or private benefactions were the greater,) they have been lost, partly through neglect, and partly by hostile means. Who does not know that the Ætolians, lately, on occasion of their intestine broils, sought protection, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? For, while he is upheld by these alliances and friendships, he has at home such preparations of every requisite for war, that he wants nothing from abroad. He has thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and is laying up a store of corn for ten years, so that he can be independent of his own territory or that of his enemies with respect to provisions. He has amassed money to such an amount, as to have in readiness the pay of ten thousand mercenary soldiers, besides the Macedonian troops, for the same number of years, as well as the annual revenue accruing from the royal mines. He has stored up arms for three times that number of men; and has Thrace under subjection, from which, as a never-failing spring, he can draw supplies of young men if ever Macedon should become exhausted."

13. The rest of his discourse contained exhortations to timely exertions: "Conscript fathers," said he, "I make these representations to you, and they are not founded on uncertain rumours, and too readily believed by me, because I wished such charges against my enemy to be true; but on a clear discovery of the facts, as if I had been sent by you to reconnoitre, and I were now relating what took place before my eyes. Nor would I have left my kingdom, which you have rendered ample and highly respectable, and crossed such a tract of sea, to injure my own credit by offering you unauthenticated reports. I saw the most remarkable states of Asia and Greece, every day, gradually unfolding their sentiments, and ready to proceed, shortly, to such lengths as would not leave them room for repentance. I saw Perseus, not confining himself within the limits of Macedonia, but seizing some places by force of arms, and seducing, by favour and kindness, those which could not be subdued by force. I perceived the unfair footing on which matters stood, while he was preparing war against you, and you bestowing on him the security of peace;

although, to my judgment, he did not appear to be preparing, but rather waging war. He dethroned Abrupolis, your ally and friend. He put to death Artetarus, the Illyrian, another ally and friend of yours, because he heard that some information had been written to you by him. He managed that Eversa and Callicrates, the Thebans, who were leading men in their state, should be taken off, because, in the council of the Bœotians, they had spoken with more than ordinary freedom against him, and declared that they would inform you of what was going on. He carried succour to the Byzantians, contrary to the treaty. He made war on Dolopia. He overran Thessaly and Doris with an army, in order to take advantage of the civil war then raging, and by the help of the party which had the worst cause to crush the other which had more justice on its side. He raised universal confusion and disorder in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, by holding out a prospect of an abolition of debts, that, by the means of the multitude of debtors thereby attached to his interest, he might overpower the nobles. Since he has performed all these acts with your acquiescence and silent endurance, and has seen Greece yielded up to him by you, he firmly believes that he will not meet with one opponent in arms, until he arrives in Italy. How safe or how honourable this might be for you, you yourselves may consider; for my part, I thought it would certainly reflect dishonour on me, if Perseus should come into Italy to make war, before I, your ally, came to warn you to be on your guard. Having discharged this duty, necessarily incumbent on me, and, in some measure, freed and exonerated my faith; what can I do further, but beseech the gods and goddesses that you may adopt such measures as will prove salutary to yourselves, to your commonwealth, and to us your allies and friends who depend upon you?"

14. His discourse made a deep impression on the senate. However, for the present, no one, without doors, could know any thing more than that the king had been in the senate-house, in such secrecy were the deliberations of the senate involved; and it was not until after the conclusion of the war, that the purport of king Eumenes' speech, and the answer to it, transpired. In a few days after, the senate gave audience to the ambassadors of Perseus. But their feelings as well as their ears were so prepossessed by king Eumenes, that every plea offered in his justification by the ambassadors, and every

argument to alleviate the charges against him, were disregarded. They were still further exasperated by the immoderate presumption of Harpalus, chief of the embassy, who said, that "the king was indeed desirous and even anxious, that credit should be given to him when pleading in his excuse that he had neither said nor done any thing hostile; but that, if he saw them obstinately bent on finding out a pretence for war, he would defend himself with determined courage. The fortune of war was open to all and the issue uncertain." All the states of Greece and Asia were full of curiosity to learn what the ambassadors of Perseus, and what Eumenes, had effected with the senate; and most of them, on hearing of the latter's journey to Rome, which they supposed might produce material consequences, had sent ambassadors thither who pretended other business. Among the rest came an embassy from Rhodes, at the head of which was a person named Satyrus, who had no kind of doubt but that Eumenes had included his state in the accusations brought against Perseus. He therefore endeavoured, by every means, through his patrons and friends, to get an opportunity of debating the matter with Eumenes in presence of the senate. When he obtained this, he inveighed against that king with intemperate vehemence, as having instigated the people of Lycia to an attack on the Rhodians, and as being more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been. He delivered a discourse flattering indeed, and acceptable to the states of Asia, (for the popularity of Perseus had spread even to them,) but very displeasing to the senate, and disadvantageous to himself and his nation. This apparent conspiracy against Eumenes, increased, indeed, the favour of the Romans towards him; so that every kind of honour was paid, and the most magnificent presents were made him; among which were a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

15. After the embassies were dismissed, when Harpalus went back into Macedon with all the haste he could, and told the king that he had left the Romans, not indeed making immediate preparations for war, but in such an angry temper, that it was very evident they would not defer it long; Perseus himself, who all along believed that this would be the case, now even wished for it, as he thought himself at the highest pitch of power that he could ever expect to attain. He was more violently incensed against Eumenes than against

any other; and being desirous of commencing the war with his bloodshed, he suborned Evander, a Cretan, commander of the auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, who were accustomed to the perpetration of such deeds, to murder that king; and gives them a letter to a woman called Praxo, an acquaintance of his, the wealthiest and most powerful person at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes intended going up to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo. The assassins having reconnoitred the ground with Evander, sought for nothing else than a fit place to execute their design. On the road from Cirrha to the temple, before you come to the places thickly inhabited, there was a wall on the left side of a narrow path projecting a little from the foundation, by which single persons could pass; the part on the right formed a precipice of considerable depth by the sinking of the ground. Behind this wall they concealed themselves, and raised up steps to it, that from thence, as from a fortress, they might discharge their weapons on the king, as he passed by. At first, as he came up from the sea, he was surrounded by a multitude of his friends and attendants; afterwards the increasing narrowness of the road made the train thinner about him. When they arrived at the spot where each was to pass singly, the first who advanced on the path was Pantaleon, an Ætolian of distinction, who was at the time in conversation with the king. The assassins now, starting up, rolled down two huge stones, by one of which the head of the king was struck, and by the other the shoulder; and being stunned by the blow, many stones having been cast on him after falling, he tumbled from the sloping path down the precipice. The rest of his friends and attendants, on seeing him fall, fled different ways; but Pantaleon, with great intrepidity and resolution, kept his ground, in order to protect the king.

16. The assassins might, by making a short circuit of the wall, have run down and completed their business; yet they fled off towards the top of Parnassus with such precipitation, that as one of them, by being unable to keep up with the rest through the pathless and steep grounds, retarded their flight, they killed him lest he should be taken, and a discovery ensue. The friends, and then the guards and servants of the king, ran together and raised him up, while stunned by the wound, and quite insensible. However, they

perceived, from the warmth of his body, and the breath remaining in his lungs, that he was still alive, but had little or no hopes that he would ever recover. Some of his guards having pursued the tracks of the assassins, when they had reached even as far as the summit of Parnassus, and had fatigued themselves in vain, returned without being able to overtake them. As the Macedonians set about the deed injudiciously; so, after making the attempt with boldness, they abandoned it in a manner both foolish and cowardly. His friends on the next day bore to his ship the king, now in possession of his faculties, and then, having drawn their vessels across the neck of the isthmus, they cross over to Ægina. Here his cure was conducted with such secrecy, his attendants admitting no one, that a report of his death was carried into Asia. Attalus also gave more ready credence to it than was worthy the harmony of brothers; for he talked, both to Eumenes' consort, and to the governor of the citadel, as if he had actually succeeded to the crown. This, afterwards, came to the knowledge of the king; who, though he had determined to dissemble, and to pass it over in silence, yet could not refrain, at their first meeting, from rallying Attalus, on his premature haste to get his wife. The report of Eumenes' death spread even to Rome.

17. About the same time, Caius Valerius, who had been sent ambassador to examine the state of Greece, and to observe the movements of king Perseus, returned from that country, and made a report of all things, which agreed with the accusations urged by Eumenes. He brought with him from Delphi, Praxo, the woman whose house had served as a receptacle for the assassins; and Lucius Rammius, a Brundusian, who was the bearer of the following information. Rammius was a person of the first distinction at Brundusium, accustomed to entertain in his house the Roman commanders, and such ambassadors as came that way from foreign powers, especially those of the kings. By these means he had formed an acquaintance with Perseus, although he was distant from him; and in consequence of a letter from him, which gave hopes of a more intimate friendship, and of great advantages to accrue to him, he went on a visit to the king, and, in a short time, found himself treated with particular familiarity, and drawn, oftener than he wished, into private conversations.

Perseus, after promises of the highest rewards, pressed him, with the most earnest solicitations, "as all the commanders and ambassadors of the Romans used to lodge at his house, to procure poison to be given to such of them as he should point out by letter;" and told him, that, "as he knew the preparation of poison to be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger, and that ordinarily it could not be administered without the privity of several; besides, the issue was uncertain, whether doses sufficiently powerful to produce the desired effect, or calculated to escape detection, might be given;—he would, therefore, give him some which neither in administering nor when administered could be discovered by any means." Rammius dreading, lest, in case of refusal, he should himself be the first on whom the poison would be tried, promised compliance, and departed; but did not wish to return to Brundusium, without first holding a conference with Caius Valerius, the ambassador, who was said to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. Having first laid his information before him, by his order he accompanied him to Rome, where, being brought before the senate, he gave them an account of what had passed.

18. These discoveries were added to the information which had been given by Eumenes, and effected, that Perseus should the sooner be judged an enemy; as the senate perceived that he did not content himself with preparing, with the spirit of a king, for a fair and open war, but pushed his designs by all the base clandestine means of assassination and poison. The conduct of the war is conferred on the new consuls; but, in the mean time, an order was given, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, whose province was the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, should raise soldiers who should be led with all expedition to Brundusium, and thence carried over into Apollonia in Epirus, in order to secure the cities on the sea-coasts; in order that the consul, who should have Macedon as his province, might put in his fleet with safety, and land his troops with convenience. Eumenes was detained a long time at Ægina, by a dangerous and difficult cure; but, as soon as he could remove with safety, he went home to Pergamus, and set on foot the most vigorous preparations for war, since the late atrocious villany of Perseus now stimulated him, in addition to the ancient enmity which subsisted between them. Am-

bassadors soon came from Rome, with congratulations on his escape from so great a danger. When the war with Macedon was deferred to the next year, (the other prætors having gone away to their provinces,) Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, to whom the Spanish affairs had fallen, by importuning the senate with frequent repetitions of the same request, obtained at last that a reinforcement for their army should be given them, viz. three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse, for the Roman legions; they are ordered to levy, from the allies, for the confederate troops, five thousand foot and three hundred horse: these forces were carried by the new prætors into Spain.

19. In the same year, because, in consequence of the inquiries made by the consul Postumius, a large portion of the lands of Campania, which had been usurped by private persons indiscriminately, in various parts, had been recovered to the public, Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, published a proposal for an order of the people, that the censors should let the Campanian land to farm; a measure which had been omitted during so many years, since the taking of Capua, that the greediness of individuals might have clear room to work in. After war, though not yet proclaimed, had been resolved on, while the senate was anxious to know which of the several kings would espouse their cause, and which that of Perseus, ambassadors came to Rome from Ariarathes, bringing with them his younger son. The purport of their message was, that "the king had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in order that he might even from childhood be acquainted with the manners and the persons of the Romans; and he requested, that they would allow him to be not only under the protection of his particular friends, but likewise the care, and in some measure the guardianship, of the public." This embassy was highly pleasing to the senate; and they ordered, that Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, should hire a furnished house for the accommodation of the young prince and his attendants. Then that which they sought was given to ambassadors of the Thracians, who were disputing among themselves, and requesting the friendship and alliance of the Roman people, and presents of the amount of two thousand *asses*[1] were sent to each; for the Romans were rejoiced that these states were gained as

[1] 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

allies, the more so, as they lay at the back of Macedon. But, in order to acquire a clear knowledge of every thing in Asia and in the islands, they sent ambassadors, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimus, with orders to go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the treaties of friendship, and at the same time to observe whether the affections of the allies had been tampered with by Perseus.

20. While the minds of the public were in a state of extreme anxiety and suspense with respect to the impending war, in consequence of a storm happening in the night the pillar in the Capitol, ornamented with beaks of ships, *which had been erected* in the first Punic war by the consul *Marcus Æmilius*, whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was shattered to pieces, even to the very foundation, by lightning. This event, being deemed a prodigy, was reported to the senate, who ordered, that it should be laid before the aruspices, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. The decemvirs, in answer, directed that the city should be purified; that a supplication, and prayers, for the averting of misfortunes should be offered, and victims of the larger kinds sacrificed both in the Capitol at Rome, and at the promontory of Minerva in Campania; and that games should be celebrated as soon as possible in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, during ten days. All these directions were carefully executed. The aruspices answered, that the prodigy would prove happy in the issue; that it portended extension of territory and destruction of enemies; for those beaks of ships which the storm had scattered were spoils. There were other occurrences which occasioned religious apprehensions: it was said, that at the town of Saturnia showers of blood fell during three successive days; that an ass with three feet was foaled at Calatia; that a bull, with five cows, were killed by one stroke of lightning; and that a shower of earth had fallen at Auximum. On account of these prodigies, also, public worship was performed, and a supplication and festival observed for one day.

21. The consuls had not yet gone to their provinces; for they would not comply with the senate, in proposing the business respecting Marcus Popilius; and, on the other hand, the senate was determined to proceed on no other until that was done. The general resentment against Popilius was aggravated by a letter received from him, in which he mentioned

that he had, as proconsul, fought a second battle with the Ligurians of Statiella, six thousand of whom he had killed. On account of the injustice of this attack, the rest of the states of the Ligurians took up arms. Then not only was Popilius, in his absence, severely censured in the senate, for having, contrary to all laws, human and divine, made war on a people who had submitted to terms, and stirred up to rebellion states that were disposed to live in peace, but also the consuls for not having proceeded to that province. Encouraged by the unanimous opinion of the senators, two plebeian tribunes, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Sylla, declared publicly that they would institute a suit for a fine to be laid on the consuls, if they did not repair to their destination. They likewise read before the senate a proposal for an order of the people respecting the Ligurians, which they intended to publish. By it a regulation was made, "that in case any of the surrendered Statiellans should not be restored to liberty before the calends of August, then next ensuing, the senate, on oath, should appoint a magistrate to inquire into the business, and to punish the person through whose wicked practices he had been brought into slavery;" and accordingly, by direction of the senate, they proclaimed the same in public. Before the departure of the consuls, the senate gave audience, in the temple of Bellona, to Caius Cicereius, prætor of the former year. After recounting what he had performed in Corsica, he demanded a triumph; but this being refused, he rode in state on the Alban mount; a mode of celebration for victory without public authority, which had now become usual. The people, with universal approbation, passed and ratified the order proposed by Marcius, respecting the Ligurians; and in pursuance of this resolution of the people, Caius Licinius, prætor, desired the senate to appoint a person to conduct the inquiry, according to the order; whereupon the senate directed that he himself should conduct it.

22. The consuls repaired, at last, to their province, and received the command of the army from Marcus Popilius. But the latter did not dare to go home to Rome, lest he might plead his cause while the senate were so highly displeased with him, the people still more exasperated, and before a prætor likewise who had taken the opinion of the senate on

an inquiry pointed against him. The tribunes of the people met his evasion by the menace of another order,—that if he did not come into the city of Rome before the ides of November, Caius Licinius should judge and determine respecting him, though absent. When he, dragged by this fetter, had returned, his presence in the senate called forth general hatred. There, when he was censured by the severe reproaches of many, a decree was passed, that the prætors, Caius Licinius and Cneius Sicinius, should take care that such of the Ligurians as had not been in open arms since the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, should all be restored to liberty; and that the consul, Caius Popilius, should assign them lands on the farther side of the Po. By this decree many thousands were restored in this manner, led beyond the Po, and received portions of land accordingly. Marcus Popilius, being tried by the Marcian law, twice pleaded his cause before Caius Licinius; but at a third hearing, the prætor, overcome by his regard for the absent consul, and the prayers of the Popilian family, ordered the defendant to appear on the ides of March, on which day the new magistrates were to enter into office; so that he, being then in a private capacity, could not preside at the trial. Thus was the order of the people, respecting the Ligurians, eluded by artifice.

23. There were at this time in Rome ambassadors from Carthage, and also Gulussa, son of Masinissa, between whom very warm words passed, in presence of the senate. The Carthaginians complained that, "besides the district, about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome, to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns and forts in the Carthaginian territories. This was easy for him, who cared for nothing. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers; and although they knew that if they forced the Numidians thence, they would wage the war within their own territory, yet they were deterred by another clause in the treaty, too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against the allies of the Roman people. But the Carthaginians could not longer endure his pride, his cruelty, and his avarice. They were sent," they said, "to beseech the

senate to grant them one of these three things: either that they should fairly decide what belonged to each, as became an ally of both; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves in a just war against unjust attacks; or finally, if favour swayed more with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. That the senate would certainly be more moderate in their grants, and they themselves would know the extent of them; whereas, he would set no limits but the arbitrary dictates of his own ambition. If they could obtain none of these, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage under Roman masters, to a state of freedom exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once, than to continue to breathe under the will of an executioner." After these words, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves on the ground, and, in this posture, excited both compassion for themselves, and *no less displeasure* against the king.

24. It was then voted, that Gulussa should be asked what answer he had to make to these charges; or that, if it were more agreeable to him, he should first tell on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa said, that "it was not easy for him to speak on subjects concerning which he had no instructions from his father; and that it would have been hard for his father to have given him instructions, when the Carthaginians neither disclosed the business which they intended to bring forward, nor even their design of going to Rome. That they had, for several nights, held private consultations, composed of nobles, in the temple of Æsculapius, from whence ambassadors were despatched with secret information to Rome. This was his father's reason for sending him into Italy, that he might entreat the senate not to give credit to the common enemy accusing him, whom they hated for no other cause than his inviolable fidelity to the Roman people." After hearing both parties, the senate, on the question being put respecting the demands of the Carthaginians, ordered this answer to be given, that "it was their will that Gulussa should, without delay, return to Numidia, and desire his father to send ambas-

sadors immediately to the senate, to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and to give notice to that people to come and support their allegation. They had hitherto paid to Masinissa, and would continue to pay him, all the honour in their power; that they could not sacrifice justice to favour. Their wish was, that the lands should every where be possessed by the real owners; nor did they intend to establish new boundaries, but that the old ones should be observed. When they vanquished the Carthaginians, they left them in possession of cities and lands, not with the purpose of stripping them by acts of injustice in time of peace of what they had not taken from them by the right of war." With this answer the Carthaginians, and the prince, were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions which hospitality required were performed with all courtesy.

25. About this time Cneius Servilius Cæpio, Appius Claudius Centho, and Titus Annius Luscus, who had been sent ambassadors to Macedonia, to demand restitution and renounce the king's friendship, returned, and inflamed to a still greater degree the senate, already predisposed to hostilities against Perseus, by relating, in order, what they had seen and heard. They said, that "through all the cities of Macedonia they saw preparations for war, carried on with the utmost diligence. When they arrived at the residence of the king, they were refused admission to him for many days; at last, when, despairing of a conference, they were just setting out, then at length they were called back from their journey and brought before him. That the leading subjects in their discourse were, the treaty concluded with Philip, and, after his father's death, renewed with himself; in which he was expressly prohibited from carrying his arms beyond his own dominions, and, likewise, from making war on the allies of the Roman people. They then laid before him, in order, the true and well-authenticated accounts which they themselves had lately heard from Eumenes, in the senate. They took notice, besides, of his having held a secret consultation, in Samothracia, with ambassadors from the states of Asia; and told him, that the senate thought proper that satisfaction should be given for these injuries, as well as restitution, to them and their allies, of their property, which he held contrary to the

tenor of the treaty. On this the king, being inflamed, spoke at first harshly, frequently upbraiding the Romans with pride and avarice, and with ambassadors coming one after another to pry into his words and actions; and with thinking proper that he should speak and do all things in compliance with their nod and order. After speaking a long time with great loudness and violence, he ordered them to return the next day, for he intended to give his answer in writing. Then the written answer was given to them; of which the purport was, that the treaty concluded with his father in no respect concerned him; that he had suffered it to be renewed, not because he approved of it, but because, being so lately come to the throne, he had to endure every thing. If they chose to form a new engagement with him, they ought first to agree on the terms; if they could bring themselves to make a treaty on an equal footing, he would consider what was to be done on his part, and he was convinced that they would provide for the interests of their own state. After this, he hastily turned away, and they were desired to quit the palace. They then declared, that they renounced his friendship and alliance; at which he was highly exasperated, stopped, and with a loud voice charged them to quit his dominions within three days. They departed accordingly; and neither on their coming, nor while they staid, was any kind of attention or hospitality shown them." The Thessalian and Ætolian ambassadors were then admitted to audience. It pleased the senate, that a letter should be sent to the consuls, directing, that whichever of them was most able should come to Rome to elect magistrates, in order that they might know what commanders the state was about to employ.

26. The consuls, during that year, performed no business of the republic that deserved much notice. It appeared more advantageous to the republic, that the Ligurians, who had been highly exasperated, should be pacified and appeased. While a Macedonian war was expected, ambassadors from Issa gave them reason to suspect the inclinations of Gentius, king of Illyria; for they complained that "he had, a second time, ravaged their country;" affirming likewise, that "the kings of Macedon and Illyria lived on terms of the closest intimacy; that both were preparing, in concert, for war against the Romans, and that there were then in Rome

Illyrian spies, under the appearance of ambassadors, and who were sent thither by the advice of Perseus, to ascertain what was going on." The Illyrians, being called before the senate, said, that they were sent by their king, to justify his conduct, if the Issans should make any complaint against him. They were then asked why they had not applied to some magistrate, that they might, according to the regular practice, be furnished with lodging and entertainment, that their arrival might be known, and the business on which they came; when they hesitated in their reply, they were ordered to retire out of the senate-house. It was not thought proper to give them any answer, as delegates, because they had not applied for an audience of the senate; they resolved, "that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to announce to him the complaints made by the allies of his having ravaged their country; and that he acted unjustly, since he did not refrain from offering injury to their allies." On this embassy Aulus Terentius Varro, Caius Plætorius, and Caius Cicereius, were sent. The ambassadors, who had been sent to the several kings in alliance with the state, came home from Asia, and reported that "they had conferred in it with Eumenes; in Syria, with Antiochus; and at Alexandria, with Ptolemy; all of whom, though strongly solicited by embassies from Perseus, remained perfectly faithful to their engagements, and gave assurances of their readiness to execute every order of the Roman people. That they had also visited the allied states; that all were firm in their attachment, except the Rhodians, who seemed to be wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perseus." Ambassadors had come from the Rhodians, to exculpate them from the imputations which, they knew, were openly urged against them; but a resolution was made, that "an audience of the senate should be given, when the new magistrates came into office."

27. The senate were of opinion, that the preparations for war should be deferred no longer. The duty is assigned to Caius Licinius, that out of the old galleys laid up in the docks at Rome, which might be rendered serviceable, he should refit and get ready for sea fifty ships. If any were wanting to make up that number, that he should write to his colleague, Caius Memmius, in Sicily, directing him to repair and fit out such vessels as were in that province, so that they might

be sent, with all expedition, to Brundusium. Caius Licinius, the prætor, was ordered to enlist Roman citizens of the rank of freed-men's sons, to man twenty-five ships; Cneius Sicinius, to levy, from the allies, an equal number for the other twenty-five, and likewise to require from the Latin confederates eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been prætor the year before, was commissioned to receive these troops at Brundusium, and transport them to Macedon; and Cneius Sicinius, the prætor, to keep them in readiness for embarkation. By direction of the senate, Caius Licinius, the prætor, wrote to the consul, Caius Popilius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest then in Liguria, together with four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of the Latin nation, to be in Brundusium on the ides of February. With this fleet, and this army, Cneius Sicinius, being continued a year in command for the purpose, was ordered to take care of the province of Macedon until a new governor should arrive. All these measures, which the senate voted, were vigorously executed; thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks; Lucius Porcius Licinus was appointed to the command, with directions to conduct them to Brundusium, and twelve were sent from Sicily; three commissaries were despatched into Apulia and Calabria, to buy up corn for the fleet and army; these were Sextus Digitius, Titus Juventius, and Marcus Cæcilius. When all things were in readiness, the prætor, Cneius Sicinius, in his military robes, set out from the city and went to Brundusium.

28. The consul, Caius Popilius, came home to Rome when the year had almost expired, much later than had been directed by the vote of the senate; to whom it had seemed advantageous to the republic, that magistrates should be elected as soon as possible, when so important a war was impending. Therefore the consul did not receive a favourable hearing from the senate, when he spoke in the temple of Bellona of his acts among the Ligurians. There were frequent interruptions and questions, why he had not restored to liberty the Ligurians, who had been oppressed by his brother? The election was held on the day appointed by proclamation, the twelfth before the calends of March. The consuls chosen were, Publius Licinius Crassus and Caius Cassius Longinus. Next day were elected prætors, Caius Sulpicius Galba,

Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Caius Lucretius Gallus, Caius Caninius Rebilus, and Lucius Villius Annalis. The provinces decreed to these prætors were, the two civil jurisdictions in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and one of them was kept disengaged, that he might be employed wherever the senate should direct. The senate ordered the consuls elect, that, on whatever day they would enter on their office, having sacrificed victims of the larger kind, they should pray to the gods that the war, which the Roman people intended to engage in, might prove fortunate in the issue. On the same day the senate passed an order, that the consul, Caius Popilius, should vow games, of ten days' continuance, to Jupiter supremely good and great, with offerings in all the temples, if the commonwealth should remain for ten years in its present state. Pursuant to this vote, the consul made a vow in the Capitol, that the games should be celebrated, and the offerings made, at such expense as the senate should direct, when not less than a hundred and fifty persons were present. That vow was expressed in terms dictated by Lepidus, the chief pontiff. There died this year, of the public priests, Lucius Æmilius Papus, decemvir of religious rites, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a pontiff who had been censor the year before. The latter died in a shocking manner: he had received an account, that, of his two sons who were in the army in Illyria, one was dead, and the other labouring under a heavy and dangerous malady: his grief and fears, together, overwhelmed his reason, and his servants, on going into his chamber in the morning, found him hanging by a rope. There was a general opinion, that, since his censorship, his understanding had not been sound; and the report was popular, that the resentment of Juno Lacinia, for the spoil committed on her temple, had caused the derangement of his intellects. Marcus Valerius Messala was substituted decemvir in the place of Æmilius; and Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, though a mere youth, was chosen into the priesthood as pontiff in the room of Fulvius.

29. In this consulate of Publius Licinius and Caius Cassius, not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy, with all the kings and states both in Europe and in Asia, had their attention fixed on the approaching war between Rome and Macedon. Not only old hatred, but also recent anger, be-

cause by the villany of Perseus he had been almost slaughtered like a victim at Delphi, urged Eumenes against him. Prusias, king of Bithynia, resolved to keep clear of hostilities, and to wait the event; for as he did not think it proper to carry arms on the side of the Romans against his wife's brother, so he trusted that, in case of Perseus proving victorious, his favour might be secured through the means of his sister. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having, in his own name, promised aid to the Romans, had, ever since he was allied by affinity to Eumenes, united with him in all his plans, whether of war or peace. Antiochus indeed entertained designs on the kingdom of Egypt, since he despised the unripe age of Ptolemy, and the inactive disposition of his guardians, and thought that he might, by raising a dispute about Cœlesyria, find sufficient pretext for proceeding to extremities, and carry on a war there without any impediment, while the Roman arms were employed against Macedon: yet, by his ambassadors to the senate, and to their ambassadors sent to him, he made the fairest promises. Ptolemy, on account of his age, was then influenced by the will of others; and his guardians, at the same time while they were preparing for war with Antiochus, to secure possession of Cœlesyria, promised the Romans every support in the war against Macedon. Masinissa both assisted the Romans with supplies of corn, and prepared to send into the field, to their assistance, a body of troops and a number of elephants, with his son Misagenes. He so arranged his plans as to answer every event that might take place; for if success should attend the Romans, he judged that his own affairs would rest in their present state, and that he ought to seek for nothing further, as the Romans would not suffer violence to be offered to the Carthaginians; and if the power of the Romans, which at that time protected the Carthaginians, should be reduced, then all Africa would be his own. Gentius, king of Illyria, had indeed given cause of suspicion to the Romans; but he had not yet determined which party to espouse, and it was believed that he would join either one or the other through some sudden impulse of passion, rather than from any rational motive. Cotys, the Thracian king of the Odrysians, was openly in favour of the Macedonians.

30. Such were the inclinations of the several kings, while

in the free nations and states the plebeians, favouring as usual the weaker cause, were almost universally inclined to the Macedonians and their king; but among the nobles might be observed different views. One party was so warmly devoted to the Romans, that, by the excess of their zeal, they diminished their own influence. Of these a few were actuated by their admiration of the justice of the Roman government; but by far the greater number supposed that they would become powerful in their state, if they displayed remarkable exertions. A second party wished to court the king's favour, as debt, and despair of their affairs, while the same constitution remained, urged them hastily to complete revolution; and others, through a fickleness of temper, followed Perseus as the more popular character. A third party, the wisest and the best, wished, in case of being allowed the choice of a master, to live under the Romans rather than under the king. Yet, could they have had the free disposal of events, they wished that neither party should become more powerful by the destruction of the other, but rather that, the strength of both being uninjured, peace should continue on that account; for thus the condition of their states would be the happiest, as one party would always protect a weak state from any ill treatment intended by the other. Judging thus, they viewed in silence from their safe position the contest between the partisans of the two contending powers. The consuls, having on the day of their entering on office, in compliance with the order of the senate, sacrificed victims of the larger kinds in all the temples where the lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year, and having from them collected omens that their prayers were accepted by the immortal gods, reported to the senate that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and prayers offered respecting the war. The aruspices declared, that "if any new undertaking was intended, it ought to be proceeded in without delay; that victory, triumphs, and extension of empire were portended." The senate then resolved, that "the consuls should, on the first proper day, propose to the people assembled by centuries, —that whereas Perseus, son of Philip, and king of Macedon, contrary to the league struck with his father, and after Philip's death renewed with himself, had committed hostilities on the allies of Rome, had wasted their lands, and seized their

towns and also had formed a design of making war on the Roman people, and had for that purpose prepared arms, troops, and a fleet; unless he gave satisfaction concerning those matters, that war should be proclaimed against him." The question was carried among the commons. Then a decree of the senate was passed, that "the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots, for the provinces of Italy and Macedon; that the one to whose lot Macedon fell should seek redress by force of arms from king Perseus, and all who concurred in his designs, unless they made amends to the Roman people."

31. It was ordered that four new legions should be raised, two for each consul. This in particular was assigned to the province of Macedon, that although five thousand foot and two hundred horse were assigned to the other consul's legions, according to the ancient practice, six thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted for each of the legions that were to serve in Macedonia. Of the allied troops also, the number was augmented in the army ordered into Macedon,—namely, sixteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse, besides the six hundred horsemen carried thither by Cneius Sicinius. For Italy, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies were deemed sufficient. The following remarkable concession was made to the service in Macedon; the consul was authorized to enlist at his option veteran centurions and soldiers, as old as fifty years. An unusual mode of proceeding with regard to the military tribunes was also introduced on the same occasion: for the consuls, by direction of the senate, recommended to the people, that, for that year, the military tribunes should not be created by their suffrages; but that the consuls and prætors should exercise their judgment and discrimination in their selection. Their respective commands were assigned to the prætors in the following manner: he to whose lot it fell to be employed wherever the senate should direct, had orders to go to Brundusium, to the fleet, that he might then review the crews, and, dismissing such men as appeared unfit for the service, enlist in their places sons of freed-men, taking care that two-thirds should be Roman citizens, and the remainder allies. For supplying provisions to the ships and legions, from Sicily and Sardinia, it was resolved, that the prætors

who obtained the government of those provinces should be enjoined to levy a second tenth on the Sicilians and Sardinians, and that this corn should be conveyed into Macedon, to the army. The lots gave Sicily to Caius Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia, to Lucius Furius Philus; Spain, to Lucius Canuleius; the city jurisdiction, to Caius Sulpicius Galba; and the foreign, to Lucius Villius Annalis. The lot of Caius Lucretius Gallus was to be employed wherever the senate should direct.

32. The consuls had a slight dispute, rather than a great contest, about their province. Cassius said, that "he would select Macedon without casting lots, nor could his colleague, without perjury, abide their determination. When he was prætor, to avoid going to his province, he made oath in the public assembly, that he had sacrifices to perform on stated days, in a stated place, and that they could not be duly performed in his absence; and surely they could no more be performed duly in his absence when he was consul, than when he was prætor. If the senate thought proper to pay more regard to what Publius Licinius wished, in his consulship, than to what he had sworn in his prætorship, he himself, for his part, would at all events be ruled by that body." When the question was put, the senators thought it would be a degree of arrogance in them to refuse a province to him, since the Roman people had not denied him the consulship. They, however, ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Caius Cassius. They then cast lots for the legions: when it fell to the lot of the first and third to go over into Macedonia; and of the second and fourth, to remain in Italy. The consuls held the levy with much greater care than usual. Licinius enlisted even veteran centurions and soldiers; and many of them volunteered, as they saw that those men who had served in the former Macedonian war, or in Asia, had become rich. When the military tribunes cited the centurions, and especially those of the highest rank, twenty-three of them, who had held the first posts, appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of that body, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, wished to refer the matter to the consuls; "the cognizance of it ought to rest with those to whom the levy and the war were intrusted:" but the rest declared, that

since the appeal had been made to them, they would examine into the affair; and, if there were any injustice in the case, would support their fellow-citizens.

33. The business, therefore, came into the court of the tribunes. Thither Marcus Popilius, a man of consular dignity, the centurions, and the consul came. The consul then required that the matter might be discussed in a general assembly; and, accordingly, the people were summoned. On the side of the centurions, Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, argued thus: that "as military men they had served out their regular time, and that they possessed bodies worn out through age and continual hardships. Nevertheless, they did not refuse to give the public the benefit of their services, they only entreated that they might be favoured so far, that posts inferior to those which they had formerly held in the army should not be assigned to them." The consul, Publius Licinius, first ordered the decree of the senate to be read, in which war was determined against Perseus; and then the other, which directed that as many veteran centurions as could be procured should be enlisted for that war; and that no exemption from the service should be allowed to any who was not upwards of fifty years of age. He then entreated that, "at a time when a new war was breaking out so near to Italy, and with a most powerful king, they would not either obstruct the military tribunes in making the levies, or prevent the consul from assigning to each person such a post as best suited the convenience of the public; and that, if any doubt should arise in the proceedings, they might refer it to the decision of the senate."

34. When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people. By the permission of them all he spoke, we are told, to this effect: "Romans, I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustuminian tribe, and sprung from the Sabines. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and I dwell there to-day. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited

a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are as yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon I served as a common soldier, against Philip, for two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer, with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. Those who have had experience of him, and of other generals in a long course of service, know that no single commander living was a more accurate observer and judge of merit. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time I entered as a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Ætolians and king Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first-rank men. After Antiochus was driven out of the country, and the Ætolians were reduced, we were brought home to Italy, where I served the two succeeding years in legions that were raised annually. I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, prætors. I was brought by Flaccus among others whom he brought home from the province to attend his triumph, out of regard to their good services. At the request of Tiberius Gracchus, I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my campaigns, nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a state of my case; as to offering any thing as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer, enlisting troops, shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve, rests with their power. That no one in the

army may surpass me in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours; and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, now too you ought to be amenable to the authority of the senate and consuls, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

35. Having finished his speech, he was highly commended by the consul, who led him from the assembly into the senate-house, where, by order of the senate, he again received public thanks; and the military tribunes, in consideration of his meritorious behaviour, made him first centurion in the first legion. The rest of the centurions, dropping the appeal, submissively answered to their names in the levy. That the magistrates might the sooner go into their provinces, the Latin festival was celebrated on the calends of June; and as soon as that solemnity was ended, Caius Lucretius, the prætor, after sending forward everything requisite for the fleet, went to Brundusium. Besides the armies which the consuls were forming, Caius Sulpicius Galba, the prætor, was commissioned to raise four city legions, with the regular number of foot and horse, and to choose out of the senate four military tribunes to command them; likewise, to require from the Latin allies fifteen thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse; that this army should be prepared to act wherever the senate should order. At the desire of the consul, Publius Licinius, the following auxiliaries were ordered to join the army of citizens and allies under his command: two thousand Ligurians; a body of Cretan archers (whose number was not specified, the order only mentioning whatever succours the Cretans, on being applied to, should send); likewise the Numidian cavalry and elephants. To settle concerning these last, ambassadors were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians,—Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Caius Aburius: also, to Crete,—Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

36. At this time arrived ambassadors from Perseus. It was the pleasure of the fathers that they should not be permitted to come into the city; as the senate had already

decreed, and the people had ordered, a declaration of war against their king and the Macedonians. Being introduced before the senate in the temple of Bellona, they spoke in the following manner: that "king Perseus wondered what could be their motive for transporting troops into Macedon; and that if the senate could be prevailed on to recall them, the king would, at their arbitration, satisfactorily account for any injuries of which their allies might complain." Spurius Carvilius had been sent home from Greece, by Cneius Sicinius, for the purpose of attending this business, and was present in the senate. He charged the king with taking military occupation of Perrhæbia, storming several cities of Thessaly, and other enterprises, in which he was either actually employed or preparing to engage; and the ambassadors were called on to answer to those points. After they declined to do so, declaring that they had no further instructions, they were ordered to tell their king, that "the consul Publius Licinius would soon be in Macedon at the head of an army. To him he might send ambassadors, if he were disposed to give satisfaction, but there was no use in his sending any more to Rome; for none of them would be permitted to pass through Italy." After they were thus dismissed, a charge was given to Publius Sicinius, to insist on their quitting Italy within eleven days, and to send Spurius Carvilius to guard them, until they embarked. Such were the transactions at Rome, before the departure of the consuls for their provinces. Cneius Sicinius, who, before the expiration of his office, had been sent to Brundusium to the fleet and army, had by this time transported into Epirus five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was encamped at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia. From which place he sent tribunes, with two thousand men, to take possession of the forts of the Dassaretians and Illyrians; as those people themselves solicited garrisons, to secure them from the inroads of the Macedonians in their neighbourhood.

37. A few days after, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Decimius, who were sent ambassadors to Greece, carried with them one thousand soldiers to Corcyra; where they divided the troops among them, and settled what districts they were to visit. Decimius was sent to Gentius, king of Illyria,

with instructions to sound him, as to whether he retained any regard for former friendship; and even to prevail on him to take part in the war. The two Lentuluses were sent to Cephallenia, that they might cross over from it into Peloponnesus; and, before the winter, make a circuit round the western coast. The circuit of Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly is intrusted to Marcius and Atilius; they were directed to take a view afterwards of Bœotia and Eubœa, and then to pass over to Peloponnesus, where, by appointment, they were to meet the Lentuluses. Before they set out on their several routes from Corcyra, a letter was brought from Perseus, in which he inquired the reason of the Romans sending troops into Greece, and taking possession of the cities. They did not think proper to give him any answer in writing; but they told his messenger, who brought the letter, "for the sake of guarding the cities themselves." The Lentuluses, going round the cities of Peloponnesus, after exhorting all the states, without distinction, as they had assisted the Romans with fidelity and spirit, first in the war with Philip, and then in that with Antiochus, to assist them now, in like manner, against Perseus, heard some murmuring in the assemblies; for the Achæans were highly offended that they, who, from the very first rise of the war with Macedon, had given every instance of friendship to the Romans, and had been open enemies to the Macedonians in the war with Philip, should be treated on the same footing with the Messenians and Elians, who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against the Roman people, and who, being lately incorporated in the Achæan union, made heavy complaints, as if they were made over to the victorious Achæans as a prize.

38. When Marcius and Atilius went up to Gitanæ, a town of Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, a council of Epirotes being held there, they were listened to with universal approbation; and they sent thence four hundred young men of that country to Orestæ, to protect those whom they had freed from the dominion of the Macedonians. From this place they proceeded into Ætolia; where, having waited a few days, until a prætor was chosen, in the room of one who had died, and the election having fallen on Lyciscus, who was well known to be a friend to the interest of the Romans, they passed over into Thessaly. The envoys of the Acarnanians and the exiles

of the Bœotians came thither. The Acarnanians had orders to represent that "whatever offences they had been guilty of towards the Romans, first in the war with Philip, and afterwards in that with Antiochus, in consequence of being misled by the professions of those kings, they had found an opportunity to expiate. Since in spite of their demerits they had experienced the clemency of the Roman people, so they would now, by their endeavours to merit favour, make trial of its generosity." The Bœotians were upbraided with having united themselves in alliance with Perseus; but they threw the blame on Ismenias, the leader of a party, and alleged, that "several states were drawn into that measure, contrary to their own judgment:" to which Marcius replied, that "this would appear, as they intended to give to every one of the states the power of judging for itself." The council of the Thessalians was held at Larissa. There too the Thessalians had a wide field for giving thanks to the Romans for the blessing of liberty conferred on them; and the ambassadors, because they had been vigorously assisted by the Thessalians in the wars with Philip and Antiochus. The feelings of the assembly were acted on by this mutual acknowledgment of favours to such a degree that they voted every measure which the Romans wished. Soon after this meeting, ambassadors arrived from king Perseus, chiefly through reliance on a connexion of hospitality subsisting between him and Marcius, which had existed between their fathers. The ambassadors began by reminding him of this bond of amity, and then requested him to give the king an opportunity of conferring with him. Marcius answered, that "he had received from his father the same account of the friendship and hospitable connexion between him and Philip; and the consideration of that connexion induced him to undertake the present embassy. That he would not have so long delayed giving the king a meeting, could it have been done without inconvenience; and that now he and his colleague would, as soon as it should be in their power, come to the river Peneus, where the passage was from Omolium to Dium; messengers being previously sent to announce it to the king."

39. Perseus, on this, withdrew from Dium into the heart of the kingdom, having conceived a slight inspiration of hope from the expression of Marcius, that he had undertaken the

embassy out of regard to him. After a few days they all met at the appointed place. The king's suite was a large one, since a crowd of friends attended him, as well as his body-guards. The ambassadors came with a train not inferior in numbers, as many accompanied them from Larissa, and also the delegates of many states, who had met them there, wishing to carry home information on the positive testimony of what they themselves should hear. All men felt a strong curiosity to behold a meeting between so powerful a king, and the ambassadors of the first people in the world. After they came within sight, on the opposite sides of the river, some time was spent in sending messengers from one to the other, to settle which of the two should cross it; for one party thought the compliment due to royal majesty, the other to the fame of the Roman people, especially as Perseus had requested the conference. Marcius by a jest roused them from their delay:—"Let the younger," said he, "cross over to the elder; the son to the father:" for his own surname was Philip. The king was easily persuaded to comply; but then another perplexity arose, about the number he should bring over with him. He thought it would be proper to be attended by his whole retinue; but the ambassadors required that he should either come with three attendants only, or if he brought so great a band, that he should give hostages that no treachery should be used during the conference. He accordingly sent as hostages Hippias and Pantaucus, two of his particular friends, and whom he had sent as ambassadors. The hostages were demanded not so much to get a pledge of good faith, as to make it apparent to the allies, that the king did not meet the ambassadors on a footing of equal dignity. Their salutations were not like those between enemies, but kind and friendly; and seats being placed for them, they sat down together.

40. After a short silence, Marcius began thus:—"I suppose you expect us to give an answer to your letter sent to Corcyra, in which you ask the reason, why we ambassadors come attended by soldiers, and why we send garrisons into the cities? To this your question I dread either to refuse an answer, lest it should appear haughty in me, or to give a true one, lest, to your ears, it might seem too harsh. But since the person who infringes a treaty must be reproved, either

with words or with arms, as I could wish that the war against you had been intrusted to any other rather than to myself, so I will undergo the task, however disagreeable, of uttering rough language against my friend, as physicians, when they, for the recovery of health, sometimes apply painful remedies. The senate is of opinion that, since you came to the throne, you have acted but in one particular as you ought to have done, and that is, in sending ambassadors to Rome to renew *the treaty made with your father,—and yet it would have been better never to have renewed it*, (they think,) than afterwards to violate it. You expelled from his throne Abrupolis, an ally and friend of the Roman people. You gave refuge to the murderers of Artetarus, that it might appear that you were pleased at his assassination, to say nothing worse; though they put to death a prince, who, of all the Illyrians, was the most faithful to the Roman nation. You marched with an army through Thessaly and the Malian territory to Delphi, contrary to the treaty. You likewise, in violation of it, sent succours to the Byzantians. You concluded by an oath a separate alliance with the Bœotians our confederates, which you had no right to do. As to Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were slain in returning from Rome, I wish rather to inquire who were their murderers, than to charge any one of the crime. To whom else than your agents can the civil war in Ætolia, and the deaths of the principal inhabitants, be imputed? The country of the Dolopians was ravaged by you in person. King Eumenes, when he was returning from Rome to his own dominions, was almost butchered, as a victim, at the altars in consecrated ground, at Delphi, and it grieves me to know the person whom he accuses. With regard to the secret crimes which the host at Brundusium states in his communication, I take it for certain, that all the particulars were written you from Rome, and that your ambassadors reported them to you. There was one way by which you might have avoided my speaking of these matters, which was, by not inquiring why we brought troops into Macedonia, or sent garrisons into the cities of our allies. When you had asked the question, it would have been more haughty to keep silence, than to answer according to truth. Out of regard to the friendship derived to us from our fathers, I am really disposed to listen favourably to whatever you may

say, and wish that you may afford me some grounds of pleading your cause before the senate."

41. To this the king answered,—"A cause which would approve itself good if tried before impartial judges, I must plead before judges who are at the same time my accusers. Of the circumstances laid to my charge, some are of such a nature that I know not whether I ought not to glory in them; others there are which I would not blush to confess; and others, which as they are backed by bare assertions, it will be sufficient to deny. Supposing that I were this day to stand a trial, according to your laws, what does either the Brundusian informer, or Eumenes, allege against me that would be deemed a well-founded accusation, and not rather a malicious aspersion? Had Eumenes (although both in his public and private capacity he has done many grievous injuries to so many people) no other enemy than me? Could I not find a better agent for the perpetration of wickedness than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, nor had any probability of ever seeing again? Then, I must give an account of the Thebans, who, it is well known, perished by shipwreck; and of the death of Artetarus, with regard to whom nothing more is alleged against me, than that his murderers lived in exile in my dominions. I will not object to the injustice of this assumption, provided you will admit it on your side; and will acknowledge that, whatever exiles have taken refuge in Rome or in Italy, you are yourselves abettors of the crimes for which they have been condemned. If you admit not this principle, as other nations will not, neither will I. In truth, what advantage were it to any one that exile lay within his grasp, if no where was there room for an exile? As soon however as I understood from your representations, that those men were in Macedon, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom; and I prohibited them for ever from setting foot on my dominions. These accusations are brought against me as if I were a criminal pleading my cause; the others affect me as a king, and must derive their decision from the treaty which exists between you and me. For if it is thus expressed in that treaty, that even if any one would wage war against me, I am not permitted to protect my kingdom; I must then confess I have infringed it, by defending myself with arms against

Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people. But, on the other hand, if it is both allowed by the treaty, and is an axiom established by the law of nations, that arms may be repelled by arms; how, I pray you, ought I to have acted when Abrupolis had spread devastation over the frontiers of my kingdom as far as Amphipolis, carried off great numbers of free persons, a vast multitude of slaves, and many thousands of cattle? Ought I to have lain quiet, and let him proceed until he came in arms to Pella, into my very palace? But, allowing that I avenged my wrongs in a just war, yet he ought not to have been subdued, and made to suffer the evils which occur to the vanquished. Nay, but when I, who was the person attacked, underwent the hazard of all these, how can he, who was the cause of the war, complain if they happened to fall upon himself? As to my having punished the Dolopians by force of arms, I mean not, Romans, to defend myself in the same manner; because, whether they deserved that treatment or not, I acted in right of my own sovereign authority: for they were under my sovereign power and dominion, annexed to my father's territories by your decree. Nor, even if I were to give an account of my conduct, I do not say to you, nor my other confederates, but even to such as disapprove of a severe and unjust exercise of authority, even over slaves, would I appear to have carried my severity against them beyond the limits of justice and equity; for they slew Euphranor, the governor whom I had set over them, in such a manner, that death was the slightest of his sufferings.

42. "But, when I proceeded to visit Larissa, Antron, and Pteleos, (that I might be within a convenient distance to pay vows, due long before,) I went up to Delphi, in order to offer sacrifice; and here, with the purpose of aggravating the imputed guilt, it is subjoined, that I went with an army, with intent to do what I now complain of your doing,—to seize the towns, and put garrisons in the citadels. Now, call together, in assembly, the states of Greece, through which I marched; and if any one person complain of ill treatment, offered by a soldier of mine, I will not deny that I may appear, under a pretence of sacrificing, to have had a different object. We sent aid to the Ætolians and Byzantians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Bœotians. These proceedings, of whatever nature they may be, have been repeatedly avowed by my ambas-

sadors; and, what is more, excused before your senate, where I had several of my judges not so favourable as you, Quintus Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. But at that time, my accuser, Eumenes, had not come to Rome; one who, by misrepresenting and distorting every occurrence, rendered it suspicious and odious, and endeavoured to persuade you that Greece could not be in a state of freedom, nor enjoy your kindness, while the kingdom of Macedon subsisted. The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist, that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burdensome to Asia than Antiochus was; and that your allies can never enjoy peace so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states. Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, I am aware that the charges which were made by you, and my reply to them, will have just so much weight as the ears and the tempers of the hearers are disposed to allow them to have; and that the question what I have done, or with what intention, is not of so much importance, as what construction you may put on what has been done. I am conscious to myself that I have not, knowingly, done wrong; and that, if I have done any wrong, erring through imprudence, I am capable of receiving correction and reformation from these reproofs. I have certainly committed no fault that is incurable, or deserving punishment by war and plunder: for surely the fame of your clemency and consistency of conduct, spread over the world, is ill-founded, if, on such causes as are scarcely deserving of complaint or expostulation, you take up arms against kings in alliance with you."

43. As he uttered these words with the apparent approbation of the ambassadors, Marcius advised him to send ambassadors to Rome, as he thought it best to try every expedient to the last, and to omit nothing that might afford any prospect of peace. The consideration still remained, how the ambassadors might travel with safety; and although, to this end, it was necessary that the king should ask a truce, which Marcius wished for, and in fact had no other view in consenting to the conference, yet he granted it with apparent reluctance, and as a great favour to the persons requesting it. At that juncture the Romans had not made sufficient preparations for war; they had no army, no general: whereas Perseus had every

thing prepared and ready; and if a delusive hope of peace had not blinded his judgment, he might have commenced hostilities at a time most advantageous to himself and distressing to his enemies. At the breaking up of this conference, (the truce being ratified by both parties,) the Roman ambassadors bent their route towards Bœotia, where great commotions were now beginning; for several of the states withdrew themselves from the union of the general confederacy of the Bœotians, from the time that the answer of the ambassadors was announced, that "it would appear what particular states were displeased at the formation of the alliance with the king." First deputies from Chæronea, then others from Thebes, met the Romans on the road, and assured them, that they were not present in the council wherein that alliance was resolved on. The ambassadors, giving them no answer at the time, ordered that they should go with them to Chalcis. At Thebes a violent dissension arose out of another contest. The party defeated in the election of prætors of Bœotia, resolving to revenge the affront, collected the multitude, and passed a decree at Thebes, that the new Bœotarchs should not be admitted into the cities. All the persons thus exiled betook themselves to Thespiæ; being recalled from it (for they were received there without hesitation) to Thebes, owing to a change in the minds of the people, they passed a decree that the twelve persons who, without being invested with public authority, had held an assembly and council, should be punished by banishment: and afterwards the new prætor, (he was Ismenias, a man of distinction and power,) by another decree, condemns them, although absent, to capital punishment. They had fled to Chalcis; and thence they proceeded to Larissa, to the Rothans, and threw on Ismenias alone the blame of the alliance concluded with Perseus, asserting that the contest originated in a party dispute; yet ambassadors from both sides waited on the Romans, as did the exiles, accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

44. When they were all arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of the other states, each by a particular decree of their own, renounced the alliance of Perseus, and joined themselves to the Romans, a circumstance which gave very great pleasure to the latter. Ismenias recommended, that the Bœotian nation should be placed under the orders of Rome; on which se

violent a dispute arose, that, if he had not fled for shelter to the tribunal of the ambassadors, he would not have been far from losing his life by the hands of the exiles and their abettors. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was in a violent ferment, one party struggling hard to bring the state over to the king, the other to the Romans; and multitudes had come together, from Coronæ and Haliartus, to support the decree in favour of Perseus. But by the firmness of the chiefs, (who desired them to judge, from the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, how great must be the power and fortune of the Roman empire,) the same multitude was overcome, and not only resolved that the alliance with the king should be cancelled, but also, to gratify the ambassadors, sent the promoters of that alliance to Chalcis; and ordered, that the state should be recommended to the protection of the Romans. Marcius and Atilius heard the Thebans with joy, and advised both them and each state separately to send ambassadors to Rome to renew the treaty. They required, above all things, that the exiles should be restored; and condemned by their own decree the advisers of the treaty with the king. Having thus disunited the members of the Bœotian council, which was their grand object, they proceeded to Peloponnesus, after summoning Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was summoned to meet them at Argos, where they demanded nothing more from the Achæans, than the furnishing of one thousand soldiers, which were sent as a garrison to defend Chalcis until a Roman army should come into Greece.

45. Marcius and Atilius having finished the business that was to be done in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter. An embassy had been despatched thence, about the same time, into Asia, to the several islands. The ambassadors were three; Tiberius Claudius, Publius Postumius, and Marcus Junius. These, making a circuit among the allies, exhorted them to undertake the war against Perseus, in conjunction with the Romans; and the more powerful any state was, the more earnestly they requested them, judging that the smaller states would follow the lead of the greater. The Rhodians were esteemed of the utmost consequence on every account; because they could not only countenance the war, but also assist in it by their own strength, having, pursuant to the advice of Hegesilochus, forty ships ready for sea.

This man being chief magistrate, whom they call Prytanis, had, by many arguments, prevailed on the Rhodians to banish the hope of courting the favour of kings, which they had, in repeated instances, found fallacious; and to maintain firmly the alliance with Rome (which was the only one in the earth that could be relied on for strength or honour). He told them, that "a war was upon the point of breaking out with Perseus: that the Romans would expect the same naval armament which they had seen lately in that with Antiochus, and formerly in that with Philip: that they would be hurried, in the hasty equipment of a fleet, when it ought to be sent at once, unless they immediately set about the repairing and manning of their ships: and that they ought to do this with the greatest diligence, in order to refute, by the evidence of facts, the imputations thrown on them by Eumenes." Roused by these arguments, they showed to the Roman ambassadors, on their arrival, a fleet of forty ships rigged and fitted out, so that it might appear that they did not require to be urged. This embassy had great effect in conciliating the affections of the states in Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and disgraced by the suspicion of having received money from the Illyrian kings.

46. When Perseus, after the conference with the Romans, had retired into Macedon, he sent ambassadors to Rome to carry on the negotiation for peace commenced with Marcius, giving them letters, to be delivered at Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of the letters to all was the same, viz. that he had conferred with the Roman ambassadors. What he had heard from them, and what he had said, was, however, represented in such a manner that he might seem to have had the advantage in the debate. In presence of the Rhodians, the ambassadors added, that "they were confident of a continuation of peace, for it was by the advice of Marcius and Atilius that they were sent to Rome. But if the Romans should commence their hostilities, contrary to treaty, it would then be the business of the Rhodians to labour, with all their power and all their interest, for the re-establishment of peace; and that, if they should effect nothing by their mediation, they ought then to take such measures as would prevent the dominion of the whole world from coming into the hands of one nation only. That, as this was a matter of general concern, so it

was peculiarly interesting to the Rhodians, as they surpassed the other states in dignity and power, which must be held on terms of servility and dependence, if there were no other resource for redress than the Romans." Both the letter and the discourse of the ambassadors were received by the Rhodians with every appearance of kindness, but by no means exerted any influence in working a change in their minds, for by this time the best-judging party had the superior influence. By a public order this answer was given:—that "the Rhodians wished for peace; but, if war should take place, they hoped that the king would not expect or require from them any thing that might break off their ancient friendship with the Romans, the fruit of many and great services performed on their part both in war and peace." The Macedonians, on their way home from Rhodes, visited also the states of Bœotia, Thebes, Coronæa, and Haliartus; for it was thought that the measure of abandoning the alliance with the king, and joining the Romans, was extorted from them against their will. The Thebans were not influenced by his representations, though they were somewhat displeased with the Romans, on account of the sentence passed on their nobles, and the restoration of the exiles; but the Coronæans and Haliartians, out of a kind of natural attachment to kings, sent ambassadors to Macedon, requesting the aid of a body of troops to defend them against the insolent tyranny of the Thebans. To this application the king answered, that, "on account of the truce concluded with the Romans, it was not in his power to send troops; but he recommended to them, to guard themselves against ill-treatment from the Thebans, as far as they were able, without affording the Romans a pretext for venting their resentment on him."

47. When Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome, they reported in the Capitol the result of their embassy, in such a manner that they assumed no greater merit for any one matter, than for having overreached the king by the suspension of arms, and the hope of peace given him; for "he was so fully provided," they said, "with every requisite for the immediate commencement of war, while on their side no one thing was in readiness, that all the convenient posts might have been pre-occupied by him before an army could be transported into Greece; but, by gaining so much time by the truce, the

Romans would begin the war better provided with every thing; whereas he would come into the field in no respect better prepared." They mentioned, also, that "they had so effectually disunited by stratagem the members of the Bœotian council, that they could never again, with any degree of unanimity, connect themselves with the Macedonians." A great part of the senate approved of these proceedings, as conducted with consummate wisdom; but the older members, and those who retained the ancient simplicity of manners, declared, that "in the conduct of that embassy, they could discover nothing of the Roman genius. Their ancestors waged war not by stratagems and attacks in the night, nor by counterfeiting flight and returning unexpectedly on an unguarded foe, nor in such a manner as to glory in cunning more than in real valour. That they were accustomed to proclaim war before they waged it, that they sometimes appointed the day of battle and marked out the ground on which they were to fight. That with the same honourable feeling information was given to king Pyrrhus of his physician plotting against his life; and, from the same motive, they delivered bound, to the Faliscians, the betrayer of their children. These were the acts of the Roman law, not resulting from the craft of Carthaginians or the subtlety of Greeks, among whom it is reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy than to overcome him by force. Sometimes greater present advantages may be acquired by artifice than by bravery. But an adversary's spirit is finally subdued for ever, when the confession has been extorted from him, that he was vanquished, not by artifice, nor by chance, but in a just and open war, in a fair trial of strength hand to hand." Such were the sentiments of the elder members, to whom this modern kind of wisdom was displeasing. But that part of the senate who paid more regard to utility than to honour, prevailed, and passed a vote approving of Marcius' conduct in his former embassy; at the same time ordering that he should be sent again into Greece with some ships, and with authority to act in other matters as he should judge most conducive to the public good. They also sent Aulus Atilius to keep possession of Larissa in Thessaly; fearing lest, on the expiration of the armistice, Perseus might send troops and secure to himself that metropolis. For the execution of this, Atilius was ordered to receive from Cneius Sicinius two

thousand infantry. And three hundred soldiers of the Italian race were given to Publius Lentulus, who had returned from Achaia, that he should fix his quarters at Thebes, in order that Bœotia might be kept in obedience.

48. After these preparations were made, the senate, notwithstanding their determination for war was fixed, yet judged it proper to give audience to the king's ambassadors. Their discourse was, principally, a repetition of what had been urged by Perseus in the conference. The accusation of laying the ambush against Eumenes was defended with the greatest care, and yet with the least success, for the thing was manifest. The rest consisted of apologies: but their hearers were not in a temper to be either convinced or persuaded. Orders were given them to quit the city of Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days. Then orders were given to Publius Licinius, the consul, to whose lot the province of Macedon had fallen, to appoint as early as possible the day for assembling the army. Caius Lucretius, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, sailed from the city with forty quinqueremes; for it was judged proper that some of the vessels that were repaired should be kept at Rome for other exigencies. The prætor sent forward his brother, Marcus Lucretius, with one quinquereme; ordering him to collect from the allies the ships due by treaty, and to join the fleet at Cephalonia. He received from the Rhegians one trireme, from the Locrians two, and from the Urites four; and then, coasting along the shore of Italy, until he passed the farthest promontory of Calabria, in the Ionian Sea, he shaped his course over to Dyrrachium. Finding there ten barks belonging to the Dyrrachians, twelve belonging to the Issæans, and fifty-four to king Gentius, affecting to understand that they had been brought thither for the use of the Romans, he carried them all off, and sailed in three days to Corcyra, and thence directly to Cephalonia. The prætor Caius Lucretius set sail from Naples, and, passing the strait, arrived on the fifth day at Cephalonia. There the fleet halted, waiting until the land forces should be carried over, and until the transport vessels, which had been separated from the fleet and scattered over the sea, might rejoin it.

49. About this time the consul Publius Licinius, after offering vows in the Capitol, marched out of the city in his military robes. This ceremony is always conducted with great

dignity and solemnity; on this occasion particularly, it engaged people's eyes and thoughts in an unusual degree,—and this, by reason that they escorted the consul against an enemy formidable and conspicuous both for abilities and resources. For not only their desire to pay him the customary respect, but an earnest wish to behold the show, and see the commander, to whose wisdom and conduct they intrusted the maintenance of the public safety, brought them together. Then such reflections as these entered their minds: "How various were the chances of war; how uncertain the issue of the contest; how variable the success of arms; how frequent the vicissitudes of losses and successes; what disasters often happened through the unskilfulness and rashness of commanders; and on the contrary, what advantages their judgment and valour conferred. What human being could yet know either the capacity or the fortune of the consul whom they were sending against the enemy; whether they were shortly to see him at the head of a victorious army ascending the Capitol in triumph, to revisit the same gods from whom he now took his departure, or whether they were to give a like cause of exultation to their enemies." Then king Perseus, against whom he was going, had a high reputation, derived from the great martial character of the Macedonian nation, and from his father Philip, who, besides many prosperous achievements, had gained a large share of renown even in his war with the Romans. Besides too, the name of Perseus himself, which had never ceased, since his accession to the throne, to be the subject of conversation, owing to the expectation of the war. Two military tribunes, of consular rank, Caius Claudius and Quintus Mucius, were sent with him; and three illustrious young men, Publius Lentulus, and two of the name of Manlius Acidinus, one the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius. With these he went to Brundusium to the army; and sailing over thence with all his forces, pitched his camp at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia.

50. A few days before this, Perseus, after the ambassadors returned from Rome, and cut off every hope of peace, held a council, in which a contest was carried on for some time between different opinions. Some were of opinion that he ought to pay a tribute, or even to cede a part of his dominions, if they should deprive him of that; in short, that he

ought not to refuse, for the sake of peace, whatever must be submitted to, nor act in such a manner as would expose himself and his kingdom to such a perilous hazard. For, "if he retained undisputed possession of the throne, time and the revolution of affairs might produce many conjunctures, which would enable him not only to recover his losses, but to become formidable to those whom he now had reason to dread." A considerable majority, however, expressed sentiments of a bolder nature. They insisted that "the cession of any part would be followed by that of the whole kingdom. The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory: but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires, are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in the neighbourhood a very powerful king, as a yoke on their necks, and had removed Antiochus and his future successors beyond the mountains of Taurus. There now remained only the kingdom of Macedonia near in situation, and such as might, if any where the fortune of Rome should waver, inspire its kings with the spirit of their forefathers. Perseus therefore ought, while his affairs were yet in a state of safety, to consider well in his own mind, whether he should prefer to give up one part of his dominions after another, until at length, stripped of all power and exiled from his kingdom, he should be reduced to beg from the Romans either Samothracia or some other island, where he might grow old in poverty and contempt; or, on the other hand, armed in vindication of his fortune and his honour, as is the part of a brave man, either should endure with patience whatever misfortune the chance of war might bring upon him, or by victory deliver the world from the tyranny of Rome. There would be nothing more wonderful in the Romans being driven out of Greece, than in Hannibal's being driven out of Italy; nor, in truth, did they see how it could consist with the character of the prince, to resist with the utmost vigour his brother, who unjustly aspired to the crown, and, after he had fairly obtained it himself, surrender it up to foreigners. Lastly, that war had its vindication as well as peace, so that nothing was accounted more shameful than to yield up a dominion without a struggle, and nothing more glorious than for a prince to have experienced every kind of fortune in the defence of his crown and dignity."

51. The council was held at Pella, in the old palace of the Macedonian kings. "Let us then," Perseus said, "with the help of the gods, wage war, since that is your opinion;" and, despatching letters to all the commanders of the troops, he concentrated his entire force at Cytium, a town of Macedon. He himself, after making a royal offering of one hundred victims, which he sacrificed to Minerva, called Alcidemos, set out for Cytium, attended by a band of nobles and guards. All the forces, both of the Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries, had already assembled in that place. He encamped them before the city, and drew them all up, under arms, in order of battle, in a plain. The amount of the whole was forty-three thousand armed men; of whom about one half composed the phalanx, and were commanded by Hippias of Berœa; there were then two thousand selected for their superior strength, and the vigour of their age, out of the whole number of their shield-bearers: this legion they called, in their own language, Agema, and the command of them was given to Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyea. Antiphilus of Edessa commanded the rest of the shield-bearers, about three thousand men. Pæonians, and men from Parorea and Parstrymonia, (places subject to Thrace,) with Agrians, and a mixture of some native Thracians, made up the number of about three thousand men. Didas, the Pæonian, the murderer of young Demetrius, had armed and embodied these. There were two thousand Gallic soldiers, under the command of Asclepiodotus; three thousand independent Thracians, from Heraclea, in the country of the Sintians, had a general of their own. An equal number nearly of Cretans followed their own general, Susus of Phalasarna, and Syllus of Gnossus. Leonidas, a Lacedæmonian, commanded a body of five hundred Greeks, of various descriptions: this man was said to be of the royal blood, and had been condemned to exile in a full council of the Achæans on account of a letter to Perseus, which was intercepted. Lycho, an Achæan, was the commander of the Ætolians and Bœotians, who did not make up more than the number of five hundred men. These auxiliaries, composed of so many states and so many nations, made up about twelve thousand fighting men. Of cavalry, he had collected from all parts of Macedon, three thousand: and Cotys, son of Seutha, king of the Odrysian nation, was arrived with one thousand chosen horse-

men, and nearly the same number of foot. The total number was thirty-nine thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Most certainly, since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had ever been at the head of so powerful a force.

52. It was now twenty-six years since peace had been granted to the suit of Philip; and Macedon, having through all that period enjoyed quiet, was become exceedingly populous, and very many were now grown up, and become qualified for the duties of the field; and owing to the unimportant wars with the neighbouring states of Thrace, which had given them exercise rather than fatigue, were in continual practice of military service. Besides, a war with Rome having been long meditated by, first, Philip, and afterwards by Perseus, had effected that all things should be arranged and prepared. The troops performed some few movements, but not the regular course of exercise, only that they might not seem to have stood motionless under arms. He then called them, armed as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on his tribunal, with his two sons, one on each side of him; the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, his son by adoption; the younger, named Alexander, was his son by birth. The king exhorted his troops to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He enumerated the injuries offered by the Romans to Philip and himself; told them, that "his father, having been compelled, by every kind of indignity, to resolve on a renewal of hostilities, was, in the midst of his preparations for war, arrested by fate: that ambassadors were sent by himself at the same time that soldiers were sent to seize the cities of Greece: that then, under the pretext of re-establishing peace, they spun out the winter, by means of a fallacious conference, in order to gain time to make their preparations; that their consul was now coming, with two Roman legions, containing each six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries; and that, should they even be joined by the troops of Eumenes and Masinissa, yet these could not amount to more than seven thousand foot and two thousand horse." He desired them, "after hearing the number of the enemy's forces, to reflect on their own army, how far it excelled both in number and in the qualifications of the men, a body of raw recruits, enlisted hastily for the present occasion; whereas they them-

selves had from childhood been instructed in the military art, and had been disciplined and inured to toil in a course of many wars. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians; while his were Thracians and Gauls, the bravest nations in the world. Their troops had such arms as each needy soldier procured for himself; but those of the Macedonians were furnished out of the royal stores, and had been made with much care at the expense of his father, in a course of many years. They must bring their provisions not only from a great distance, but expose them to all the hazards of the sea; while he, besides his revenue from the mines, had laid up a store, both of money and food, sufficient for the consumption of ten years. The Macedonians possessed in abundance every advantage, in point of preparation, that depended on the kindness of the gods, or the care of their sovereign: they ought therefore to have the same daring spirit which their fathers had before them; who, after subduing all Europe, passed over into Asia, and opened by their arms a world unknown to fame, and never ceased to conquer until they were stopped by the Red Sea, and when nothing remained for them to subdue. But in truth fortune has determined the present struggle to be carried on, not for the far remote regions of India, but for the possession of Macedon itself. When the Romans made war on his father, they held out the specious pretence of liberating Greece; now, they avowedly aimed at reducing Macedon to slavery, that there might be no king in the neighbourhood of the Roman empire, and that no nation, renowned in war, should have the possession of arms; for these must be delivered up to their imperious masters, together with the king and kingdom, if they chose to decline a war, and obey their orders."

53. Notwithstanding that, during the course of his speech, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of the multitude; then truly such shouts arose from the army, expressing indignation and menaces against the foe, and urging him to act with spirit, that he put an end to his discourse. He only ordered them to be ready to march; because it was reported that the Romans were quitting their camp at Nymphæum; and then, dismissing the assembly, he went to give audience to deputies from the several states of Macedon, who were come to offer money and corn, in proportion to the

abilities of each. He gave thanks to all, but declined their proffers; telling them that the royal stores were sufficient to answer every purpose. Carriages only were demanded for the conveyance of the engines, and the vast quantity of missile weapons that was prepared, with other military implements. He then put his army in motion, directing his route to Eordea; and after encamping at the lake Begorrites, advanced, next day, into Elimea, to the river Haliacmon. Then passing the mountains through a narrow defile, called Cambunii, he marched against the inhabitants of the district called Tripolis, consisting of Azoras, Pythios, and Doliche. These three towns hesitated, for a little time, because they had given hostages to the Larissæans; however, being overcome by the fear of immediate danger, they capitulated. He received them with expressions of favour, not doubting that the Perrhæbians would be induced to follow their example; and accordingly, on his first arrival he got possession of their city, without any reluctance being shown on the part of the inhabitants. He was obliged to use force against Cyretiæ, and was even repulsed the first day by bodies of armed men, who defended the gates with great bravery; but on the day following, having assaulted the place with all his forces, he received their surrender before night.

54. Mylæ, the next town, was so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants, from the hopes of their works being impregnable, had conceived too great a degree of confidence. Not content with shutting their gates against the king, they cast insulting reproaches on himself and on the Macedonians, which behaviour, while it provoked the enemy to attack them with greater rancour, kindled a greater ardour in themselves to make a vigorous defence, as they had now no hopes of pardon. During three days, therefore, the town was attacked and defended with great spirit. The great number of Macedonians made it easy for them to relieve each other, and to support the fight by turns; not only wounds, but want of sleep and continual labour, were wearing out the besieged, who guarded the walls by day and night. On the fourth day, when the scaling-ladders were raised on all sides, and one of the gates was attacked with unusual force, the townsmen, who were beaten off the walls, ran together to secure the gate, and made a sudden sally. Since this was the effect rather of in-

considerate rage than of a well-grounded confidence in their strength, they being few in number, and worn down with fatigue, were routed by men who were fresh; and having turned their backs, and fled through the open gate, they allowed the enemy to enter through it. The city was thus taken, and plundered, and even the persons of free condition who survived the carnage were sold. The king, after dismantling and reducing to ashes the greater part of the town, removed, and encamped at Phalanna; and next day arrived at Gyrton; but understanding that Titus Minucius Rufus, and Hippias, the prætor of the Thessalians, had gone into the town with a body of troops, he passed by, without even attempting a siege, and received the submission of Elatia and Gonni, whose inhabitants were dismayed by his unexpected arrival. Both these towns, particularly Gonni, stand at the entrance of the pass which leads to Tempe; he therefore left the latter under a strong guard of horse and foot, and fortified it, besides, with a triple trench and rampart. Advancing to Sycurium, he determined to wait there the approach of the Romans; at the same time he ordered his troops to collect corn from all parts of the country subject to the enemy: for Sycurium stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, the southern side of which overlooks the plains of Thessaly, and the opposite side Macedonia and Magnesia. Besides these advantages of situation, the place enjoys a most healthful air, and a never-failing supply of water, from the numerous springs which lay around.

55. About the same time the Roman consul, marching towards Thessaly, at first found the roads of Epirus clear and open; but afterwards, when he proceeded into Athamania, where the country is rugged, and almost impassable, with great labour and by short marches he with difficulty reached Gomphi. If, while he was leading his raw troops through such a territory, and while both his men and horses were debilitated by constant toil, the king had attacked him with his army in proper order, and at an advantageous place and time, the Romans themselves do not deny that they must have suffered very great loss in an engagement. When they arrived at Gomphi, without opposition, great contempt of the enemy was added to their joy at having effected their passage through such a dangerous road, since they showed such utter ignorance

of their own advantages. The consul, after duly offering sacrifice, and distributing corn to the troops, halted a few days, to give rest to the men and horses; and then, hearing that the Macedonians were over-running Thessaly, and wasting the country of the allies, he led on to Larissa his troops, now sufficiently refreshed. Proceeding thence, when he came within about three miles of Tripolis, (they call the place Scæa,) he encamped on the river Peneus. In the mean time, Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalcis, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenæus, (bringing with him two thousand foot, the command of whom he gave to the latter,) having left his other brother, Philetærus, at Pergamus to manage the business of his kingdom. From thence, with Attalus and four thousand foot and one thousand horse, he came and joined the consul: two thousand foot were left at Chalcis, of which Athenæus had the command: whither also arrived parties of auxiliaries from every one of the states of Greece; but most of them so small, that their numbers have not been transmitted to us. The Apollonians sent three hundred horse and one hundred foot. Of the Ætolians came a number equal to one cohort, being the entire cavalry of the nation; and of the Thessalians, (all their cavalry acted separately) not more than three hundred horsemen were in the Roman camp. The Achæans furnished one thousand young men, armed mostly in the Cretan manner.

56. In the mean time, Caius Lucretius, the prætor and naval commander at Cephallenia, having ordered his brother, Marcus Lucretius, to conduct the fleet along the coast of Malea to Chalcis, went himself on board a trireme, and sailed to the Corinthian gulf, that he might as early as possible put the affairs of Bœotia on a proper footing; but the voyage proved tedious to him, particularly from the weak state of his health. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, when he heard that Haliartus was besieged by Publius Lentulus, sent a messenger to him, with an order, in the prætor's name, to retire from the place. The lieutenant-general, who had undertaken this enterprise with Bœotian troops, raised out of the party that sided with the Romans, retired from the walls. But the raising of this siege only made room for a new one: for Marcus Lucretius immediately invested Haliartus with troops from on board the fleet, amounting to ten thousand effective men, and who were joined by two thousand of the

forces of king Eumenes, who were under Athenæus. Just when they were preparing for an assault, the prætor came up from Creusa. At the same time, ships sent by the allies arrived at Chalcis: two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclea in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, a like number from Samos, and also five quinqueremes from Rhodes. The prætor sent back these to the allies, because there was no where a naval war. Quintus Marcius also came to Chalcis with his ships, having taken Alope, and laid siege to Larissa, called likewise Cremaste. While such was the state of affairs in Bœotia, Perseus, when, as has been mentioned, he lay encamped at Sycurium, after collecting the corn from all the adjacent parts, sent a detachment to ravage the lands of the Pheræans; hoping that the Romans might be drawn away from their camp to succour the cities of their allies, and then be caught at a disadvantage. And when he saw that they were not put in motion by this disorderly expedition, he distributed all the booty, consisting mostly of cattle of all kinds, among the soldiers, that they might feast themselves with plenty. The prisoners he kept.

57. Both the consul and the king held councils nearly at the same time, to determine in what manner they should begin their operations. The king assumed fresh confidence, from the enemy having allowed him, without interruption, to ravage the country of the Pheræans: and in consequence, resolved to advance directly to their camp, and give them no further time for delay. On the other side, the Romans were convinced that their inactivity had created a mean opinion of them in the minds of their allies, who were exceedingly offended that aid was not borne to the Pheræans. While they were deliberating how they should act, (Eumenes and Attalus were present in the council,) a messenger in a violent hurry acquainted them that the enemy were approaching in a great body. On this the council was dismissed, and an order to take arms instantly issued. It was also resolved, that in the mean time a party of Eumenes' troops, consisting of one hundred horse, and an equal number of javelin-bearers on foot, should go out to observe the enemy. Perseus, about the fourth hour of the day, being nearly one thousand paces from the Roman camp, ordered the body of his infantry to halt, and advanced himself in front, with the cavalry and light

infantry, accompanied by Cotys and the other generals of the auxiliaries. They were less than five hundred paces distant, when they descried the Roman horse, which consisted of two cohorts, mostly Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and attended by about one hundred and fifty light infantry, Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, as he knew not the force of the enemy. He then sent forward two troops of Thracians, and two of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans and Thracians. The fight, as the parties were equal in number, and no reinforcements were sent upon either side, ended without any decided advantage. About thirty of Eumenes' men were killed, among whom fell Cassignatus, general of the Gauls. Perseus then led back his forces to Sycurium, and the next day, about the same hour, brought up his army to the same ground, and a number of waggons carrying water followed him; for the road for twelve miles had no water, and was very full of dust: and it was apparent that if they came to an engagement on the first view of the enemy, they would be greatly distressed in the fight by thirst. When the Romans remained quiet, and even called in the advanced guards within the rampart; the king's troops returned to their camp. In this manner they acted for several days, still hoping that the Roman cavalry might attack their rear on their retreat, which would bring on a battle; considering, likewise, that when they had once enticed the Romans to some distance from their camp, they could, being superior in both cavalry and light infantry, easily, and in any spot, face about upon them.

58. After this design did not succeed, the king moved his camp nearer the enemy, and fortified it at the distance of five miles from the Romans. From it at the dawn of the next day, having drawn up his line of infantry on the same ground as before, he led up the whole cavalry and light infantry to the enemy's camp. The sight of the dust rising in great abundance and nearer than usual, caused a great alarm in the Roman camp; and at first they scarcely believed the person announcing the circumstance, because during all the preceding days the Macedonians had never appeared before the fourth hour, and it was now only sun-rise. Afterwards, when their doubts were removed, by the shouting of great numbers, and the men running off from the gates, great confusion

ensued. The tribunes, præfects, and centurions hastened to the general's quarters, and their soldiers to their several tents. Perseus formed his troops within less than five hundred paces of the rampart, round a hill, called Callinicus. King Cotys, at the head of his countrymen, had the command of the left wing, the light infantry were placed between the ranks of the cavalry and separated them. On the right wing were the Macedonian horse, with whose troops the Cretans were intermixed. Milo, of Berœa, had the command of these last; Meno, of Antigone, that of the cavalry, and the chief direction of the whole division. Next to the wings were posted the royal horsemen, and a mixed kind of troops selected out of the auxiliary corps of many nations; the commanders here were Patrocles of Antigone, and Didas the governor of Pæonia. In the centre was the king; and on each side of him the band called Agema, with the consecrated squadrons of horse; in his front the slingers and javelin-bearers, each body amounting to four hundred. The command of these he gave to Ion of Thessalonice, and Timanor, a Dolopian. The king's troops were posted in this manner. On the other side, the consul, drawing up his infantry in a line within the trenches, sent out likewise all his cavalry and light infantry, which were marshalled on the outside of the rampart. Caius Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother, had the command of the right wing, which consisted of all the Italian cavalry, with light infantry intermixed. On the left wing, Marcus Valerius Lævinus commanded the cavalry of the allies, being sent by the states of Greece, and the light infantry of the same nation; Quintus Mucius, with a chosen body of cavalry, levied on the emergency, led the centre. In the front of this body were placed two hundred Gallic horsemen; and of the auxiliaries of Eumenes, three hundred Cyrtians. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted at a little distance, beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus, with their whole division, stood on the rear, between the rear rank and the rampart.

59. Formed in this manner, and nearly equal in numbers of cavalry and light infantry, the two armies encountered; the fight being begun by the slingers and javelin-bearers, who preceded the lines. First of all the Thracians, just like wild beasts which had been long pent up, rushing on with a hideous yell, fell upon the Italian cavalry in the right wing

with such fury, that even those men who were fortified against fear, both by experience in war and by their natural courage, were thrown into disorder. The footmen struck their spears with their swords; sometimes cut the hams of their horse, and sometimes stabbed them in the flanks. Perseus, making a charge on the centre, at the first onset routed the Greeks. When the enemy pressed hard on their rear, the Thessalian cavalry, who had been posted in reserve at a little distance from the left wing, clear of the shock, at first mere spectators of the fight, afterwards, when affairs took this unfortunate turn, were of the utmost service to the Greeks. For they retreating leisurely, and keeping their ranks, after they joined the auxiliary troops under Eumenes, in concert with him afforded a safe retreat between their ranks to the confederates, who fled in disorder, and as the enemy did not follow in close bodies, they even had the courage to advance, and by that means saved many of the flying soldiers who made towards them. Nor did the king's troops, who in the ardour of the pursuit had fallen into confusion, dare to encounter men regularly formed, and marching with a steady pace. When the king, victorious in the cavalry action, shouted out "that the war was finished, if they would aid him by even slight exertions," the phalanx came up seasonably while he was encouraging his troops; for Hippias and Leonatus, as soon as they heard of the victory gained by the horse, without waiting for orders, advanced with all haste, that they might be at hand to second any spirited design. While the king, struck with the great importance of the attempt, hesitated between hope and fear, Evander, the Cretan, who had been employed by him to waylay king Eumenes at Delphi, after he saw the body of infantry advancing round their standards, ran up, and warmly recommended to him, "not to suffer himself to be so far elated by success, as rashly to risk his all on a precarious chance, when there was no necessity for it. If he would content himself with the advantage already obtained, and proceed no farther that day, he would have it in his power to make an honourable peace; or if he chose to continue the war, he would be joined by abundance of allies, who would readily follow fortune." The king's own judgment rather inclined to this plan; wherefore, after commending Evander, he ordered the stand-

ards to be borne back, and the infantry to return to their camp, and the trumpeters to sound the signal for retreat to the cavalry. On the side of the Romans there were slain that day two hundred horsemen, and not less than two thousand footmen; about two hundred horsemen were made prisoners: but of the king's, only twenty horsemen and forty footmen were killed.

60. When the victors returned to their camp, all were full of joy, but the insolent transports of the Thracians were particularly remarkable; for on their way back they chanted songs, and carried the heads of the enemy fixed on spears. Among the Romans there was not only grief arising from their ill success, but dread lest the enemy should immediately attack their camp. Eumenes advised the consul to take post on the other side of the Peneus, that he might have the river as a defence, until the dismayed troops should recover their spirits. The consul was deeply struck with the shame of an acknowledgment of fear; yet he yielded to reason, and leading over his troops in the dead of the night, fortified a camp on the farther bank. Next day the king advanced with the intention of provoking the enemy to battle; and on seeing their camp pitched in safety on the other side of the river, admitted that he had been guilty of error in not pushing the victory the day before, and of a still greater fault, in lying idle during the night; for by sending his light-armed troops, without calling out any of his other soldiers, the army of the enemy might in a great measure be destroyed, during their confusion in the passage of the river. The Romans were delivered, indeed, from any immediate fears, as they had their camp in a place of safety; but, among many other afflicting circumstances, their loss of reputation affected them most. In a council held in presence of the consul, every one concurred in throwing the blame on the Ætolians, insisting that the panic and flight took place first among them; and that then the other allied troops of the Grecian states followed their cowardly example. Five chiefs of the Ætolians, who were said to be the first persons that turned their backs, were sent to Rome.

61. The Thessalians were publicly commended in a general assembly, and their commanders even received presents for their good behaviour. The spoils of the enemies who fell in the engagement were brought to the king, out of which he

made presents,—to some, of remarkable armour, to some, of horses, and to others he gave prisoners. There were above one thousand five hundred shields; the coats of mail and breastplates amounted to more than one thousand, and the number of helmets, swords, and missile weapons of all sorts, was much greater. These spoils, ample in themselves, were much magnified in a speech which the king made to an assembly of the troops: he said, "You have given the prestige of victory to the issue of the war: you have routed the best part of the enemy's force, the Roman cavalry, which they used to boast of as invincible. For, with them, the cavalry is the flower of their youth; the cavalry is the nursery of their senate; out of them they choose the members of that body, who afterwards are made their consuls; out of them they elect their commanders. The spoils of these we have just now divided among you. Nor have you a less evident victory over their legions of infantry, who, stealing away in the night through fear of you, filled the river with all the disorderly confusion of people shipwrecked, swimming here and there. But it will be easier for us to pass the Peneus in pursuit of the vanquished, than it was for them in the hurry of their flight; and, immediately on our passing, we will assault their camp, which we should have taken this morning if they had not run away. Or if they should choose to meet us in the field, anticipate the same result in an infantry action, as took place yesterday when the cavalry were engaged." Those troops who had gained the victory, while they bore on their shoulders the spoils of the enemies whom they had killed, were highly animated at hearing their own exploits, and, from what had passed, conceived sanguine hopes of the future; while the infantry, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, were inflamed with emulation of the glory acquired by the others, wishing impatiently for an opportunity to display their exertions in the king's service, and to acquire equal glory from the defeat of the enemy. The king then dismissed the assembly; and next day, marching thence, pitched his camp at Mopsius, a hill situate half way between Tempe and Larissa.

62. The Romans, without quitting the bank of the Peneus, removed their camp to a place of greater safety. Thither came Misagenes, the Numidian, with one thousand horse, and

a like number of foot, besides twenty-two elephants. The king soon after held a council on the general plan to be pursued; and as the presumption inspired by the late success had by this time subsided, some of his friends ventured to advise him to employ his good fortune as the means of obtaining an honourable peace, rather than to let himself be so far transported with vain hopes, as to expose himself to the hazard of an irretrievable misfortune. They observed, that "to use moderation in prosperity, and not to confide too much in the calm of present circumstances, was the part of a man of prudence, who deserved success; and they recommended it to him to send to the consul, to renew the treaty, on the same terms which his father had received from Titus Quintius, his conqueror; for the war could never be terminated in a more glorious manner than by such a memorable battle, nor could a surer hope of a lasting peace ever occur, than that afforded by existing circumstances, as they were likely to make the Romans, dispirited by their defeat, more willing to come to terms. But should they, with their native obstinacy, spurn reasonable conditions, then gods and men would bear witness both to the moderation of Perseus, and to the stubborn pride of the others." The king's inclination was never averse to such measures; therefore this opinion received the approbation of the majority. The ambassadors sent to the consul had audience in a full council, summoned for the purpose. They requested that "a peace might be concluded; promising that Perseus should pay the Romans the same tribute which Philip had engaged to pay, and should evacuate the same cities, lands, and places, which Philip had evacuated." Such were the proposals of the ambassadors. When they withdrew, and the council deliberated concerning them, the Roman firmness prevailed in their determination. So completely was it the practice of that time, to assume in adversity the countenance of prosperity, and in prosperity to moderate the temper. They resolved to give this answer: "That peace should be granted on this condition only; that the king should give to the senate an entirely unconditional right, of deciding concerning him and all Macedon." When the ambassadors brought back this answer, such as were unacquainted with their usual mode of acting, were astonished at the obstinate perseverance of the

Romans, and most people advised the king to make no further mention of peace, for "the enemy would soon come to solicit that which they now disdained when offered." Perseus feared this haughtiness, since it proceeded from a confidence in their strength, and increasing the sum of money, with the hope of purchasing peace by treasure, did not cease to solicit the mind of the consul. After the consul made no change in the answer which he had first given, Perseus, having despaired of peace, returned to Sycurium, from which he had set out, with the intention of trying again the fortune of war.

63. The news of this cavalry action spread through Greece, produced a discovery of the wishes of the people. For not only those who professed an attachment to the Macedonians, but the generality, who were bound to the Romans under the weightiest obligations, and some who had even felt the power and haughty behaviour of the Macedonians, received the account with joy; and that for no other cause, than out of an evil passion which the mob displays, even in contests of sports, of favouring the worse and weaker party. Meanwhile, in Bœotia, the prætor, Lucretius, pushed the siege of Haliartus with all imaginable vigour. And although the besieged had no foreign aid, except some young Coronæans, who had come into the town at the beginning of the siege, and were without hope of relief, yet they maintained the defence with courage beyond their strength. For they made frequent irruptions against the works; and when the ram was applied, they crushed it to the ground, by dropping on it a mass of lead; and whenever those who worked the engine avoided the blow by changing its position, the besieged by working in masses, and collecting stones out of the rubbish, quickly erected a new wall in the room of that which had been demolished. The prætor, when the progress by machines was too slow, ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed among the companies, resolving to make a general assault on the walls. He thought the number of his men sufficient for this, and the more so because on one side of the city, which is bounded by a morass, it would neither be useful nor practicable to form an attack. Lucretius himself led two thousand chosen men to a place where two towers, and the wall between them, had been thrown down; hoping that, while he endeavoured to climb over the ruins,

and the townsmen crowded thither to oppose him, the walls, being left defenceless, in some part or other might be taken by escalade. The besieged were not remiss in preparing to repel his assault; for, on the ground, overspread with the rubbish, they placed faggots of dry bushes, and standing with burning torches in their hands, they often threatened to set them on fire, in order that, being covered from the enemy by the smoke and flames, they might have time to throw up a wall in the inside. But a casualty prevented this plan from succeeding; for there fell suddenly such a quantity of rain, as hindered the faggots from being kindled; thus a passage was laid open by drawing the smoking faggots aside; and while all were attending to the defence of one particular spot, the walls were mounted by escalade in many places at once. In the first tumult of storming the town the old men and children, whom chance threw in the way, were put to the sword indiscriminately, while the men who carried arms fled into the citadel. Next day, these, having no remaining hope, surrendered, and were sold by public auction. Their number was about two thousand five hundred. The ornaments of the city, consisting of statues and pictures, with all the valuable booty, were carried off to the ships, and the city was razed to the ground. The prætor then led his army into Thebes, which fell into his hands without a dispute; when he gave the city in possession to the exiles, and the party that sided with the Romans; and sold, as slaves, the families of those who were of the opposite faction, and favoured the king and the Macedonians. After performing these acts in Bœotia, he returned to the sea-coast to his fleet.

64. Whilst these events were taking place in Bœotia, Perseus lay a considerable time encamped at Sycurium. Having learned there that the Romans were busily employed in collecting corn from all the adjacent grounds, and that when it was brought in, they cut off the ears with sickles, each before his own tent, in order that he might thresh it the cleaner, and had by this means formed large heaps of straw in all quarters of the camp: he, supposing that he might set it on fire, ordered torches, faggots, and bundles of tow, dipped in pitch, to be got ready; and thus prepared, he began his march at midnight, that he might make the attack at the first dawn, and without discovery. But his stratagem was frustrated: the advanced guards, who were surprised, alarmed the rest of the troops by

the tumult and terror among them: orders were given to take arms with all speed, and the soldiers were instantly drawn up on the rampart and at the gates in readiness to defend the camp. Perseus immediately ordered his army to face about; the baggage to go foremost, and the battalions of foot to follow, while himself, with the cavalry and light infantry, kept behind, in order to cover the rear; for he expected, what indeed happened, that the enemy would pursue and harass his rear. There was a short scuffle between the light infantry, mostly in skirmishing parties. The infantry and cavalry returned to their camp, without any disturbance. After reaping all the corn in that quarter, the Romans removed into the territory of Cranno, which was yet untouched. While they were encamped there, deeming themselves secure on account of the distance between the camps, and the difficulty of the march, through a country as destitute of water as was that between Sycurium and Cranno, the king's cavalry and light infantry appeared suddenly, at the dawn of day, on the nearest hills, and caused a violent alarm. They had marched from Sycurium at noon the preceding day, and had left their infantry at the dawn in the next plain. Perseus stood a short time on the hills, in expectation that the Romans might be induced to come to a cavalry action; but after they did not move, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium, and he himself soon followed. The Roman horse pursued at a small distance, in expectation of being able to attack such as might disperse and separate; but seeing them retreat in close order, and attentive to their standards and ranks, they desisted, and returned to their camp.

65. The king, disliking the length of the march; removed his camp from Sycurium to Mopsilum; and the Romans, having cut down all the corn about Cranno, marched into the lands of Phalanna. When Perseus learnt from a deserter that they carried on their reaping there, without any armed guard, straggling at random through the fields, he set out with one thousand horsemen and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, and after marching with all the speed that he possibly could, unexpectedly fell on the Romans. Nearly a thousand carts, with horses harnessed to them, most of them loaded, were seized, and about six hundred men were taken. The charge of guarding this booty, and conducting it to the camp, he gave

to a party of three hundred Cretans, and calling in the rest of his infantry and the cavalry who were spread about, killing the enemy, he led them against the nearest station, thinking that it might be overpowered without much difficulty. Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune, was in command; who led his men, who were dismayed by the sudden approach of the enemy, to a hill at a little distance, hoping to defend himself by means of the advantage of the ground, as he was inferior in number and strength. There he collected his men in a circular body, that, by closing their shields, they might guard themselves from arrows and javelins; on which Perseus, surrounding the hill with armed men, ordered a party to strive to climb it on all sides, and come to close fighting, and the rest to throw missile weapons against them from a distance. The Romans were environed with dangers, in whatever manner they acted; for they could not fight in a body, on account of the enemy who endeavoured to mount the hill; and, if they broke their ranks in order to skirmish with these, they were exposed to the arrows and javelins. They were galled most severely by the Cestrospendana. A dart, two palms in length, was fixed to a shaft, half a cubit long, and of the thickness of a man's finger; round this, which was made of pine, three feathers were tied, as is commonly done with arrows. To throw this they used a sling, which had two beds, unequal in size and in the length of the strings. When the weapon was balanced in these, and the slinger whirled it round by the longer string and discharged it, it flew with the rapid force of a leaden bullet. When one half of the soldiers had been wounded by these and other weapons of all kinds, and the rest were so fatigued that they could hardly bear the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, assured them of safety, and sometimes promised them rewards; but not one could be prevailed on to yield; and hope now dawned on them determined to die. For when some of the foragers, fleeing back to the camp, had announced to the consul that the party was surrounded; alarmed for the safety of such a number of his countrymen, (for they were near eight hundred, and all Romans,) he set out with the cavalry and light infantry, joined by the newly arrived Numidian auxiliaries, horse, foot, and elephants, and ordered the military tribunes, that the battalions of the legions should follow. He himself, having

strengthened the light-armed auxiliaries with his own light infantry, hastened forward at their head to the hill. He was accompanied by Eumenes, Attalus, and the Numidian prince, Misagenes.

66. When the standards of the Romans first came in sight of the surrounded troops, their spirits were raised from the depth of despair. Perseus's best plan would have been to have contented himself with his accidental good fortune, in having killed and taken so many of the foragers, and not to have wasted time in attacking this detachment of the enemy; or, after he had engaged in the attempt, as he was sensible that he had not a proper force with him, to have gone off, while he might, with safety; instead of which, intoxicated with success, he waited for the arrival of the enemy, and sent messengers in haste to bring up the phalanx, which would have been too late for the emergency. The men must have engaged in all the disorder of a hurried march, against troops duly formed and prepared. The consul, arriving first, proceeded instantly to action. The Macedonians, for some time, made resistance; afterwards, when they were equal to their enemies in no respect, having lost three hundred foot, and twenty-four of the best of their horse, of what they call the Sacred Cohort, (among whom fell Antimachus, who commanded that body,) they endeavoured to retreat: but this march back was more disorderly and confused than the battle itself. When the phalanx, being summoned by a hasty order, was marching at full speed, it met first, in a narrow pass, the carts laden with corn, with the mass of prisoners. These they put to the sword, and both parties suffered great annoyance; but none waited till the troops might pass in some sort of order, but the soldiers tumbled the loads down a precipice, which was the only possible way to clear the road, and the horses, when they were goaded, pushed furiously through the crowd. Scarcely had they disentangled themselves from the disorderly throng of the prisoners, when they met the king's party and the discomfited horsemen. And now the shouts of the men, calling to their comrades to go back, raised a consternation not unlike a total rout; insomuch, that if the enemy had ventured to enter the defile, and carry the pursuit a little farther, they might have done them very great damage. But the consul, when he had relieved his party from the hill,

content with that moderate share of success, led back his troops to the camp. There are writers who state that a general engagement took place that day, in which eight thousand of the enemy were killed, among whom were Sopater and Antipater, two of the king's generals, and about two thousand eight hundred taken, with twenty-seven military standards; and that it was not a bloodless victory, for that above four thousand three hundred fell, and five standards of the left wing of the allies were lost.

67. This day revived the spirits of the Romans, and struck Perseus with dismay: to such a degree that, after staying at Mopsilum a few days, chiefly out of anxiety to bury his dead, he left a very strong garrison at Gonnus, and led back his army into Macedon. He left Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small party at Phila, ordering him to endeavour to gain the affection of the Magnesians, by his proximity to them. On his arrival at Pella, he sent his troops to their winter quarters, and proceeded with Cotys to Thessalonica. There an account was received that Atlesbis, a petty prince of Thrace, and Corragus, an officer belonging to Eumenes, had made an inroad into the dominions of Cotys, and seized on the district called Marene. Supposing, therefore, that he must send Cotys home to defend his own territories, he honoured him at his departure with very magnificent presents, and paid to his cavalry two hundred talents,[1] which was but half a year's pay, though he had agreed to give them the pay of a whole year. The consul, hearing that Perseus had left the country, marched his army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town: which standing directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, at its entrance, serves as the safest barrier to Macedon, and renders a descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhæbia, having taken Mallæa at the first assault, he demolished it; and after reducing Tripolis, and the rest of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagenes and his Numidians, for the winter, in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One half of his army he distributed through Thessaly, in such a manner that all had commodious winter

[1] 38,750*l.*

quarters, and served at the same time as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius, lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Ambracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian states, except the Achæans. With the other half of his army he marched into the Achæan Phthiotis; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. He received the voluntary surrender of Antron, and he then marched against Larissa: this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First the Macedonians, who constituted the king's garrison, withdrew through fear; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrias, or take a view of affairs in Bœotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coronæans, pressed him to go into Bœotia; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and because that country was better adapted for winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

BOOK XLIII.

Several prætors were condemned because they had conducted themselves with avarice and cruelty in the administration of their provinces. Publius Licinius Crassus, the proconsul, took by storm several cities in Greece, and plundered them with great cruelty. For this reason the captives, who were sold by him, were subsequently, by a decree of the senate, restored to their respective states. Many tyrannical acts were done to the allies by the admirals of the Roman fleets also. This book contains likewise the successful operations of king Perseus in Thrace, with the conquest of Dardania and Illyricum; Gentius was the king of the latter country. The commotions which arose in Spain through the agency of Olonicus, were quelled by his death. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was chosen by the censors prince of the senate.

1. In the same summer in which the Romans were conquerors in the cavalry action in Thessaly, the lieutenant-

general, sent by the consul to Illyricum, compelled, by force of arms, two opulent cities to surrender, and gave the inhabitants all their effects, in hopes, by the reputation of his clemency, to allure to submission the inhabitants of Carnus, a city strongly fortified. But after he could neither induce them to surrender, nor take their city by a siege; that his soldiers might not be fatigued by the two sieges without reaping any advantage, he sacked those cities which he had spared before. The other consul, Caius Cassius, performed nothing memorable in Gaul, the province that fell to his lot; but made an ill-judged attempt to lead his army through Illyricum to Macedon. The senate learned his having undertaken that march from deputies from Aquileia, who complained that their colony, which was new, weak, and but indifferently fortified, lay in the midst of hostile states, Istrians and Illyrians; and begged the senate to take into consideration some method of strengthening it. These, being asked whether they wished that matter to be given in charge to the consul Caius Cassius, replied, that Cassius, after assembling his forces at Aquileia, had set out on a march through Illyricum into Macedon. The fact was at first deemed incredible, and each individual was under the impression that he had gone on an expedition against the Carnians, or perhaps the Istrians. The Aquileians then said, that all that they knew, or could take upon them to affirm, was that corn for thirty days had been given to the soldiers, and that guides, who knew the roads from Italy to Macedon, had been sought for and carried with him. The senate were highly displeased that the consul should presume to act so improperly as to leave his own province, and remove into that of another; and lead his army by a new and dangerous route through foreign states, and thereby open for so many nations a passage into Italy. Assembled in great numbers, they decreed that the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, should nominate out of the senate three deputies, who should set out from the city on that very day, make all possible haste to overtake the consul, Cassius, wherever he might be, and tell him not to engage in a war with any nation, unless that against which the senate voted that such war should be waged. These deputies left the city; Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcius Rex. The fears entertained for the consul and his

army caused the business of fortifying Aquileia to be postponed for that time.

2. Then were introduced to the senate ambassadors from the several states of both the Spains; these, after complaining of the avarice and pride of the Roman magistrates, fell on their knees, and implored the senate not to suffer them, who were their allies, to be more cruelly plundered and ill-treated than their enemies. When they complained of other unworthy treatment, and it was also evident that money had been extorted from them; a charge was then given to Lucius Canuleius, the prætor, to whom Spain was allotted, to appoint out of the senatorian order five judges delegate, to try each person from whom the Spaniards might demand back their money; and that they should give the latter power to choose whomsoever they pleased as patrons. The ambassadors being called into the senate-house, the decree of the senate was read aloud, and they were ordered to name their protectors. They named four,—Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, son of Lucius, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. The judges entered on the business with the case of Marcus Titinius first, who had been prætor in Hither Spain, in the consulate of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius. The cause was twice adjourned, and on the third hearing the accused was acquitted. A dispute took place between the ambassadors of the two provinces; and the states of Hither Spain chose for their patrons Marcus Cato and Scipio; those of Farther Spain, Lucius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. Publius Furius Philus and Marcus Matienus were brought before the judges, the former by the states of the Hither province, and the latter by those of the Farther; the former of whom had been prætor, three years before, in the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius; and the latter, two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both, being accused of most heinous crimes, were remanded; but when the cause was about to be pleaded anew, it was represented on their behalf that they had quitted the country as voluntary exiles. Furius had gone to Præneste, Matienus to Tibur, to live in exile. There was a report that the plaintiffs were not suffered, by their patrons, to bring charges against people of high birth and power; and Canuleius the prætor increased this suspicion, for having neglected

that business, he applied himself to the enlisting of soldiers. Then he suddenly went off to his province, lest more might be accused by the Spaniards. Although past transactions were thus consigned to silence, yet the senate deliberated for the interest of the Spaniards in future, for they passed an order that the Roman magistrates should not have the valuation of the corn; nor should they compel the Spaniards to compound for their twentieths at such prices as they pleased; and that officers should not be placed in command of their towns for the purpose of exacting money.

3. There came also from Spain another embassy, from a new race of men. They, representing that they were the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, to whom the Romans had not been united in wedlock, and that their number amounted to more than four thousand, petitioned for a grant of some town to be given them in which they might reside. The senate decreed, that "they should put their names on a list before Lucius Canuleius; and that, if he should judge any of them deserving of freedom, it was their pleasure that they should be settled as a colony at Carteia, on the ocean. That such of the present inhabitants of Carteia as wished to remain there, should have the privilege of being considered as colonists, and should have lands assigned them. That this should be deemed a Latin settlement, and be called a colony of freedmen." At this time Prince Gulussa, son of king Masinissa, arrived from Africa as ambassador from his father. Carthaginian ambassadors also came. Gulussa, being first introduced to the senate, gave a detail of the succours sent by his father to the maintenance of the war in Macedon, and promised, that if they wished to order any thing besides, he would execute it in return for the meritorious deeds of the Roman people; and he warned the conscript fathers to be on their guard against the treachery of the Carthaginians. That they "had formed the design of fitting out a powerful fleet, in favour, as they pretended, of the Romans, and against the Macedonians; but when it should be equipped and ready for action, they would have it in their power to make their own option which party they would treat as a friend, and which as a foe." *Then he pleaded Masinissa's cause concerning the land and towns, which, according to the complaint of the Carthaginians, were wrested from them by*

him; and the question was debated with great warmth between the prince and the Carthaginian ambassadors. We have not ascertained what were the arguments brought forward by both parties, or what was the reply given by the senate. However this contest ceased, and seemed to slumber for several years: it was subsequently renewed, and burst forth into the flames of that war which was undertaken by the Carthaginians against Masinissa, necessarily waged against Rome, and terminated only by the downfal of Carthage. We find, in the annals of this year, that a son was born of a virgin, while she was under the strict guardianship of her parents, and by the order of the soothsayers was conveyed to a desert island. The elections were held by Caius Cassius the consul, in which Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus were appointed consuls. Then Marcus Ræcius, Quintus Mænius, Lucius Flatensius, Quintus Ælius Pætus, Titus Manlius Torquatus, and Caius Hostilius, were elected prætors. Italy and Macedon are declared the consular provinces. Italy fell to Atilius, and Macedon to Hostilius. With regard to the prætors, Ræcius obtained by lot the city jurisdiction, Mænius the foreign. The fleet, together with the sea-coast of Greece, fell to Hortensius. The rest of the prætorian provinces were, without doubt, those of the former year, viz. Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. But what prætors obtained the command in each cannot be ascertained, in consequence of the silence of the ancient records. In the mean time Publius Licinius, as if he were sent to wage war not against Perseus, but the Greeks, turned the rage of war, so ineffectual against the real enemy, towards wretches who were unable to cope with him, and took by storm and plundered in a most merciless manner several cities in Bœotia, in which he was passing the winter. When the Coroneans, who were the most ill-used, threw themselves on the protection of the senate, that august body decreed that the captives who had been sold should be restored to freedom. Lucretius the prætor, who had the command of the fleet, imitated, or rather surpassed, the cruelty and avarice of the consul; he was oppressive to the allies, despicable in the sight of the enemy. Since Perseus, by a sudden attack on the fleet stationed at Oreum, took twenty transports laden with corn, sunk the rest of them, and even made himself master of four galleys of five banks of oars. Matters were successfully managed by Perseus in Thrace

also, where he made a diversion in that country in favour of Cotys against the forces of Atlesbis and Corragus. Nor truly was Cotys false to his own interests, as he was a man indefatigable in war, and pre-eminent in council, a Thracian by birth alone, not by his habits; for he was singularly sober and temperate, and, besides, quite amiable, owing to his mercy and moderation. The tide of war flowed on in favour of Perseus. For at this time the nation of the Epirotes also passed over to his party, by the advice of Cephalus, who however was induced to revolt more by necessity, than his own free will. He was a man of remarkable prudence and firmness, and even then influenced by the best of feelings. For he had prayed to the immortal gods that war might never break out between the Romans and Perseus, and that they might never come to a decisive struggle. For he had determined, when the war broke out, to aid the Romans according to the written articles of the treaty, but to do nothing further than the conditions of that treaty demanded, and not to be complaisant in a servile or disgraceful manner. These plans were confounded by one Charopus, the grandson of that Charopus who opened the pass at the river Arus to Titus Quinctius, in the war against Philip; this Charopus was a worthless flatterer of those in power, and a strange adept at forging calumnies against men of the best character. He was educated at Rome, having been sent there by his grandfather, in order that he might learn thoroughly the Roman language and literature. Owing to this he became acquainted with, and dear to, very many of the Romans; and yet, after his return home, as he was naturally of a fickle and depraved disposition, and besides inspired with confidence, owing to his intimacy with the Roman nobles, he was constantly sneering at the leading men of the state. At first he was despised by all, nor was any regard paid to his allegations. But after the war with Perseus broke out, and suspicions were rife throughout Greece, as many openly professed their zeal for Perseus, and still more felt it in secret, Charopus never ceased accusing before the Romans those who were invested with authority among the Epirotes. The intimate connexion that Cephalus, and the others who adopted that line of politics, had formerly with the kings of Macedon, gave a specious appearance and false colouring to his calumnies. Already, in truth, by malignantly prying into all their acts

and words, and putting the worst construction on them, and by falsifying the truth by adding and subtracting whatever he chose, he was succeeding in having his accusations believed. Nor however were Cephalus, and those who had been the associates of his designs in the management of the republic, moved by these allegations, since they relied on the full consciousness of unsullied fidelity towards the Romans. But when they perceived that the Romans lent an ear to these calumnies, and that some of the Ætolian nobles, whom the calumnies of slanderers had rendered objects of suspicion as well as themselves, were taken away to Rome, then at length they believed it necessary to provide for the safety of themselves and their property. And they, when no other resource than the king's friendship suggested itself to them, were compelled to form an alliance with Perseus, and give their nation into his hands. Aulus Hostilius and Aulus Atilius, the consuls, having entered on their office at Rome, and having performed such religious and political acts as are usually executed by the consuls in and around the city, set out for their provinces. Hostilius, to whose lot Macedon had fallen, when he was hastening into Thessaly, to join the army there, entered Epirus, which had not yet openly revolted, and was very near falling into the hands of Perseus. For one Theodotus and Philostratus, under the impression that, if they would deliver him up to the king, they would receive great favour from Perseus; and, besides, would strike a very severe blow against the Romans at the time, sent letters to the king, desiring him to come up with all the speed he could. And were it not that Perseus was retained by delay, thrown in his way by the Molossians, at the passage of the river Lous, and that the consul, being informed of his danger, had changed his intended route, there was not a possibility of his escaping. Therefore, having left Epirus, he sailed to Anticyra, and from the latter place proceeded to Thessaly. Having received the command of the army there, he marched at once against the enemy. But he was not a whit more successful in the operations of the war than his predecessor For having engaged in battle with the king, he was beaten, and when at first he attempted to force his way through Elimea, and afterwards to march secretly through Thessaly, he was compelled to desist from his useless attempts, as Perseus anticipated all his manœuvres. Nor did Hortensius the

prætor, to whom the fleet had fallen, carry on any of his operations with sufficient skill or success, for none of his acts deserves better to be remembered than his cruel and perfidious plundering of the city of the Abdertes, when they endeavoured to avert, by entreaty, the intolerable burdens imposed on them. Perseus, therefore, now despising the Romans, as if he were completely at leisure and disengaged, made an incursion, for the purpose of gaining a fresh wreath of laurel, against the Dardanians, and having slain ten thousand of the barbarians, bore away great booty.

4. *In this year the Celtiberians made some warlike motions in Spain, at the instigation of a strange leader named Olonicus, some give him the name of Salindicus. He was a man of great cunning and boldness, and brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended was sent to him from heaven, with the agitation of a person inspired, he attracted universal attention. But when he, with corresponding rashness, had approached the camp of the Roman prætor, in the dusk of the evening, with the intention of slaying him, bringing with him an associate in his mad enterprise, he was killed, near the very tent, by a sentinel with a javelin: his companion paid the same penalty for his foolish undertaking. The prætor immediately ordered both their heads to be cut off and fixed on spears, and then given to some of the prisoners to bear to their countrymen.* These entering the camp and showing the heads caused such panic, that if the Romans had instantly advanced to the camp they might have taken it. As it was, a general flight took place; and some were of opinion that ambassadors should be sent to supplicate for peace; while a great number of states, on hearing this intelligence, surrendered: and when the prætor had given pardon to them while endeavouring to excuse themselves, and laying all the blame on the madness of the two individuals who had voluntarily offered themselves for punishment, he proceeded immediately to the other states, every one of which acknowledged his authority, and he passed with his army in peace, without doing any injury, through the tract of country where before the flames of war raged with the utmost fury. This mercy shown by the prætor, by which he overcame without bloodshed a very savage people, was the more pleasing to the senate and people, as the war had been conducted in Greece both by the consul Licinius and the prætor Lucretius with

uncommon avarice and cruelty. The plebeian tribunes, daily, in their speeches to the people, censured Lucretius for being absent, though it was alleged in his favour that he was abroad on the business of the public. But so little was then known of what passed, even in the vicinity of Rome, that he was, at that very time, at his own estate near Antium; and, with money amassed in his expedition, was bringing water thither from the river Loracina; he is said to have contracted for the execution of this work at the expense of one hundred and thirty thousand *asses*.[1] He also decorated the temple of Æsculapius with pictures taken from among the spoils. But ambassadors from Abdera diverted the public displeasure, and the consequent disgrace, from Lucretius to his successor. These stood weeping at the door of the senate-house, and complained, that "their town had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius. His only reason," they said, "for destroying their city was, that, on his demanding from them one hundred thousand denariuses,[2] and fifty thousand measures of wheat, they had requested time until they could send ambassadors on the subject, both to the consul Hostilius, and to Rome; and that they had scarcely reached the consul, when they heard that the town was stormed, their nobles beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves." This act appeared to the senate deserving their indignation, and they passed the same decree respecting the people of Abdera as they had passed concerning the Coronæans. They also ordered Quintus Mænius, the prætor, to publish the notice in a general assembly, as had been done the year before. Two ambassadors, Caius Sempronius Blæsus and Sextus Julius Cæsar, were sent to restore the Abderites to liberty; and were likewise commissioned to deliver a message from the senate to the consul Hostilius, and to the prætor Hortensius, that the senate judged the war made on the Abderites to be unjust, and had directed that all those who were in servitude should be sought out and restored to liberty.

5. At the same time, complaints were laid before the senate against Caius Cassius, who had been consul the year before, and was then a military tribune in Macedon, under Aulus Hostilius, and ambassadors came from Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls. His brother made a speech to the senate, com-

[1] 419*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.* [2] 3,229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

plaining that Caius Cassius had entirely wasted the country of the Alpine Gauls, their allies, and carried off into slavery many thousands of their people. Ambassadors came at the same time from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapidans, who represented, that "at first guides had been demanded from them by the consul, Cassius, to point out the road to him, leading his army into Macedon: that he had parted from them in a peaceable manner, as if to carry war elsewhere; but afterwards, when he had proceeded half way, he returned, and overran their country in a hostile manner, spreading depredations and fires through every quarter; nor had they as yet been able to discover for what reason they were treated as enemies by the consul." The following answer was returned to the absent prince of the Gauls, and the states present, that "the senate had no previous knowledge of those acts of which they complained; nor did they approve of them if they did take place. But that it would still be unjust to condemn, unheard and absent, a man of consular rank, especially as he was employed abroad in the business of the public. That, when Caius Cassius should come home from Macedonia, if they chose then to prosecute their complaints against him, in his presence, the senate, after examining the matter, would endeavour to give them satisfaction." It was further resolved, that not only a verbal answer should be given, but that ambassadors should be also sent to those nations, (two to the transalpine chieftain, and three to the other states,) to notify to them the determinations of the senate. They voted, that presents, to the amount of two thousand *asses*,[1] should be sent to the ambassadors; and to the prince, and his brother, some of extraordinary value: two chains made of gold, and weighing five pounds; five silver vases, amounting to twenty pounds' weight; two horses, fully caparisoned, with grooms to attend them, and horsemen's armour and cloaks, besides suits of apparel to their attendants, both freemen and slaves. These were presented to them; and, on their request, permission was given to each of them to purchase ten horses, and convey them out of Italy. Caius Lælius and Marcus Æmilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls, to the regions on the northern side of the Alps; and Caius Cicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states.

[1] 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

6. Embassies from many states of Greece and Asia arrived at Rome at the same time. The first that had audience of the senate were the Athenians, who represented, that "they had sent what ships and soldiers they had to the consul Publius Licinius, and the prætor Caius Lucretius, who did not think proper to employ their forces, but ordered the state to furnish one hundred thousand measures of corn; and, notwithstanding that they were the cultivators of a sterile soil, and that they fed even the husbandmen with imported grain, yet, that they might not appear deficient in their duty, they had made up that quantity, and were ready to perform any other service that might be required of them." The Milesians, making no mention of their past services, promised to readily afford any assistance in the war which the senate should think proper to demand. The Alabandians said, that they had erected a temple to the city of Rome, and instituted anniversary games to her divinity; that they had brought a golden crown, of fifty pounds' weight, to be deposited in the Capitol, as an offering to Jupiter supremely good and great; also three hundred horsemen's bucklers, which they were ready to deliver to any person appointed to receive them; and they requested permission to lodge the said offering as intended, and to perform sacrifice. Ambassadors from Lampsacus, who brought a crown of eighty pounds' weight, made the same request, and represented to the senate that "they had renounced the party of Perseus as soon as the Roman army arrived in Macedon, though they had been under the dominion of that monarch, and formerly of Philip. In return for which, and for their having contributed every assistance in their power to the Roman commanders, they only requested to be admitted into the friendship of the Roman people; and that, if peace should be made with Perseus, they should be exempted from falling again into his power." A gracious answer was given to the rest of the ambassadors, and the prætor, Quintus Mænius, was ordered to enrol the people of Lampsacus as allies. Presents were made to all, and two thousand *asses* were given to each. The Alabandians were desired to carry back the bucklers into Macedon, to the consul Aulus Hostilius. At the same time ambassadors came from Africa; those of the Carthaginians acquainted the senate that they had brought down to the sea-coast a million of measures of wheat,

and five hundred thousand of barley, "to be transported to whatever place the senate should order. They were sensible," they said, "that this offer, and act of duty, were very inferior to the deserts of the Roman people, and to their own inclinations; but that on many other occasions, when both nations were in favourable circumstances, they had performed the duties of faithful and grateful allies." In like manner, ambassadors from Masinissa offered the same quantity of wheat, one thousand two hundred horsemen, and twelve elephants; desiring, that if he could be of service in any other particular, the senate would lay their commands on him, and he would execute them with as much zeal as if he had proposed them himself. Thanks were returned both to the Carthaginians and to the king; and they were requested to send the supplies, which they had promised, into Macedon, to the consul Hostilius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors.

7. When the ambassadors of the Cretans mentioned that they had sent into Macedon the number of archers which had been demanded by the consul, Publius Licinius, on being interrogated, they did not deny that a greater number of their archers were serving in the army of Perseus than in that of the Romans: on which they received this answer; that "if the Cretans were candidly and sincerely resolved to prefer the friendship of the Roman people to that of king Perseus, the Roman senate, on their part, would answer them as allies who could be relied on. In the mean time, that they should announce to their countrymen, that the senate required that the Cretans should endeavour to call home, as soon as possible, all the soldiers who were in the service of king Perseus." The Cretans being dismissed, the ambassadors from Chalcis were called, whose embassy seemed to be a matter of extreme necessity, from the very circumstance of their entering the senate-house at all, since Miction, their chief, having lost the use of his limbs, was introduced on a litter: and either the plea of bad health had not appeared to himself an adequate motive for seeking exemption from duty, though he was in such a distressing state, or exemption had not been given him at his request. After premising that no other part was alive but his tongue, which served him to deplore the calamities of his country, he represented, first, the friendly assistance given

by his state to the Roman commanders and armies, both on former occasions and in the war with Perseus; and then, the instances of pride, avarice, and cruelty, which his countrymen had suffered from the Roman prætor, Caius Lucretius, and were at that very time suffering from Lucius Hortensius; notwithstanding which, they were resolved to endure all hardships, should they be even more grievous than they underwent at present, rather than swerve from their allegiance. "With regard to Lucretius and Hortensius, they knew that it would have been safer to have shut their gates against them, than to receive them into the city. For those cities which had so done, remained in safety, as Emathea, Amphipolis, Maronea, and Ænus; whereas, in Chalcis, the temples were robbed of all their ornaments. Caius Lucretius had carried off in ships, to Antium, the plunder amassed by such sacrilege, and had dragged persons of free condition into slavery; the property of the allies of the Roman people was subjected to rapine and plunder every day. For Hortensius, pursuing the practice of Caius Lucretius, kept the crews of his ships in lodgings both in summer and winter alike; so that their houses were filled with a crowd of seamen, and those men who showed no regard to propriety, either in their words or actions, lived among the inhabitants, their wives, and children."

8. The senate resolved to call Lucretius before them, that he might argue the matter in person, and exculpate himself. But when he appeared, he heard many more crimes alleged against him than had been mentioned *in his absence*; and two more weighty and powerful accusers stood forth in support of the charges, Manius Juventius Thalna and Cneius Aufidius, plebeian tribunes. These not only arraigned him bitterly in the senate, but dragged him out into the assembly of the people, and there, after reproaching him with many heinous crimes, they instituted a legal prosecution against him. By order of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Mænius, gave this answer to the ambassadors of Chalcis: that "the senate acknowledged their account of the good offices done by them to the Roman people, both on former occasions and during the present war, to be true; and that their conduct met with gratitude, as it ought: that as to the ill treatment, which they complained of having received formerly from Caius

Lucretius, and now from Lucius Hortensius, Roman prætors, who could suppose that such things were done with the approbation of the senate, who would consider that the Roman people had made war on Perseus, and, before that, on his father Philip, for the express purpose of asserting the liberties of Greece, and not that their friends and allies should receive such treatment from their magistrates: that they would give them a letter to the prætor, Lucius Hortensius, informing him that the proceedings, of which the people of Chalcis complained, were highly displeasing to the senate; charging him to take care that all free persons, who had been reduced to slavery, should be sought out as soon as possible, and restored to liberty; and commanding that no seamen, except the masters of vessels, should be permitted to lodge on shore." Pursuant to the senate's order, a letter to this purport was written to Hortensius. A present of two thousand *asses* was made to each of the ambassadors, and carriages were hired for Miction, at the public expense, to carry him commodiously to Brundusium. When the day of Caius Lucretius's trial came, the tribunes pleaded against him before the people, and demanded that he should be fined in the sum of one million of *asses*;[1] and an assembly of the people being held, every one of the thirty-five pronounced him guilty.

9. In Liguria, nothing worthy of record occurred in that year; for the enemy made no hostile attempt, nor did the consul march his legions into their country; on the contrary, having made himself sure that there would be peace that year, he discharged the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after his arrival in the province, sent the troops of the Latin confederates early into winter quarters at Luna and Pisæ, and himself, with the cavalry, visited most of the towns in the Gallic province. Although there was no open war any where but in Macedon, yet the Romans suspected Gentius, king of Illyria. The senate, therefore, voted that eight ships, fully equipped, should be sent from Brundusium to Issa, to Caius Furius, lieutenant-general, who, with only two vessels belonging to the inhabitants, held the government of that island. In this squadron were embarked two thousand soldiers, whom the prætor, Quintus Mænius, in pursuance of

[1] 3029*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

a decree of the senate, had raised in the quarter of Italy opposite Illyria; and the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius, with four thousand foot, into Illyria, to protect the states that bordered on it. But Appius Claudius, not content with the force which he brought with him, collected aid from the allies, until he armed as many as eight thousand men of different nations; and after overrunning all that country, took post at Lychnidus, in the territory of the Dassaretians.

10. Not far from this place was Uscana, a town generally deemed part of the dominions of Perseus. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and a small party of Cretans, who served as a garrison. From this place messengers came, secretly, to Claudius, telling him that "if he brought his army nearer, there would be people ready to put the town into his hands; and that it would be well worth his while; for he would satiate with plunder not only his friends, but also his soldiers." The hopes presented to his avarice blinded his understanding to that degree, that he neither detained any of those who came, nor required hostages as a pledge for his security, in a business which was to be transacted clandestinely and treacherously; neither did he send scouts to examine matters, nor require an oath from the messengers; but, on the day appointed, he left Lychnidus, and pitched his camp twelve miles from the city, which was the object of his design. At the fourth watch he set out, leaving about one thousand men to guard the camp. His forces, in disorder, extending themselves in a long irregular train, and few in number, as they were separated by a mistake in the night, arrived in this state at the city. Their carelessness increased when they saw not a soldier on the walls. But as soon as they approached within a weapon's cast, a sally was made from two gates at once. Besides the shout raised by the sallying party, a tremendous noise was heard on the walls, composed of the yells of women and the sound of brazen instruments, while the rabble of the place, mixed with a multitude of slaves, made the air resound with various cries. Such a number of terrific circumstances, presented to them on all sides, had such an effect, that the Romans were unable to support the first onset of the sallying party; so that a greater number of them were killed in the flight than in the battle, and scarcely two thousand, with the lieutenant-general himself, effected their

escape. The enemy had the greater opportunity of overtaking the weary Romans, in proportion to their distance from the camp. Appius, without even halting in the camp to collect his scattered troops, which would have been the means of saving many stragglers, led back, directly, to Lychnidus, the remains of his unfortunate army.

11. These and other unfavourable occurrences in Macedon were learned from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune, who came to Rome to perform a sacrifice. The senate being apprehensive on account of these advices of some greater disgrace ensuing, deputed Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus to go to Macedon, and bring certain information of what was going on there; at the same time ordering that the consul, Aulus Hostilius, should summon the assembly for the election of consuls, and arrange that it might be held in the month of January, and should come home to the city as soon as possible. In the mean time instructions were given to the prætor, Marcus Recius, to call home to Rome, by proclamation, all the senators from every part of Italy, except such as were absent on public business; and it was resolved that none of those who were in Rome should go further than one mile from the city. All this was done pursuant to the votes of the senate. The election of consuls was held on the fifth day before the calends of February. Quintus Marcius Philippus a second time, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio, were elected consuls. Three days after, Caius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, Caius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Fonteius Capito, were chosen prætors. Four other provinces in addition to the two in the city were assigned to the prætors elect; these provinces were Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. Towards the end of February the deputies returned from Macedon, and gave an account of the successful enterprises of Perseus during the preceding summer, and of the great fears which had taken possession of the allies of the Roman people, on account of so many cities being reduced under the king's power. They reported, that "the consul's troops were very thin, in consequence of leave of absence being granted to great numbers, with the view of gaining popularity; the blame of which the consul laid upon the military tribunes, and they, on the other hand, on the consul." The senate understood them

to make little of the disgrace sustained through the rashness of Claudius, since they represented "that very few soldiers of Italian extraction were lost, the greatest part being the soldiers raised in that country by an irregular levy." The consuls elect received orders, immediately on entering into office, to propose the affairs of Macedon to the consideration of the senate; and Italy and Macedon were appointed their provinces. An intercalation was made in the calendar of this year, intercalary calends being reckoned on the third day after the feast of Terminus. There died of the priests during this year, Lucius Flaminius, *augur*, and two pontiffs, Lucius Furius Philus, and Caius Livius Salinator. In the room of Furius, the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius Torquatus, and in that of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

12. In the beginning of the ensuing year, when the new consuls, Quintus Marcius and Cneius Servilius, had proposed the distribution of the provinces for consideration, the senate voted that they should, without delay, either settle between themselves about Macedon and Italy, or cast lots for them; and that, before the lot should decide this matter, and while the destination of each was uncertain, lest interest might have any influence, the supplies of men, which the exigency required for each province, should be ordered. Six thousand Roman foot and six thousand of the Latin allies, two hundred and fifty Roman horse and three hundred of the allies, were voted for Macedon. The old soldiers were to be discharged, so that there should be in each Roman legion no more than six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The number of Roman citizens, which the other consul was to enlist for a reinforcement, was not precisely determined; there was only this limitation mentioned, that he should raise two legions, each of them to contain five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse. A larger number of Latin infantry was decreed to him than to his colleague; no less than ten thousand foot, with six hundred horse. An order was given for raising four other legions, to serve wherever occasion might require. The consuls were not allowed the appointment of the military tribunes; the people elected them. The confederates of the Latin nation were ordered to furnish sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse. This force was intended only to be kept in readiness, to march out should any exigency demand

it. Macedon gave the senate most anxiety; they ordered, that one thousand Roman citizens, of the rank of freed-men, should be enlisted in Italy, as seamen, to man the fleet, and the same number in Sicily; and instructions were given the prætor, to whose lot the government of the latter province fell, to the effect that he should take care to carry these over to Macedon, to whatever place the fleet should be stationed at. Three thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse were voted to recruit the army in Spain. Then also the number of men in each legion was limited to five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Besides these, the prætor, to whose lot Spain should fall, was ordered to levy from the allies four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

13. I am well aware, that, through the same disregard of religion, owing to which the men of the present day generally believe that the gods never give portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government, or recorded in histories. But for my part, while I am writing the transactions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique; and a kind of religious awe prevents me from considering events, which the men of those days, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of the state and of public expiation, unworthy of being recorded in my history. From Anagnia two prodigies were reported this year: that a blazing torch was seen in the air; and that a cow spoke, and was maintained at the public expense. About the same time, at Minturnæ, the sky appeared as in a blaze of fire. At Reate, a shower of stones fell. At Cumæ, the image of Apollo, in the citadel, shed tears during three days and three nights. In the city of Rome, two of the keepers of the temples made strange announcements, one that in the temple of Fortune, a snake, with a mane like that of a horse, had been seen by many; the other, that, in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the hill, a palm sprung up in the court, and that a shower of blood fell in the middle of the day. Two prodigies were not attended to: one, because it happened in a place belonging to a private person; Titus Marcius Figulus having reported, that a palm sprung up in the inner court of his house; the other, because it occurred in a foreign place, Fregellæ,—where, in the house of Lucius Atreus, a spear which he had bought for his son, who was a

soldier, burned, as was said, for more than two hours, and notwithstanding the fire consumed none of it. The Sibylline books were consulted by the decemvirs on account of the public prodigies. They directed that the consuls should sacrifice forty of the larger victims to the deities, whom they pointed out; that a supplication should be performed; and that all the magistrates should sacrifice victims of the larger kinds in all the temples, and the people wear garlands. All these acts were performed according to the injunctions of the decemvirs.

14. Then the elections were held for the creation of censors. Several of the first men in the state, including Caius Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scævola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Caius Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, were candidates for this office. The Roman people appointed the two last censors. As, on account of the Macedonian war, greater attention was paid to holding the levy than usual, the consuls made a complaint to the senate against the plebeians, that even the younger men did not obey their summons. But, in opposition to them, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, tribunes of the people, pleaded in favour of the plebeians; asserting, that "the levying of soldiers was a difficult task, not to the consuls in general, but to such consuls as affected popularity; that no man was made a soldier by them against his inclination; and that the conscript fathers might be convinced of the truth of this, the prætors, who in their office had less power and authority, would, if it seemed good to the senate, complete the levy." That business was accordingly committed to the care of the prætors by an unanimous vote of the senate, not without great murmuring on the part of the consuls. The censors, in order to forward it, published, in a general assembly, the following notice: that "they would make it a rule in conducting the survey, that, besides the common oath taken by all citizens, the younger part should swear in this manner, when challenged,—You are younger than forty-six years, and you shall attend at the levy, pursuant to the edict of Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius, censors; and you shall attend at the levy, as often as there shall be a levy held by any magistrate during the aforesaid censors' continuance in office, if you shall not have been already enlisted." Also as there was

a report, that many men belonging to the legions in Macedon were absent from the army on furloughs, which did not limit the time, and were granted by the commanders to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers, they issued a proclamation concerning all who had been draughted for Macedon in the consulate of Publius Ælius and Caius Popilius, or since that period; that "such as were in Italy should, after being first registered by them in the survey, repair within thirty days to the province in which they served; and that, if any were under the power of a father or grandfather, the names of such should be notified to them. That they would also make inquiry into the cases of the soldiers who had been discharged; and that they would order those, whose discharge should appear to have been obtained through favour, before the regular number of campaigns were served, to be enlisted again." In consequence of this proclamation, and letters from the censors being dispersed through the market-towns and villages, such multitudes of young men flocked to Rome, that the extraordinary crowd was even inconvenient to the city. Besides enrolling those whom it was necessary to send as a reinforcement for the armies, four legions were raised by the prætor, Caius Sulpicius, and the levies were completed within eleven days.

15. The consuls then cast lots for their provinces; the prætors, on account of the civil jurisdiction, had determined theirs earlier in the season. The civil jurisdiction had fallen to Caius Sulpicius; the foreign, to Caius Decimius; Marcus Claudius Marcellus had obtained by lot Spain; Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Sicily; Publius Fonteius Capito, Sardinia; and Caius Marcius Figulus had received the command of the fleet. In the arrangement of the consular provinces, Italy fell to Cneius Servilius, and Macedon to Quintus Marcius; and the latter set out as soon as the Latin festival could be celebrated. Cæpio then desired the senate to direct which two of the new legions he should take with him into Gaul; when they ordered, that the prætors Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius should give the consul such of the legions, which they had raised, as they should think fit. The latter, highly offended at a consul being subjected to the will of prætors, adjourned the senate; and standing at the tribunal of the prætors, demanded, that pursuant to the decree, they should assign him two legions; but the prætors left the consul to his own

discretion in selecting them. The censors then called over the list of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was now, by the third censors, chosen prince of the senate. Seven were expelled that body. In making the survey of the people, they discovered from the rolls how many of the soldiers belonging to the army in Macedonia were absent, and obliged them all to return to that province. They inquired into the cases of the men who had been discharged; and, when any of their discharges appeared irregular in respect of time, they put the following oath to them: "Do you truly swear, that you will, without deceit or evasion, return into the province of Macedon, according to the edict of the censors, Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

16. In the review of the knights their censorship was very severe and harsh: they deprived many of their horses; and after giving offence to the equestrian order in this matter, they inflamed the general displeasure to a higher degree by an edict, in which they ordered, that "no person who had farmed the public revenues or taxes from the censors Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius, should attend their sale, or have any partnership or connexion in the contracts then to be made." When the former tax-contractors could not prevail on the senate, by their frequent complaints, to check the power of the censors, at length they found a patron of their cause in Publius Rutilius, a plebeian tribune, who was incensed against the censors in consequence of a dispute about a private concern. They had ordered a client of his, a freed-man, to throw down a wall, which stood opposite to a public building in the Sacred Street, because it was built on ground belonging to the public. The tribunes were appealed to by the citizen. When none of them would interfere, except Rutilius, the censors were sent to seize the property of the citizen, and imposed a fine on him in a public assembly. When the present dispute broke out, and the old revenue-farmers had recourse to the tribunes, a bill was suddenly promulgated under the name of one of the tribunes, that "with regard to the public revenues and taxes, which Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should have hired out, all contracts made by them should be null and void: that they should all be let anew, and that every person, without distinction, should be at liberty to bid for and take them." The tribune appointed the day for an assembly

to vote on this bill. When the day came, and the censors stood forth to argue against the order, there was deep silence while Gracchus addressed them: when the voice of Claudius was drowned in the murmurs, he directed the crier to cause silence, that he might be heard. When this was done, the tribune, complaining that the assembly which he had summoned was taken out of his rule, and that he was reduced to a private capacity, retired from the Capitol, where the assembly met. Next day he raised a violent commotion. In the first place, he declared the property of Tiberius Gracchus forfeited to the gods, because he, by fining and seizing the goods of a person who had appealed to a tribune, and by refusing to admit the tribune's right of protesting, had reduced him to a private capacity. He instituted a criminal process against Caius Claudius because he had summoned the assembly away from him, and declared his intention of prosecuting both the censors for treason; and he demanded of Caius Sulpicius, the city prætor, that he would fix a day for an assembly to try them. As the censors offered no objection to the people passing their sentence on them as soon as they pleased, their trial for treason was fixed to come the eighth and seventh days before the calends of October. The censors went up immediately to the temple of Liberty, where they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks; affirming, that they would do no kind of public business until the sentence of the people was passed on them. Claudius was first brought to trial; and after eight out of the eighteen centuries of knights, and many others of the first class, had given sentence against him, the principal men in the state, immediately taking off their gold rings, in the sight of the people, put on mourning, in order that they might suppliantly solicit the commons in his favour. Yet, it is said, that Gracchus was the chief means of making a change in their sentiments; for when shouts arose from the commons on all sides that Gracchus was in no danger, he took a formal oath, that if his colleague were condemned, he would be his companion in exile, without waiting for their judgment concerning himself. After all, the case of the accused was so near being desperate, that the votes of eight centuries only were wanting to condemn him. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune said, that he would not delay Gracchus.

17. This year, when the ambassadors of the Aquileians demanded that the number of the colonists should be increased, one thousand five hundred families were enrolled by a decree of the senate; and Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were appointed commissioners to conduct them. During the same year, Caius Popilius and Cneius Octavius, who had been sent ambassadors into Greece, read, first at Thebes, and afterwards carried about to all the other states of Peloponnesus, a decree, ordering, that "no person should furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing for the use of the war, except what the senate should determine." This afforded the allies a pleasing confidence, with regard to the future also, that they would be relieved from the heavy burdens and expenses, by which they were exhausted, in consequence of the various demands of those magistrates. In the council of Achaia, held at Ægium, the ambassadors spoke, and were heard with sentiments of mutual esteem and affection; and then, leaving that faithful nation in confident assurance of lasting prosperity, they crossed over to Ætolia. No civil war had yet broke out in that country; but all places were full of suspicion and mutual recrimination. The ambassadors having demanded hostages on account of these disputes, set out from this place to Acarnania, without putting an end to the evil. The Acarnanians gave to the ambassadors an audience of their general council at Thyrium. Here, too, there was a struggle between opposite factions; some of the nobles required that garrisons might be placed in their cities, to protect them against the madness of those who were endeavouring to bring the nation over to the Macedonians; and others objected to the measure, lest peaceful and allied cities should receive such an insult, as was usually offered only to towns taken in war, or engaged in hostilities. Their objection was reckoned reasonable. The ambassadors returned to Larissa, to Hostilius, for by him they had been sent. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popilius, with about a thousand soldiers, into winter quarters at Ambracia.

18. Perseus did not venture, at the commencement of winter, to go out of the limits of Macedon, lest the Romans might make an irruption into the kingdom by some unguarded quarter; but on the approach of the winter solstice, when the depth of the snow renders the mountains between it and

Thessaly impassable, he thought the season favourable for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, lest any danger should be lurking there, while his attention was turned to the Romans; since Cotys afforded him security in the direction of Thrace, and Cephalus, by his sudden revolt from the Romans, freed him from uneasiness on the side of Epirus, and as his late expedition had subdued the Dardanians, he considered that Macedon was only exposed on the side next to Illyria, the Illyrians themselves being in motion, and having offered a free passage to the Romans: hoping, however, that if he reduced the nearest tribes of Illyrians, Gentius himself, who had long been wavering, might be brought into alliance with him, he set out at the head of ten thousand foot, the greater part of whom were soldiers of the phalanx, two thousand light infantry, and five hundred horse, and proceeded to Stubera. Having there supplied himself with corn sufficient for many days, and ordered every requisite for besieging towns to be sent after him, he encamped on the third day before Uscana, the largest city in the Penestian country. Before he employed force, he sent emissaries to sound the dispositions, sometimes of the commanders of the garrison, sometimes of the inhabitants; for, besides some troops of Illyrians, there was a Roman garrison in the place. When his emissaries brought back no friendly message, he resolved to attack the town, and made an attempt to take it by a line of circumvallation formed of troops; but though his men, relieving one another, continued without intermission, either by day or night, some to apply ladders to the walls, others to attempt to set fire to the gates, yet the defenders of the city sustained that shock, for they had hopes that the Macedonians would not be able to endure any longer the severity of the winter in the open field; and besides, that the king would not have so long a respite from the war with Rome, that he would be able to stay there. But, when they saw the machines in motion, and towers erected, their resolution was overcome; for, besides that they were unequal to a contest with his force, they had not a sufficient store of corn, or any other necessary, as they had not expected a siege. Therefore when they had no hopes of being able to hold out, Caius Carvilius Spoletinus and Caius Afranius were sent by the Roman garrison to request from Perseus, first, to allow the troops to

march out with their arms, and to carry their effects with them; and then, if they could not obtain that, to receive his promise of their lives and liberty. The king promised more generously than he performed; for, after desiring them to march out with their effects, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they left the city, both the cohort of Illyrians, five hundred in number, and the inhabitants of Uscana, immediately surrendered themselves and the city.

19. Perseus, placing a garrison in Uscana, carried away to Stubera the whole multitude of prisoners, almost equal to his army in number. He then distributed the Romans, who amounted to four thousand, besides officers, among several cities, to be kept in custody; and, having sold the Uscanians and Illyrians, led back his army to Penestia, to reduce the city of Oæneus: the town is advantageously situated in other respects, and besides, in that direction there is a passage into the country of the Labeatians, where Gentius was king. As he passed by a fort, named Draudacum, which was full of men, one of the persons, well acquainted with the country, told him that "there was no use in taking Oæneus unless he had Draudacum in his power; for the latter was situated more advantageously in every respect." When his army was brought against it, the garrison surrendered unanimously and at once. Encouraged by the surrender of this place, which was earlier than he hoped, and perceiving what terrors his march diffused, by taking advantage of the like fears, he reduced eleven other forts to submission. Against a very few he had occasion to use force; the rest submitted voluntarily; among whom one thousand five hundred Roman soldiers were taken, who had been divided among the Roman garrisons. Carvilius Spoletinus was very serviceable to him in his conferences with the garrison, by declaring that no severity had been shown to his own party. At length he arrived at Oæneus, which could not be taken without a regular siege. The town possessed a much greater number of young men than the others, and was strong in its fortifications. It was enclosed on one side by a river called Artatus, and on another by a very high mountain of difficult access; these circumstances gave the inhabitants courage to make resistance. Perseus, having drawn lines of circumvallation, began, on the higher ground, to raise a mound, which he intended should

exceed the wall in height. By the time that this work was completed, the besieged, in their many actions, when sallying out to defend their works, or to obstruct those of the enemy, had lost great numbers by various chances; while the survivors were rendered useless by wounds, and by continual labour both in the day and night. As soon as the mound was brought close to the wall, the royal cohort (the men of which are called Nicators) rushed from it into the town, while an assault was made by scalade in many places at once. All the males, who had reached the age of puberty, were put to the sword, their wives and children were thrown into confinement, and every thing else was given as booty to the soldiers. Returning thence victorious to Stubera, he sent, as ambassadors to Gentius,—Pleuratus, an Illyrian, who lived in exile at his court, and Adæus, a Macedonian, from Berœa. He gave them instructions to represent his exploits against the Romans and Dardanians during the preceding summer and winter, and to add the recent operations of his winter campaign in Illyria, and to exhort Gentius to unite with him and the Macedonians in a treaty of friendship.

20. They crossed over the top of Mount Scordus, and through desert tracts of Illyria, which the Macedonians had laid waste, for the purpose of preventing the Dardanians from passing easily into Illyria or Macedon; and, at length, after undergoing prodigious fatigue, arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus; to which place the ambassadors were invited, and received a favourable audience while stating their instructions, but obtained an indecisive answer: that "he wanted not inclination to go to war with the Romans, but was in extreme want of money to enable him to enter on such an undertaking, though he wished to do so." This answer they brought to the king at Stubera, whilst he was engaged in selling the Illyrian prisoners. The same ambassadors were immediately sent back, with an accession to their numbers in Glaucias, one of his body guards, but without any mention of money; the only thing by which the needy barbarian could be induced to take a part in the war. Then Perseus, after ravaging Ancyra, led back his army once more into Penestia; and having strengthened the garrison of Uscana, and the surrounding fortresses which he had taken, he retired into Macedon.

21. Lucius Cælius, a Roman lieutenant-general, commanded at that time in Illyria. While the king was in that country, he did not venture to stir; but, on his departure, he made an attempt to recover Uscana, in Penestia; in which being repulsed, with great loss, by the Macedonian garrison, he led back his forces to Lychnidus. In a short time after he sent Marcus Trebellius Fregellanus, with a very strong force, into Penestia, to receive hostages from the cities which had faithfully remained in friendship. He ordered him, also, to march on to the Parthinians, who had likewise covenanted to give hostages, which were received from both nations without any trouble: those of the Penestians were sent to Apollonia; those of the Parthinians, to Dyrrachium, then more generally called by the Greeks Epidamnus. Appius Claudius, wishing to repair the disgrace which he had suffered in Illyria, made an attack on Phanote, a fortress of Epirus; bringing with him, besides the Roman troops, Athamanian and Thesprotian auxiliaries, to the amount of six thousand men; nor did he gain any advantage to recompense his exertion, for Clevas, who had been left there with a strong garrison, effectually defended the place. Perseus marched to Elimea, and, after reviewing his army in the vicinity of that town, led it to Stratus, in compliance with an invitation of the Epirotes. Stratus was then the strongest city in Ætolia. It stands on the Ambracian Gulf, near the river Inachus. Thither he marched with ten thousand foot and three hundred horse; for, on account of the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads, he led a smaller army than he would otherwise have done. On the third day he came to Mount Citium, which he could scarcely climb over, by reason of the depth of the snow, and with difficulty found even a place for his camp. Leaving that spot, rather because he could not conveniently stay, than that either the road or the weather was tolerable, the army, after suffering severe hardships, which fell heaviest on the beasts of burden, encamped on the second day at the temple of Jupiter, called Nicæus. After a very long march thence, he halted at the river Aracthus, being detained there by the depth of the water, during the time in which a bridge was being constructed; he then led over his army, and, having proceeded one day's march, met Archidamus, an Ætolian of distinction, who proposed delivering Stratus into his hands.

22. On that day Perseus encamped at the borders of the Ætolian territory; and, on the next, arrived before Stratus, where, pitching his camp near the river Achelous, he expected that the Ætolians would come in crowds to put themselves under his protection; but on the contrary, he found the gates shut, and discovered that the very night on which he arrived, a Roman garrison, under Caius Popilius, lieutenant-general, had been received into the town. The nobles, who, induced by the authority of Archidamus, while he was present, had invited the king, as soon as he went out to meet Perseus had become less zealous, and had given an opportunity to the opposite faction to call in Popilius, with one thousand foot, from Ambracia. At the same juncture came also Dinarchus, general of the Ætolian cavalry, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse. It was well known that he came to Stratus intending to act with Perseus; but that, with the change of fortune, he had changed his mind, and joined the Romans, against whom he had come. Nor was Popilius less on his guard than he ought to be among people of such fickle tempers. He immediately took into his own keeping the keys of the gates, with the direction of the guard of the walls, and removed Dinarchus and the Ætolians, together with the young men of Stratus, into the citadel, under pretence of garrisoning it. Perseus sounded the garrison, by addressing them from the eminences that hung over the upper part of the city, and finding that they were obstinate, and even kept him at a distance with weapons, removed his camp to the other side of the river Petitarus, about five miles from the town: there he held a council, wherein Archidamus and the refugees from Epirus were for detaining him there; but the Macedonian nobles were of opinion that he ought not to fight against the severity of the season without having magazines of provisions; in which case the besiegers would feel a scarcity sooner than the besieged, especially as the winter quarters of the enemy were at no great distance: being deterred by these considerations, he removed his camp into Aperântia. The Aperantians, in consequence of the great interest and influence which Archidamus possessed among them, submitted to Perseus with universal consent; and Archidamus himself was appointed their governor, with a body of eight hundred soldiers.

23. The king then returned into Macedon with his men

and horses, not less harassed than they had been in their advance to Stratus. However, the report of Perseus's march to that place obliged Appius to raise the siege of Phanote. Clevas, with a body of active young men, pursued him to the foot of some mountains, which formed a defile almost impassable, killed one thousand men of his disordered troops, and took two hundred prisoners. Appius, when he got clear of the defile, encamped for a few days in a plain named Meleon. Meanwhile Clevas, being joined by Philostratus, who was invested with the chief power among the nation of the Epirotes, proceeded over the mountains into the lands of Antigonea. The Macedonians setting out to plunder, Philostratus, with his division, posted himself in ambush, in a place where he could not be seen. When the troops at Antigonea sallied out against the straggling plunderers, they pursued them in their flight with too great eagerness, until they precipitated themselves into the valley which was beset by the enemy, who killed one thousand, and made about one hundred prisoners. Being thus successful every where, they encamped near the post of Appius, in order to prevent the Roman army from offering any violence to their allies. Appius, as he was wasting time there to no purpose, dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirotes, and with his Italian soldiers marched back to Illyria; then sending the troops to their several winter quarters, in the confederate cities of the Parthinians, he went home to Rome on account of a sacrifice. Perseus recalled from the nation of the Penestians one thousand foot and two hundred horse, and sent them to garrison Cassandria. His ambassadors returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. Still he did not cease from soliciting him, but sent embassy after embassy; yet, notwithstanding that he was sensible of the powerful support he would find in Gentius, the Macedonian could not prevail on himself to expend money on the business, although it was to him a question of vital importance. * * * * * * * *

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BOOK XLIV.

Quintus Marcius Philippus, the consul, penetrates into Macedonia through the rugged passes, and takes several cities. The Rhodians send an embassy to Rome, threatening to aid Perseus, unless the Romans made peace with him. This act was received with general indignation. Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the consul, sent against Perseus, defeats him, and reduces all Macedonia to subjection. Before the engagement, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune, foretells an eclipse of the moon, and warns the soldiers not to be alarmed at that phenomenon. Gentius, king of Illyria, vanquished by Anicius the prætor, and sent prisoner, together with his wife and children, to Rome. Ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, complain of Antiochus making war upon them. Perseus, not paying Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Gentius, king of Illyria, the money he had promised them for their assistance, is deserted by them.

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1. EARLY in the spring which succeeded the winter in which these transactions took place, the consul, Quintus Marcius Philippus, set out from Rome, with five thousand men, whom he was to carry over to reinforce his legions, and arrived at Brundusium. Marcus Popilius, of consular rank, and other young men of equal dignity, accompanied him, in the capacity of military tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. Nearly at the same time, Caius Marcius Figulus, the prætor, whose province was the fleet, came to Brundusium; and, both sailing from Italy, made Corcyra on the second day, and Actium, a port of Acarnania, on the third. The consul, then, disembarking at Ambracia, proceeded towards Thessaly by land. The prætor, doubling Cape Leucate, sailed into the gulf of Corinth; then, leaving his ships at Creusa, he went by land also through the middle of Bœotia, and, by a quick journey of one day, came to the fleet at Chalcis. Aulus Hostilius at that time lay encamped in Thessaly, near Palæpharsalus; and though he had performed no warlike act of any consequence, yet he had reformed his troops from a state of dissolute licentiousness, and brought them to exact military discipline; had

faithfully consulted the interest of the allies, and defended them from every kind of injury. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected the arms, men, and horses; and then, with the army in complete order, he marched out to meet the consul. Their first meeting was such as became their own dignity and the Roman character; and in transacting business afterwards, *they preserved the greatest harmony and propriety.*[1] The proconsul, addressing himself to the troops, *exhorted them to behave with courage, and with due respect to the orders of their commander. He then recommended them, in warm terms, to the consul, and, as soon as he had despatched the necessary affairs, set off for Rome.*[1] A few days after, the consul made a speech to his soldiers, which began with the unnatural murder which Perseus had perpetrated on his brother, and meditated against his father; he then mentioned "his acquisition of the kingdom by nefarious practices; his poisonings and murders; his abominable attempt to assassinate Eumenes; the injuries he had committed against the Roman people; and his plundering the cities of their allies, in violation of the treaty." "How detestable such proceedings were in the sight of the gods, Perseus would feel," he said, "in the issue of his affairs; for the gods always favoured righteous and honourable dealings; by means of which the Roman people had risen to so great an exaltation." He next compared the strength of the Roman people, which now embraced the whole world, with that of Macedonia, and the armies of the one with those of the other; and then added, "How much more powerful armies of Philip and Antiochus had been conquered by forces not more numerous than the present!"

2. Having animated the minds of his soldiers by such exhortations, he began to consult on a general plan of operations for the campaign; being joined by the prætor, Caius Marcius, who, after receiving the command of the fleet, came thither from Chalcis. It was resolved not to waste time by delaying longer in Thessaly; but to decamp immediately, and advance thence into Macedonia; and that the prætor should exert himself to the utmost, that the fleet might appear, at the same time, on the enemy's coasts. The prætor then having been

[1] The words in Italics are introduced conjecturally, to supply chasms in the original.

sent away, the consul, having ordered the soldiers to carry with them a month's provisions, struck his tents, on the tenth day after he received the command of the army, and proceeded one day's march. He then called together his guides, and ordered them to explain, in the presence of the council, by what road each of them proposed to lead him; then, having dismissed them, he asked the opinion of the council, as to what route he should prefer. Some advised the road through Pythium; others, that over the Cambunian mountains, by which the consul Hostilius had marched the year before; while others, again, preferred that which passed by the side of the Lake Ascuris. There was yet before him a considerable length of road common to each of these routes; the further consideration of this matter was therefore postponed until they should encamp near the place where the roads diverged. He then marched into Perrhæbia, and posted himself between Azorus and Doliche, in order to consider again which was the preferable road. In the mean time, Perseus, understanding that the enemy was marching towards him, but unable to guess what route he might take, resolved to secure all the passes by guards. To the top of the Cambunian mountains, called by the natives Volustana, he sent ten thousand light infantry, under the command of Asclepiodotus; ordering Hippias, with a detachment of twelve thousand Macedonians, to guard the pass called Lapathus, near a fort which stood over the Lake Ascuris. He himself, with the rest of his forces, lay for some time in camp at Dium; but afterwards, as if he had lost the use of his judgment, and was incapable of forming any plan, he used to gallop along the coast, with a party of light horse, sometimes to Heracleum, sometimes to Phila, and then return with the same speed to Dium.

3. By this time the consul had determined to march through the pass near Octolophus, where, as we have mentioned, the camp of the king formerly stood. But he deemed it prudent to despatch before him four thousand men, to secure such places as might be useful: the command of this party was given to Marcus Claudius, and Quintus Marcius the consul's son. The main body followed close after; but the road was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the advanced party of light troops, with great difficulty, effected in two days a march of fifteen miles; and then encamped. They call the place

which they took, the tower of Eudieru. Next day they advanced seven miles; and, having seized on a hill at a small distance from the enemy's camp, sent back a message to the consul, that "they had come up with the enemy; and had taken post in a place which was safe and convenient in every respect; urging him to join them with all possible speed." This message came to the consul at the Lake Ascuris, at a time when he was full of anxiety, on account of the badness of the road on which he had entered, and for the fate of the small force he had sent forward into the midst of the posts of the enemy. His spirits were therefore greatly revived; and, soon effecting a junction of all his forces, he pitched his camp on the side of the hill that had been seized, where the ground was the most commodious. This hill was so high as to afford a wide-extended prospect, presenting to their eyes, at one view, not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile distant, but the whole extent of territory to Dium and Phila, together with a large tract of the sea-coast; circumstances which greatly enlivened the courage of the soldiers, giving them so near a view of the grand theatre of the war, of all the king's forces, and of the country of the enemy. So eager were they, that they pressed the consul to lead them on directly to the enemy's camp; but, after the fatigue that they had suffered on the road, one day was set apart for repose. On the third day, the consul, leaving one half of his troops to guard the camp, drew out his forces against the enemy.

4. Hippias had been sent by the king, a short time before, to maintain that pass; and having employed himself, since he first saw the Roman camp on the hill, in preparing his men's minds for a battle, he now went forth to meet the consul's army as it advanced. The Romans came out to battle with light armour, as did the enemy; light troops being the fittest to commence the engagement. As soon as they met, therefore, they instantly discharged their javelins, and many wounds were given and received on both sides in a disorderly kind of conflict; but few of either party were killed. This only roused their courage for the following day, when they would have engaged with more numerous forces, and with greater animosity, had there been room to form a line; but the summit of the mountain was contracted into a ridge so

narrow, as scarcely to allow space for three files in front; so that, while but few were fighting, the greater part, especially such as carried heavy arms, stood mere spectators of the fight. The light troops even ran through the hollows of the hill, and attacked the flanks of the light-armed troops of the enemy; and alike through even and uneven places, sought to come to action. That day, greater numbers were wounded than killed, and night put a stop to the dispute. The Roman general was greatly at a loss how to proceed on the third day; for to remain on that naked hill was impossible, and he could not return without disgrace, and even danger, if the enemy with the advantage of the ground, should press on his troops in their retreat: he had therefore no other plan left than to improve his bold attempt, by persevering resolution, which sometimes, in the issue, proves the wiser course. He had, in fact, brought himself into such a situation, that if he had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedon, he might have suffered a severe defeat. But while the king, with his horsemen, ran up and down the shore at Dium; and, though at a distance of twelve miles, he was almost within hearing of the shout and noise of his forces who were engaged, neither strengthened his forces by sending up fresh men to relieve the weary, nor, what was most material, appeared himself in the action; the Roman general, notwithstanding that he was above sixty years old, and unwieldy through corpulency, performed actively every duty of a commander. He persisted with extraordinary resolution in his bold undertaking; and, leaving Popilius to guard the summit, marched across, through trackless places, having sent forward a party to open a road. Attalus and Misagenes, with the auxiliary troops of their own nations, were ordered to protect them, while clearing the way through the forests. He himself, keeping the cavalry and baggage before him, closed the rear with the legions.

5. In descending the mountain, the men suffered inexpressible fatigue, besides the frequent falling of the cattle and their loads, so that, before they had advanced quite four miles, they began to think that their most eligible plan would be to return, if they could, by the way they had come. The elephants caused almost as much confusion among the troops as an enemy could; for, when they came to impassable steeps, they threw off their riders, and set up such a hideous roar, as spread terror through all, especially among the horses, until a method

was contrived for bringing them down. They fastened in the earth, in the line of descent, some way from the top, two long, strong posts, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the animal, on which were fastened beams thirty feet long, so as to form a kind of bridge, and covered it with earth; after a little intermediate space, a second and similar bridge was formed; then a third bridge, with several others one after another, where the rocks were precipitous. The elephant walked forward on solid footing upon the bridge; but, before he came to the end, the posts underneath were cut, and the bridge falling, obliged him to slide down gently to the beginning of the next bridge, which some of them performed standing, others on their haunches. When they arrived at the level of another bridge, they were again carried down, by its falling in like manner; and so on until they came to more level ground. The Romans advanced that day scarcely more than seven miles; and even of this journey little was performed on foot. Their method of proceeding in general was rolling themselves down, together with their arms and other encumbrances, with every kind of discomfort; insomuch, that even their commander, who led them such a march, did not deny, but that the whole army might have been cut off by a small party. During the night, they arrived at a small plain; but, as it was hemmed in on every side, there was no opportunity of discovering whether it was a position of danger or not. However, as they had, beyond their expectation, at length found good footing, they judged it necessary to wait, during the next day, in that deep valley for Popilius, and the forces left behind with him; who, though the enemy gave them no disturbance from any quarter, suffered severely from the difficulties of the ground,—as if they had been harassed by an enemy. These having joined the main body, the whole proceeded, on the third day, through a pass called by the natives Callipeuce. On the fourth day they marched down through places equally trackless, but more cleverly in consequence of their experience, and with more comfortable hopes, as they saw no enemy any where, and as they were coming nearer to the sea, into the plains, where they pitched their camp of infantry between Heracleum and Libethrus, the greater part being posted on hills, the rest occupying a valley and part of the plain where the cavalry encamped.

6. The king, it is said, was bathing, when he was informed of the enemy's approach; on hearing which, he started up from his seat, and rushed out in a fright, crying out, that he was conquered without a battle; and afterwards, in a state of great perturbation, amidst plans and orders dictated by fear, he recalled two most intimate friends from his garrisons, and sent one to Pella, where his treasure was lodged, and the other to Parthus, and opened all the passes to the invasion of the enemy. He himself, having suddenly removed from Dium all the gilded statues, that they might not fall a prey to the enemy, ordered all the inhabitants to remove to Pydna; and thus made the conduct of the consul, in venturing into a situation out of which he could not retreat without the enemy's permission, although it might have been deemed rash and inconsiderate, to wear the appearance of judicious boldness. For there were only two passes through which the Romans could remove from their present situation; one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other by Dium into Macedonia; and both these were occupied by parties of the king's troops. So that if an intrepid commander had, only for ten days, maintained his ground, without yielding to the first appearance of an approaching terror, the Romans could neither have retreated by Tempe into Thessaly, nor have had any road open for the conveyance of provisions to their position. For Tempe is a pass of such a nature, that even supposing no obstruction was given by an enemy, it is difficult to get through it; being so narrow for the distance of five miles, that there is barely room for a loaded horse to pass: the precipices, also, on both sides, are so abrupt, that it is scarcely possible to look down from them, without a dizziness alike of the eyes and the mind; while the roaring and depth of the river Peneus, flowing through the middle of the glen, increases the terrific effect. This defile, in its nature so dangerous, was guarded by parties of the king's troops, stationed in four different places: one near Gonnus, at the first entrance; another in an impregnable fortress at Condylos; a third near Lapathus, in a place called Charax; and the fourth on the road itself about midway, where the valley is narrowest, and might have been easily defended even by half a score men. All possibility either of retreating, or of receiving provisions through Tempe, being cut off, the Romans, in order to return, must have crossed

over the same mountains from which they came down; but even though they might have been able to effect this by passing unobserved, they never could have accomplished it openly, and while the enemy kept possession of the heights; and besides, the difficulties which they had already experienced would have precluded every hope of the kind. In this rash enterprise they would have no other plan left than to force their way into Macedonia, through the midst of the enemy posted at Dium; and if the gods had not deprived the king of his understanding, this would have been extremely difficult. For the space between the foot of Mount Olympus and the sea is not much more than a mile in breadth; one half of which is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphirus, which forms a large morass, and, of the remaining plain, a great share is occupied by the town and the temple of Jupiter: the rest, being a very small space, might have been shut up with a trench and rampart of no great length; or, so great was the plenty of stones and timber on the spot, that a wall might have been drawn across, and towers erected. But the king's judgment was so entirely blinded by the sudden fright, that he reflected not upon any one of these circumstances; on the contrary, he evacuated all his strong posts, and leaving them open to the enemy, fled back to Pydna.

7. The consul, perceiving in the folly and sloth of the enemy a most favourable prospect, not only of safety, but of success, sent back a messenger to Larissa, with orders to Spurius Lucretius to seize on the deserted forts about Tempe; then, sending forward Popilius, to examine all the passes round Dium, and learning that all was clear, he marched in two days to that town, ordering the camp to be fixed under the walls of the temple, that no violation might be offered to that sacred place. He went himself into the city; and seeing it, though not large, yet highly ornamented with public buildings and abundance of statues, and remarkably well fortified, he could scarcely believe that there was not some stratagem concealed in the abandonment of such important advantages without cause. He waited therefore one day to examine all the country round; then he decamped; and supposing that he should find plenty of corn in Pieria, advanced to a river called the Mytis. On the day following, continuing his march, he received the voluntary surrender of the city of Agassæ; whereupon, in order

to gain the good opinion of the rest of the Macedonians, he contented himself with receiving hostages, assuring the inhabitants, that he would leave them their city without a garrison, and that they should live free from taxes, and under their own laws. Proceeding thence one day's march, he encamped at the river Ascordus; but, finding that the farther he removed from Thessaly, the greater was the scarcity of every thing, he returned to Dium; which clearly demonstrated how much he must have suffered if he had been cut off from Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to go to any great distance from it. Perseus, having drawn all his forces into one body, and assembled all his generals, reprimanded severely the commanders of the garrisons, and particularly Hippias, and Asclepiodotus; asserting that they had betrayed to the Romans the keys of Macedonia; of which charge no one was more truly guilty than himself. The consul, on seeing the fleet at sea, conceived hopes that they were coming with provisions, for every article had now become very dear and very scarce; but when the ships came into harbour, he was informed that the transports had been left behind at Magnesia. He was then under great perplexity to determine what measures to take; so hard did he find it to struggle with the difficulties of his situation, though not aggravated by any effort of the enemy; when, very seasonably, a letter arrived from Lucretius, acquainting him that he was in possession of all the forts about Tempe and Phila, and had found in them great plenty of corn and other necessaries.

8. The consul, highly delighted with this intelligence, removed his quarters from Dium to Phila, in order to strengthen that post, and, at the same time, to distribute corn to the soldiers, on the spot, as the carriage of it thence would be tedious. That march gave rise to opinions not at all favourable to his reputation: some said that he retired from the enemy through fear; because if he had staid in Pieria he must have risked a battle: others, that, not considering the daily changes produced by fortune in the affairs of war, he had let slip out of his hands advantages which threw themselves in his way, and which, in all probability, he could never regain. For, by giving up the possession of Dium, he at once roused the enemy to action; who at length saw the necessity of endeavouring to recover what he had lost before, through his own fault. Or-

hearing of the consul's departure, therefore, Perseus marched back to Dium, repaired whatever had been destroyed and laid waste by the Romans, rebuilt the battlements which they had thrown down, strengthened the fortifications all round, and then pitched his camp within five miles of the city, on the hither bank of the Enipeus, in order to have the river itself, the passage of which was extremely difficult, as a defence to his post. The Enipeus, which rises in a valley of Mount Olympus, is a small stream during the summer, but is raised by the winter rains to a violent torrent, when, as it runs over the rocks, it forms furious eddies, and, by sweeping away the earth at the bottom into the sea, makes very deep gulfs, while the sinking of the middle of the channel renders the banks both high and steep. Perseus, thinking that the advance of the enemy was sufficiently obstructed by this river, contemplated spending there the remainder of the summer. In the mean time, the consul sent Popilius, with two thousand men, from Phila to Heracleum. It is distant about five miles from Phila, midway between Dium and Tempe, and stands on a steep rock hanging over the river.

9. Popilius, before he brought his troops up to the walls, sent to recommend to the magistrates and principal men, rather to try the honour and clemency of the Romans than their power; but this advice produced no effect, the fires in the king's camp on the Enipeus being now within their sight. The attack was then commenced by assaults, and with works and machines, as well on the side facing the sea, (for the ships had been brought up close to the shore,) as on land. A party of Roman youths actually gained possession of the lowest part of the wall, by turning to the purposes of war a kind of sport which they were accustomed to practise in the circus. In those times, when the present extravagant fashion of filling the area with beasts of every kind was yet unknown, it was customary to contrive various kinds of amusements; for when one chariot race and one equestrian performer were exhibited, both the performances scarcely filled up the space of an hour. Among other diversions, in the more elaborate games, about sixty young men in arms, sometimes more, used to be introduced, whose performances were partly a representation of troops going through the military exercise, and partly a display of more accurate skill than appeared in the practice of

soldiers, and which approached nearer to the mode of fighting used by gladiators. After performing various evolutions, they formed in a square body with their shields raised over their heads, and closed together, the foremost standing upright, the next stooping a little, the third and fourth lines more and more, and so on, until the hindmost rested on their knees, thus composing a covering in the shape of a tortoise-shell, and sloping, like the roof of a house. Then two armed men, who stood at the distance of about fifty feet, ran forward, and after some menacing flourishes of their arms, mounted over the closed shields, from the bottom to the top of this roof; and, treading as steadily as if on solid ground, sometimes paraded along the extreme edges of it, as if repelling an enemy, and sometimes encountered each other on the middle of it. A body similar to this was brought up against the lowest part of the wall, and the soldiers, standing thereon, mounted until they were as high as the defendants on the battlements; and these having been beaten off, the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the town. The only difference was, that here the outside men in the front and in the two flanks alone did not raise their shields over their heads, lest they should expose their bodies, but held them before them, as in battle; so that the weapons thrown at them from the walls, as they advanced, did them no injury, while those that were poured like a shower on the roof glided down the smooth slope to the bottom, without doing any mischief. When Heracleum was taken, the consul removed his quarters thither, as if he intended to besiege Dium; and, after driving the king thence, to advance to Pieria. But as he was now preparing his quarters for the winter, he ordered roads to be made for the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly, and proper places to be chosen for store-houses; also huts to be built, where the people employed in bringing the provisions might lodge.

10. Perseus, having at length recovered his spirits, after the panic with which he had been seized, began to wish that obedience had not been paid to the orders which he had given in his fright, to throw the treasures at Pella into the sea, and to burn the naval arsenals at Thessalonica. Andronicus, indeed, whom he had sent to Thessalonica, had spun out the time, leaving him time for repentance, which actually took place; but Nicias, less provident, threw into the sea

what money he found at Pella. He seems, however, to have fallen into a mistake which was not without remedy, inasmuch as the greatest part of that treasure was brought up again by divers. Nevertheless, such shame did the king feel for his terror on the occasion, that he caused the divers to be privately put to death, together with Andronicus and Nicias, that there might be no living witnesses of so preposterous an order. In the mean time, Caius Marcius, with the fleet, sailed from Heracleum to Thessalonica. Landing his men, he made wide depredations on the country; and when the troops from the city came out against him, he defeated them in several actions, and drove them back in dismay within their walls. He even alarmed the city itself; but the townsmen, erecting engines of every kind, wounded, with stones thrown from them, not only such as straggled carelessly near the walls, but even those who were on board the ships. He therefore re-embarked his troops; and giving up the design of besieging Thessalonica, proceeded thence to Ænia, fifteen miles distant, situated opposite to Pydna, in a fertile country. After ravaging the lands in that quarter, he coasted along the shore until he arrived at Antigonea. Here his troops landed, and for some time carried their depredations through all the country round, putting a great deal of booty on board the ships; but afterwards a party of Macedonians, consisting of foot and horse intermixed, fell upon them as they straggled, and, pursuing them as they fled to the shore, killed near five hundred, and took as many prisoners. Extreme necessity, on finding themselves hindered from safely regaining their vessels, roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, at once with despair of any other means of safety, (than by resistance,) and also with indignation. They renewed the fight on the shore, and those who were on board assisted them; and here about two hundred Macedonians were killed, and a like number taken. From Antigonea the fleet sailed on to the district of Pallene, where a descent was made for the purpose of plundering. This district belonged to the territory of Cassandrea, and was by far the most plentiful of any at which they had yet touched on the coast. There they were met by king Eumenes, who came from Elea with twenty decked ships; and king Prusias also sent thither five ships of war.

11. By this accession of strength the prætor was encouraged

to lay siege to Cassandrea. This city was built by king Cassander, in the pass which connects the territory of Pallene with the rest of Macedonia. It is bounded on one side by the Toronæan, on another by the Macedonian Sea; for it stands on a neck of land which stretches into the ocean, and rises in the part opposite Magnesia to a height equal to that of Mount Athos, forming two unequal promontories, the larger called Posideum, the smaller Canastræum. The besiegers formed their attacks on two different sides; the Roman general, at a place called Clitæ, drew a trench from the Macedonian to the Toronæan Sea, to which he added pointed palisades, to cut off the communication; while on the other side is the Euripus, where Eumenes carried on his attack. The Romans underwent a vast deal of labour in filling up a trench, which Perseus had recently dug in the way; and on the prætor inquiring where the earth that had been taken out of it was thrown, as he saw no heaps of it any where, some arches were shown him that were closed up with it, not of equal thickness with the old wall, but with a single row of brick. On this, he formed the design of opening a way into the city, by breaking through that wall; and he hoped to be able to escape observation, if, by assaulting another part by scalade, and raising a tumult there, he could divert the attention of the besieged to the defence of the place attacked. There were in garrison at Cassandrea, besides the younger inhabitants, who formed no contemptible body, eight hundred Agrians and two thousand Illyrians from Penestia, sent thither by Pleuratus, each being a warlike race. While these were busy in defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in an instant of time the arches were broken through, and the city laid open; and if those who made this irruption had been armed, they must have immediately become masters of the town. When the soldiers were told that this work was accomplished, they were so elated with joy, that they raised a sudden shout, expecting to force their way in, some in one part, and others in another.

12. At first the enemy was seized with wonder at to what this sudden shout could mean; but when Pytho and Philip, the commanders of the garrison, were told that the city was laid open, they concluded that every advantage resulting from that event would be in favour of whichever party should make

the first charge; and, therefore, they sallied out, with a strong body of Agrians and Illyrians, who, while the Romans were coming together and being congregated from various parts that they might march in order into the city, routed them while thus disordered and irregular, and drove them to the trench, into which they tumbled them, in heaps, one over another. About six hundred were killed in this action, and almost every one that was found between the wall and the trench was wounded. The blow meditated by the prætor having thus recoiled on himself, made him slower to form any other attempts; and as Eumenes made little or no progress, though he carried on his operations both by land and sea, they concurred in a resolution to strengthen their guards, in order to prevent the introduction of any reinforcement from Macedonia: and, since they had not succeeded by assault, to carry on the siege by regular approaches. While they were making preparations for this, ten barks, belonging to the king, sent from Thessalonica, with a chosen body of Gallic auxiliaries, observing the enemy's ships lying at anchor in the road, and keeping as close to the shore as possible, amidst the darkness of the night, in a single line, effected their entrance to the city. Intelligence of this new addition of force obliged both the Romans and Eumenes to raise the siege. They then sailed round the promontory, and brought the fleet into the harbour of Torone. This town also they attempted to besiege; but, perceiving that it was defended by a strong garrison, they dropped the design, and proceeded to Demetrias. When they approached this place, they saw the walls fully manned with armed troops; they therefore sailed on, and brought the fleet into harbour at Iolcos, intending, after ravaging the country there, to proceed to the siege of Demetrias.

13. In the mean time, the consul, not to lie inactive in the enemies' country, sent Marcus Popilius, with five thousand men, to reduce the city of Melibœa. This city stands at the foot of the Mount Ossa, where it stretches out into Thessaly, and is very advantageously situated for commanding Demetrias. The first approach of the enemy struck terror into the inhabitants of the place; but soon recovering from the fright occasioned by the unexpectedness of the event, they ran hastily in arms to the gates and walls, where an entrance was apprehended, and at once put a stop to all hope of taking the

place by the first assault. Preparations were therefore made for a siege, and the works commenced for making the approaches. When Perseus was informed that both Melibœa was being besieged by the consul's army, and that the fleet at the same time was lying at Iolcos, intending to proceed thence to attack Demetrias, he sent Euphranor, one of his generals, with two thousand chosen men, to Melibœa. His orders were, that, if he could compel the Romans to retire from before Melibœa, he should then march secretly into Demetrias, before the enemy should bring up their troops from Iolcos to that city. As soon as he suddenly became visible on the high grounds to the besiegers of Melibœa, they abandoned their numerous works in great consternation, and set them on fire. Thus they withdrew from Melibœa, and Euphranor, having raised the siege of one city, marched instantly to Demetrias. Then the townsmen felt confident that they should be able, not only to defend their walls, but to protect their lands also from depredations; and they made several irruptions on the straggling parties of the plunderers, not without injury to the enemy. However, the prætor and the king rode round the walls to view the situation of the city, and try whether they might attempt it on any side, either by storm or works. It was reported, that some overtures of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus were here agitated, through Cydas, a Cretan, and Antimachus, governor of Demetrias. It is certain, that the armies retired from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul; and, after congratulating him on his success in penetrating into Macedonia, went home to Pergamus. Marcius Figulus, the prætor, having sent part of his fleet to winter at Sciathus, with the remainder repaired to Oreum in Eubœa; judging that the most convenient city from which he could send supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are very different accounts given respecting king Eumenes: if Valerius Antias is to be believed, he neither gave any assistance with his fleet to the prætor, though often solicited by letters; nor did he depart from the consul for Asia in good humour, being offended at not being permitted to lie in the same camp with him; he says too, that he could not be prevailed on even to leave the Gallic horsemen that he had brought with him. But his brother Attalus remained with the consul, and in the con-

stant tenor of his conduct evinced a sincere attachment, and an extraordinary degree of zeal and activity in the service.

14. While the war was being carried on in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome, from a chieftain of the Gauls beyond the Alps, whose name is said to have been Balanos, but of what tribe is not mentioned. They brought an offer of assistance towards the war in Macedonia. The senate returned him thanks, and sent him presents,—a golden chain of two pounds weight, golden bowls to the amount of four pounds, a horse completely caparisoned, and a suit of horseman's armour. After the Gauls, ambassadors from Pamphylia, brought into the senate-house a golden crown, of the value of twenty thousand Philippeans, and requested permission to deposit it, as an offering, in the shrine of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, which was granted. The said ambassadors having expressed a wish to renew the treaty of friendship, a gracious answer was given, and a present was made to each of two thousand *asses*.[1] Then audience was given to the ambassadors of king Prusias; and, a little after, to those of the Rhodians, who discoursed on the same subject, but in a widely different manner. The purpose of both embassies was, to effect a peace with king Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of entreaties rather than demands; for he declared, that "he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it as long as the war should continue. But, on Perseus sending ambassadors to him, on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised them to become a mediator with the senate:" and he requested that, "if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would place him in the favourable position of mediator of the peace." Such was the discourse of the king's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously recounting their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of king Antiochus, proceeded in this manner; that, "at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with king Perseus, which they had, since, unwillingly broken, without having any reason to com-

[1] 6*l*. 9*s*. 2*d*.

plain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war, that for three years past they had felt many inconveniences from that war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia, to Perseus, to announce to him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude a peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterwards consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should prevent an end being put to the war." I am convinced that no person, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation; we may, then, easily judge what was the state of mind of the senators when they listened to them.

15. According to the account of Claudius, no answer was given; and a decree of the senate only was read, by which the Roman people ordered, that the Carians and Lycians should enjoy independence; and that a letter should be sent immediately to each of those nations, acquainting them therewith. On hearing which the principal ambassador, whose arrogant demeanour, just before, the senate could scarce contain, fell down insensible. Other writers say, that an answer was given to this effect: "That, at the commencement of the present war, the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with king Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth; and that, if that matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors, just now, had reduced it to a certainty; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet, in the end, betrays itself. Were the Rhodians now to act the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world? were the Romans at their nod to take up arms and lay them down? and henceforth to appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians, for their sanction of treaties? And was this indeed the case, that, unless their orders were obeyed, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take? What the Rhodians might determine, they themselves knew best; but the

Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make due retribution to each state, according to its deserts in the course of the war." Nevertheless the usual presents of two thousand *asses* each were sent to the ambassadors, which they did not accept.

16. Then was read a letter from the consul, Quintus Marcius, informing the senate, that "he had passed the mountains, and penetrated into Macedonia; that the prætor had collected there, and procured from other places, stores of provisions for the approaching winter; and that he had brought from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, ten thousand of barley, the price of which he desired might be paid to their ambassadors in Rome: that clothing for the troops must be sent from Rome; and that he wanted about two hundred horses, above all Numidian horses; where he was, he could procure none." The senate decreed, that every thing should be done in accordance with the consul's letter. The prætor, Caius Sulpicius, agreed with contractors for conveying into Macedonia six thousand gowns, thirty thousand tunics, and the horses, all to be left to the approbation of the consul; and he paid the Epirot ambassadors the price of the corn. He then introduced to the senate, Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian of distinction. He had always advised the king to peaceable measures, and recommended to him, that, as his father Philip had, to the last day of his life, made it an established rule to read over twice every day the treaty concluded with the Romans, so he should, if not daily, yet frequently, observe the same practice. When he could not dissuade him from war, he at first began to absent himself on various pretences, that he might not be present at proceedings which he could not approve. But at last, having discovered that suspicions were harboured against him, and that he was tacitly accused of the crime of treason, he went over to the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. When he was introduced into the senate-house, he mentioned these circumstances, and the senate thereupon decreed that he should be enrolled in the number of their allies; that a house and accommodations should be provided for him; also a grant of two hundred acres of land, in that part of the Tarentine territory which was the public property of the Roman people;

and a house in Tarentum to be bought for him; the charge of executing all which was committed to Caius Decimius, the prætor. On the ides of December, the censors performed the general survey with more severity than formerly. A great many were deprived of their horses, among whom was Publius Rutilius, who, when tribune of the people, had carried on a violent prosecution against them; he was, besides, degraded from his tribe, and disfranchised. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, one-half of the taxes of that year was paid by the quæstors into the hands of the censors, to defray the expenses of public works. Tiberius Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, purchased for the public the house of Publius Africanus, behind the old house, near the statue of Vertumnus, with the butchers' stalls and shops adjoining; where he built the public court-house, afterwards called the Sempronian.

17. The end of the year was now approaching, and people chiefly canvassed in their conversation, through their concern about the war in Macedonia, what consuls they should choose, to bring that war, at length, to a conclusion. The senate therefore passed an order, that Cneius Servilius should come home, at the very first opportunity, to hold the elections. Sulpicius, the prætor, sent the order of the senate to the consul; and, in a few days after, read his answer in public, wherein he promised to be in the city before the * * day of * * *. The consul came in due time, and the election was finished on the day appointed. The consuls chosen were, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and Caius Licinius Crassus. Next day, the following were appointed prætors: Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Cneius Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Æbutius Elva, and Caius Papirius Corbo. The senate's anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated them to more than ordinary expedition in all their proceedings; they therefore ordered, that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known which consul was to have the command in Macedonia, and which prætor that of the fleet; in order that they might, without loss of time, consider and prepare whatever was requisite for the service, and consult the senate on any point where their direction was necessary, they voted, that, "on the magistrates

coming into office, the Latin festival should be celebrated as early as the rules of religion permitted; and that the consul who was to go into Macedonia should not be detained on account of it." When these orders were passed, Italy and Macedonia were named as the provinces for the consuls; and for the prætors, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. As to the consuls, Macedonia fell to Æmilius, Italy to Licinius. Of the prætors, Cneius Bæbius got the city jurisdiction; Lucius Anicius the foreign, under a rule to go wherever the senate should direct; Cneius Octavius, the fleet; Publius Fonteius, Spain; Marcus Æbutius, Sicily; and Caius Papirius, Sardinia.

18. It immediately became evident to all, that Lucius Æmilius would prosecute the war with vigour; for, besides that he was a different kind of man (from his predecessors), his thoughts were intently employed night and day solely on the business relative to that war. In the first place, he requested the senate to send commissioners into Macedonia, to review the armies and the fleet, and to bring authentic information as to what might be necessary both for the land and sea forces; to make what discoveries they could respecting the state of the king's forces; and to learn how much of the country was in our power, how much in that of the enemy; whether the Romans were still encamped among the woods and mountains, or had got clear of all the difficult passes, and were come down into the plains; who appeared to be faithful allies to us, who were doubtful and suspended their fidelity on fortune, and who avowed enemies; what store of provisions was prepared, and whence new supplies might be brought by land-carriage, whence by the fleet; and what had been achieved during the last campaign, either on land or sea. For he thought that, by gaining a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, decisive plans might be taken for future proceedings. The senate directed the consul Cneius Servilius to send as commissioners, into Macedonia, such persons as should be approved of by Lucius Æmilius. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Bæbius, accordingly, began their journey two days after. Towards the close of this year it was reported that two showers of stones had fallen, one in the territory of Rome, the other in that of Veii; and the nine days' solemnity was performed. Of the priests,

died this year, Publius Quintilius Varus, flamen of Mars, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cneius Octavius. It has been remarked as an instance of the increasing munificence of the times, that in the Circensian games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, curule ædiles, sixty-three panthers, with forty bears and elephants, made a part of the show.

19. At the beginning of the following year, Lucius Æmilius Paullus and Caius Licinius, the consuls, having commenced their administration on the ides of March, the senators were impatient to hear what propositions were to be laid before them, particularly with respect to Macedonia, by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; but Paullus said, that he had as yet nothing to propose to them, the commissioners not being returned: that "they were then at Brundusium, after having been twice driven back to Dyrrachium in attempting the passage: that he intended, shortly, to propose something to their consideration, when he should have obtained the information which was previously necessary, and which he expected within very few days." He added, that, "in order that nothing should delay his setting out, the day before the ides of April had been fixed for the Latin festival; after finishing which solemnity, he and Cneius Octavius would begin their journey as soon as the senate should direct: that, in his absence, his colleague Caius Licinius would take care that every thing necessary to be provided, or sent for the war, should be provided and sent; and that, in the mean time, audience might be given to the embassies of foreign nations." The first introduced were ambassadors from Alexandria, sent by king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra. They came into the senate-house dressed in mourning, with their hair and beard neglected, holding in their hands branches of olive; there they prostrated themselves, and their discourse was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, king of Syria, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, had lately, under the honourable pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the throne, made war on his younger brother, who was then in possession of Alexandria; and having gained the victory in a sea-fight off Pelusium, and thrown a temporary bridge across the Nile, he led over his army, and was terrifying Alexandria itself, by laying siege to it; so that he seemed

almost on the point of taking possession of that very opulent kingdom. The ambassadors, after complaining of these proceedings, besought the senate to succour those princes, the faithful friends of their empire. They said, that "such had been the kindness of the Roman people to Antiochus, such its influence over all kings and nations, that if they only sent ambassadors, to give him notice that the senate were displeased at war being made with princes in alliance with them, he would instantly retire from the walls of Alexandria, and lead his army home into Syria. But if they hesitated to do this, Ptolemy and Cleopatra would soon come to Rome as exiles from their kingdom, which must excite some degree of shame in the Roman people, for not having brought them assistance in their extreme distress." The senate, affected by the supplications of the Alexandrians, immediately sent Caius Popilius Lænas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, ambassadors, to put an end to the dispute between those kings. Their instructions were, to go first to Antiochus, then to Ptolemy; and to acquaint them, that, unless hostilities were stopped, whichever party persisted, must expect to be considered by the senate as neither a friend nor an ally.

20. These ambassadors set out, within three days, in company with those of Alexandria; and, on the last day of the feast of Minerva, the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their coming had been so impatiently wished for, that, if it had not been very late in the day, the consuls would have assembled the senate immediately. Next day the senate met, and the commissioners had an audience. They stated, that "the army had been led through pathless and difficult wilds into Macedonia, with more risk than advantage: that Pieria, to which its march had been directed, was then possessed by the king; and the two camps so close to each other, as to be separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king offered no opportunity to fight, nor were our men strong enough to compel him; and, besides, that the winter had unexpectedly interrupted all military operations: that the soldiers were maintained in idleness, and had not corn sufficient for more than six *days:* that the force of the Macedonians was said to amount to thirty thousand effective men: that if Appius Claudius had a sufficient force at Lychnidus, the king might be perplexed by a two-fold hostile array; but that, as the case stood,

both Appius, and the troops under his command, were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army were speedily sent thither, or they were removed thence. "From the camp," they stated that "they had gone to the fleet; where they learned, that part of the seamen had perished by sickness; that others, particularly such as came from Sicily, had gone off to their own homes; and that the ships were in want of men, while those who were on board had neither received pay nor had clothing: that Eumenes and his fleet, as if driven thither by the wind, had both come and gone away, without any apparent reason; nor did the intentions of that king seem to be thoroughly settled." While they reported every particular in the conduct of Eumenes as suspicious, they represented the fidelity of Attalus as stedfast in the highest degree.

21. After the commissioners were heard, Lucius Æmilius said, that he then proposed for consideration the business of the war: and the senate decreed, that "tribunes for eight legions should be appointed, half by the consuls, and half by the people; but that none should be named for that year who had not held some magisterial office: that, out of all the military tribunes, Lucius Æmilius should select such as he chose for the two legions that were to serve in Macedonia; and that, as soon as the Latin festival should be finished, the said consul, with the prætor Cneius Octavius, to whose lot the fleet had fallen, should repair to that province." To these was added a third, Lucius Anicius, the prætor who had the foreign jurisdiction; for it was resolved that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the province of Illyria, near Lychnidus. The charge of raising recruits was laid on the consul Caius Licinius, who was ordered to enlist, of Roman citizens, seven thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to demand, from the Latin confederates, seven thousand foot and four hundred horse; and also to write to Cneius Servilius, governor of Gaul, to raise there six hundred horse. This force he was ordered to send, with all expedition, into Macedonia, to his colleague. It was resolved, that there should be no more than two legions in that province, but that their numbers should be filled up so as that each should contain six thousand foot and three hundred horse; and that the rest of the foot and horse should be placed in the different garrisons; that such men as were unfit for service should be discharged, and

that the allies should be obliged to raise another body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse. These were assigned as a reinforcement to Anicius, in addition to the two legions which he was ordered to carry into Illyria, consisting each of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and five thousand seamen were raised for the fleet. The consul Licinius was ordered to employ two legions in the service of his province, and to add to them ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies.

22. When the senate had passed these decrees, the consul Lucius Æmilius went out from the senate-house into the assembly of the people, whom he addressed in a discourse to this effect: "Romans, I think I have perceived that your congratulations, on my obtaining, by lot, the province of Macedonia, were warmer than either when I was saluted consul, or on the day when I entered on office; and that for no other reason, than your having conceived an opinion, that by me the war with Perseus, which has been long protracted, may be brought to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. I trust that the gods also have favoured this disposal of the lots, and will give me their aid in the conduct of affairs. Some of these consequences I can prognosticate; others I can hope for. One thing I regard as certain, and venture to affirm; that I will endeavour, by every exertion in my power, that this hope which you have conceived of me may not be frustrated. Every thing necessary for the service, the senate has ordered; and as it has been resolved, that I am to go abroad immediately, and I do not wish to delay, my colleague, Caius Licinius, an admirable man, will make the preparations with as much zeal, as if he himself were to carry on that war. Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you, or to the senate; but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumours, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. For, no man is so entirely regardless of reputation, as that his spirits cannot be damped; which I have observed has commonly occurred, especially in this war. In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia; who know where the camp ought to be placed; what posts ought to be occupied by troops; when and through what pass Macedonia should be entered; where magazines should be formed; how provisions

should be conveyed by land and sea; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul, as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs; for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own authority be diminished through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise, who did every thing of his own single judgment. What then is my opinion? That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent; by those, especially, who are skilled in the art of war, and who have been taught by experience; and next, by those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, embarked, as it were, in the same ship, are sharers of the danger. If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent; and even with his travelling charges. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking, and rest assured, that we shall be content with such councils as shall be framed within our camp." Soon after this speech, the Latin festival having been celebrated on the day before the calends of April, and the sacrifice on the mount affording favourable omens, the consul, and Cneius Octavius, the prætor, set out directly for Macedonia. There is a tradition that the consul, at his departure, was escorted by multitudes unusually numerous; and that people, with confident hope, presaged a conclusion of the Macedonian war, and the speedy return of the consul, to a glorious triumph.

23. During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus, though he

could not, at first, prevail on himself to complete the design which he had projected, of attaching to himself Gentius, king of Illyria, on account of the money which would be demanded for it; yet, when he found that the Romans had penetrated the passes, and that the final crisis of the war drew near, resolved to defer it no longer, and having, by his ambassador Hippias, consented to pay three thousand talents of silver,[1] provided hostages were given on both sides; he now sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to conclude the business. Pantauchus met the Illyrian king at Meteo, in the province of Labeas, and there received from the king his oath and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympio, to require an oath and hostages from Perseus. Together with him, were sent persons to receive the money; and by the advice of Pantauchus, to go to Rhodes, with ambassadors from Macedonia. Parmenio and Morcus were appointed. Their instructions were, first, to receive the king's oath, the hostages, and money; and then to proceed to Rhodes; and it was hoped, that, by the name of the two kings, the Rhodians might be incited to a war against Rome, and that the union of that state, which alone at that time possessed naval glory, would leave the Romans no prospect of success, either on land or sea. As the Illyrians approached, Perseus marched with all his cavalry, from his camp on the Enipeus, and met them at Dium. There the articles agreed on were executed; a body of cavalry having been drawn up around, whom the king chose should be witness to the treaty of alliance made with Gentius, supposing that this event would add greatly to their confidence. The hostages were given and taken in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money were sent to Pella, where the king's treasure lay; and the persons who were to go to Rhodes, with the Illyrian ambassadors, were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. There was present one Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, and who, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, two principal members of that state, affirmed, that the Rhodians were prepared for the war; he was appointed head of the joint embassy with the Illyrians.

24. At this time Perseus sent to Eumenes and Antiochus, common message, which the state of affairs seemed to suggest;

[1] 58,125*l.*

that "a free state, and a king, were, in their natures, hostile to each other. That the Roman people were accustomed to attack kings singly; and, what was more shameful, to conquer them, by the power of other kings. Thus, his father was overpowered by the aid of Attalus; and by the assistance of Eumenes, and of his father Philip, in part, Antiochus had been vanquished; and now, both Eumenes and Prusias were armed against himself. If the regal power should be abolished in Macedonia, the next, in their way, would be Asia, which they had already rendered, in part, their own, under the pretence of liberating the states; and next to that Syria. Already Prusias was honoured by them, far beyond Eumenes; and already Antiochus, though victorious, was debarred from Egypt, the prize of his arms." He desired that each of them, "considering these matters seriously, should see that he either compelled the Romans to make peace with him, or, if they should persist in such an unjust war, he should regard them as the common enemies of all kings." The message to Antiochus was sent openly; the ambassador to Eumenes went under the pretence of ransoming prisoners. But some more secret business was transacted between them, which, in addition to the jealousy and distrust already conceived by the Romans against Eumenes, *brought on him charges* of a heavier nature. For they considered him as a traitor, and nearly as an enemy, while the two kings laboured to overreach each other in schemes of fraud and avarice. There was a Cretan, called Cydas, an intimate of Eumenes; this man had formerly conferred, at Amphipolis, with one Chimarus, a countryman of his own, serving in the army of Perseus; and he, afterwards, had had one interview with Menecrates, and another with Archidamus, officers of the king, at Demetrias, close under the wall of the town. Heroplon, too, who was sent on that business, had, before that, executed two embassies to the same Eumenes. These furtive conferences and embassies were notorious; but what the subject of them was, or what agreement had taken place between the kings, remained a secret.

25. Now the truth of the matter was this: Eumenes neither wished success to Perseus nor intended to make war upon him; and his ill-will arose not so much from the enmity which they inherited from their fathers, as from the personal quarrels which had broken out between themselves. The

jealousy of the two kings was not so moderate, that Eumenes could, with patience, have seen Perseus acquiring such vast power and glory as awaited him, if he conquered the Romans. Besides which, he saw that Perseus, from the commencement of the war, by every mean, sought a prospect of peace; and that every day, as the danger approached nearer, he was contriving and contemplating no other object. He considered, too, that as the war had been protracted beyond the expectations of the Romans, their commanders and senate would not be averse from putting an end to a contest so inconvenient and difficult. Having discovered this inclination in both parties, he concluded, that, from the disgust of the stronger party, and the fears of the weaker, this might take place spontaneously; and therefore he the more wished, for the sake of conciliating favour to himself, to make his own efforts available in the business. He therefore, sometimes, laboured to stipulate for a consideration for not affording assistance to the Romans, either on sea or land; at other times, for bringing about a peace with them. He demanded for not interfering in the war, one thousand talents;[1] for effecting a peace, one thousand five hundred;[2] and for his sincerity in either case, he professed himself prepared, not only to make oath, but to give hostages also. Perseus, stimulated by his fears, showed the greatest readiness in the beginning of the negotiation, and treated without delay about receiving the hostages; when it was agreed, that, on their being received, they should be sent to Crete. But when they came to the mention of money, there he hesitated; remarking that, in the case of kings of their high character, a pecuniary consideration was mean and sordid, both with respect to the giver, and still more so with respect to the receiver. He preferred not to decline the payment in the hope of a peace with Rome, but said that he would pay the money when the business should be concluded; and that he would lodge it in the mean time in the temple of Samothrace. As that island was under his own dominion, Eumenes said, that it was all the same as if the money were at Pella; and he struggled hard to obtain some part of it at the present. Thus, having manœuvred with each other to no purpose, they gained nothing but disgrace.

26. This was not the only business which Perseus left

[1] 193,750*l.* [2] 290,625*l.*

unfinished from motives of avarice, since for a small sum of money he might have procured, through Eumenes, a secure peace, well purchased even with half of his kingdom; while, if defrauded, he might have exposed him to public view, as an enemy laden with his pelf, and made the Romans deservedly his enemies. Through this avaricious spirit the prompt alliance of king Gentius, with the assistance of a large *army* of Gauls, who had spread themselves through Illyria, and offered themselves to him, was lost. There came ten thousand horsemen, and the same number of footmen, who themselves kept pace with the horses, and in place of the riders who had fallen, took on the horses to the fight. They had stipulated that each horseman should receive in immediate payment, ten golden Philippics, each footman five, and their commander one thousand. Perseus went from his camp on the Enipeus with half of his forces to meet them as they approached; and issued orders through the towns and villages near the road, to prepare provisions, so that they might have plenty of corn, wine, and cattle. He brought with him some horses, trappings, and cloaks, for presents to the chiefs; and a small quantity of gold to be divided among a few; for the multitude, he supposed, might be amused with hopes. He advanced as far as the city of Almana, and encamped on the bank of the river Axius, at which time the army of the Gauls lay near Desudaba, in Mædica, waiting for the promised hire. Thither he sent Antigonus, one of his nobles, with directions, that the said army should remove their camp to Bylazor, a place in Pæonia, and that their chiefs should come to him in a body. They were at this time seventy-five miles distant from the river Axius and the king's camp. Antigonus, in his message, told them what great plenty of every thing was provided on the road by the king's directions, and what presents of apparel, money, and horses he intended for them on their arrival. They answered, that they would judge of those things when they saw them; at the same time asking him, whether, according to their stipulation for immediate payment, he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed to each footman and horseman? When to this no direct answer was given, Clondicus, their prince, said, "Go back, then, and tell your king, that, unless they should have received the gold and the host-

ages, the Gauls would never move one step farther." When this message was brought to the king, he called a council: and, as it was very plain what advice all the members would give; he, being a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, began to descant on the perfidy and savage behaviour of the Gauls. "The disasters," he said, "of many states demonstrated, that it would be dangerous to admit such a multitude into Macedonia, lest they might feel such allies more troublesome than their Roman enemies. Five thousand horsemen would be enough for them to employ in the war, and that number they need not be afraid to receive."

27. It was sufficiently clear to all that what he feared was the paying of such a multitude, and nothing else; but as none had the courage to declare their opinion, when asked, Antigonus was sent again, with a message, that the king chose to employ only five thousand horsemen, but that he could not receive the rest of their number. When the barbarians heard this, they began to murmur, and show a great deal of anger at being brought so far from home for no purpose; but Clondicus again asked him, whether he would pay even the five thousand the hire agreed on. When he perceived that an evasive answer was given to this question also, the Gauls, dismissing the insidious envoy unhurt, which was what he himself had scarcely hoped could be his fate, returned home to the Danube, after utterly wasting such lands of Thrace as lay near their road. Now had this body of troops, while the king lay quiet on the Enipeus, been led against the Romans through the passes of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly, it might not only have stripped that country so bare, that the Romans could not expect supplies from thence; but might even have destroyed the cities themselves, while Perseus, by detaining his enemy at the Enipeus, would have put it out of their power to succour their allies. The Romans, indeed, would have been obliged to look out for their own safety, since they could neither stay where they were, after losing Thessaly, whence their army drew sustenance, nor move forward, as the camp of the Macedonians *stood in their way. By this error, Perseus enlivened the hopes of the Romans*, and damped not a little *those of the Macedonians*,[1] who had depended much on that project. Through the same

[1] The passages in Italics are only conjectural, and introduced to supply an hiatus in the original.

avarice, he alienated from him king Gentius. When he paid, at Pella, three hundred talents to the persons sent by Gentius, he allowed them to seal up the money. He then ordered ten talents to be carried to Pantauchus, and these he desired should be given immediately to the king. He ordered his people, who were carrying the rest of the money, sealed with the seals of the Illyrians, to convey it by short journeys, and when they should come to the bounds of Macedonia, to halt there, and wait for a message from him. Gentius, having received this small portion of the money, and being incessantly urged by Pantauchus to provoke the Romans by some hostile act, threw into custody Marcus Perperna and Lucius Petilius, who happened to come at that time as ambassadors. Having heard this, Perseus, thinking that the Illyrian had now laid himself under a necessity of waging war with the Romans at least, sent to recall those who were conveying the money, as if for no other object, than that the greatest possible booty might be reserved for the Romans on his defeat. Herophon, too, returned from Eumenes, without any one knowing what had been secretly negotiated between them. The parties themselves had mentioned publicly that the business of the prisoners had been concluded, and Eumenes, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, acquainted the consul with it.

28. Upon the return of Herophon from Eumenes, Perseus, disappointed in his hope, sent Antenor and Callippus, the commanders of his fleet, with forty barks, to which were added five heavy galleys, to Tenedos, that they might protect the vessels sailing to Macedonia with corn, and scattered among the Cyclades. This squadron, setting sail from Cassandrea, steered, first, to the harbour at the foot of Mount Athos, and crossing over thence, with mild weather, to Tenedos, found lying in the harbour a number of Rhodian undecked ships, and their commander Eudamus; these they did not offer to molest, but, after having spoken them in a friendly manner, suffered them to pursue their course. Then, learning that, on the other side of the island, fifty transports of their own were shut up by a squadron of Eumenes, commanded by Damius, which lay in the mouth of the harbour, they sailed round with all haste; and the enemy's ships retiring, through fear, they sent on the transports to Macedonia, ten

barks having been appointed to accompany them, which were to return to Tenedos as soon as they had convoyed them to a place of safety. Accordingly, on the ninth day after, they rejoined the fleet, then lying at Sigeum. From thence they sailed over to Subota, an island between Elea and Athos. The next day after the fleet had reached Subota, it happened that thirty-five vessels, of the kind called horse-transports, sent by Eumenes to Attalus, and which had sailed from Elea, with Gallic horsemen and their horses, were steering towards Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, from whence they might cross over to Macedonia. A signal having been given to Antenor, from a post of observation, that these ships were passing along the main, he left Subota, and met them between Cape Erythræ and Chios, where the strait is narrowest. The officers of Eumenes believed nothing less probable than that a Macedonian fleet was cruising in that sea; they imagined that they were Romans, or that Attalus, or some people sent home by him from the Roman camp, were on their way to Pergamus. But when, on their nearer approach, the shape of the vessels was plainly perceived, and when the briskness of their rowing, and their prows being directed straight against themselves, proved that enemies were approaching, a panic was struck into them; for they had no hope of being able to make resistance, their ships being of an unwieldy kind, and the Gauls scarcely able to bear a state of quiet when at sea. Some, who were nearest to the shore of the continent, swam to Erythræ; some, crowding all their sail, ran the ships aground near Chios; and, leaving their horses behind, made for the city in disorderly flight. When the barks, however, had landed their troops nearer to the city, where the access was more convenient, the Macedonians overtook and put to the sword the flying Gauls, some on the road, and some who had been shut out before the gate, for the Chians had shut their gates, not knowing who they were that fled, or who that pursued. About eight hundred Gauls were killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Of the horses, some were lost in the sea, by the ships being wrecked, and others the Macedonians hamstrung on the shore. Antenor ordered the same ten barks, which he had employed before, to carry twenty horses of extraordinary beauty, with the prisoners, to Thessalonica, and to return to the fleet as speedily as possible; saying, that he

would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet staid about three days off the city, and then proceeded to Phanæ, and the ten barks having returned sooner than was expected, they set sail, and crossed the Ægean Sea to Delos.

29. While these things were taking place, the Roman ambassadors, Caius Popilius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, having sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, arrived at Delos, and found there forty Macedonian barks, and five quinqueremes belonging to king Eumenes. The sacred character of the temple and the island secured all parties from injury; so that the Roman and Macedonian seamen, and those of Eumenes, used to meet promiscuously in the temple, a truce being imposed by the religious feeling which the place inspired. Antenor, the commander of Perseus's fleet, having learned, by signals from his watch-posts, that several transport ships were passing by at sea, went himself in pursuit, with one half of his barks, (distributing the other half among the Cyclades,) and sunk or plundered every ship he met with, except such as were bound for Macedonia. Popilius and the ships of Eumenes assisted as many as they were able; but, in the night, the Macedonians sailing out, generally with two or three vessels, passed unseen. About this time, ambassadors from Macedonia and Illyria came together to Rhodes. Their influence was the greater, in consequence of their squadron cruising freely among the Cyclades, and over all the Ægean Sea, and likewise on account of the junction of Perseus and Gentius, and of the report of the Gauls approaching with a great force both of horse and foot. Dinon and Polyaratus, the partisans of Perseus, now took fresh courage, and the Rhodians not only gave a favourable answer to the ambassadors, but declared publicly, that "they would put an end to the war by their own influence; and therefore desired the kings to dispose themselves to accede to a peace."

30. It was now the beginning of spring, and the new commanders had arrived in their provinces; the consul Æmiliu in Macedonia, Octavius at Oreum, where the fleet lay, and Anicius in Illyria, to carry on the war against Gentius. This prince, who was the son of Pleuratus, king of Illyria, and his queen Eurydice, had two brothers, one called Plator, by both parents, the other Caravantius, by the same mother only. The latter, as descended of ignoble ancestors on his father's

side, was but little suspected; but, that his reign might be more secure, he had put to death Plator, and two active men his friends, Ettritus and Epicadus. It was rumoured, that he was actuated by jealousy towards his brother, who had engaged himself to Etuta, the daughter of Hononus, prince of the Dardanians, as if, by that match, engaging that nation in his interest; and this supposition was rendered the more probable by Gentius marrying her, after the death of Plator. From this time, when he was delivered from the fear of his brother, he began to be oppressive to his subjects, and the natural violence of his temper was inflamed by an immoderate use of wine. Having been incited, as was mentioned above, to a war with the Romans, he collected all his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, at Lissus. From thence, detaching his brother with one thousand foot and fifty horse, to reduce, either by force or terror, the nation of the Cavians, he marched himself to Bassania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. The inhabitants were in alliance with Rome. Therefore, having been first solicited by emissaries sent in advance, they determined rather to endure a siege than surrender themselves. In Cavia, the people of the town of Durnium cheerfully opened their gates to Caravantius, on his arrival; but another town, called Caravantis, refused him admittance; and whilst he was carelessly ravaging their lands, many of his straggling soldiers were killed by a muster of the peasants. By this time Appius Claudius, having joined to the army he had in command some bodies of auxiliaries, composed of Bulinians, Apollonians, and Dyrrhachians, had left his winter quarters, and was encamped near the river Genusus. Having heard of the treaty between Persius and Gentius, and being highly provoked at the ill-treatment of the outraged ambassadors, he was resolved to make war upon him. The prætor Anicius, who was now at Apollonia, being informed of what passed in Illyria, despatched a letter to Appius, desiring him to wait for him at the Genusus; and, in three days after, he arrived in the camp. *Having added* to the auxiliary troops which he then had, two thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Parthinians, (the foot commanded by Epicadus, and the horse by Agalsus,) he prepared to march into Illyria, chiefly that he might relieve the Bassanians from the siege. But an account brought him, of the sea-coast being ravaged by a

number of the enemy's barks, checked his efforts. These were eighty vessels, which, by the advice of Pantauchus, Gentius had sent to waste the lands of the Dyrrhachians and Apollonians. *The Roman fleet was then lying near Apollonia. Anicius hastily repaired thither, soon overtook the Illyrian plunderers, brought them to an engagement, and, defeating them with very little trouble, took many of their ships, and compelled the rest to retire to Illyria. Returning thence to the camp at the Genusus, he hastened to the relief of Bassania. Gentius did not bear up against the rumour of the prætor's coming; but, raising the siege, retired to Scodra with such precipitate haste, that he did not even take the whole of his army with him. There was a large body of forces, which, if their courage had been supported by the presence of their commander, might have given some check to the Romans; but, as he had withdrawn,*[1] they surrendered.

31. The cities of that country, one after another, followed the example; their own inclinations being encouraged by the justice and clemency which the Roman prætor showed to all. The army then advanced to Scodra, which was the chief seat of the war, not merely because Gentius had chosen it for the metropolis of his kingdom, but because it has by far the strongest fortifications of any in the territory of the Labeatians, and is of very difficult access. Two rivers enclose it; the Clausula flowing past the eastern side of the city, and by the western, the Barbanna, which rises out of the lake Labeatus. These two rivers, uniting their streams, fall into the river Oriuns, which, running down from mount Scodrus, and being augmented by many other waters, empties itself into the Adriatic Sea. Mount Scordus is much the highest hill in all that country; at its foot, towards the east, lies Dardania; towards the south, Macedonia; and towards the west, Illyria. Notwithstanding that the town was so strong, from the nature of its situation, and was garrisoned by the whole force of the Illyrian nation, with the king himself at their head, yet the Roman prætor, encouraged by the happy success of his first enterprises, and hoping that the fortune of the whole undertaking would correspond to its commencement, and thinking also that a sudden alarm might have a powerful effect, advanced to the walls with his troops

[1] This passage is supplied conjecturally.

in order of battle. But, if the garrison had kept their gates shut, and manned the walls and the towers of the gates with soldiers, they might have repulsed the Romans from the walls with their efforts frustrated, instead of which they marched out from the gate, and, on equal ground, commenced a battle with more courage than they supported it: for, being forced to give way, and crowded together in their retreat, and above two hundred having fallen in the very entrance of the gate, the rest were so terrified, that Gentius immediately despatched Teuticus and Bellus, two of the first men of the nation, to the prætor, through whom he begged a truce, in order that he might be able to deliberate on the state of his affairs. He was allowed three days for the purpose, and, as the Roman camp was about five hundred paces from the city, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbanna, into the lake of Labeatus, as if in search of a retired place for consultation; but, as afterwards appeared, he was led by a groundless report, that his brother Caravantius was coming, with many thousands of soldiers collected in the country, to which he had been sent. This rumour dying away, on the third day he sailed down the river in the same ship to Scodra; and, after sending forward messengers, to request permission to call upon the prætor, and leave being given, came into the camp. He began his discourse with reproaches against himself, for the folly of his conduct; then descended to tears and prayers, and, falling at the prætor's knees, gave himself up into his power. He was at first desired to keep up his spirits, and having been even invited to supper, he went back into the city to his people, and, for that day, was entertained by the prætor with every mark of respect. On the day following, he was delivered into custody, to Caius Cassius, a military tribune, having, though a king, received ten talents, scarcely the hire of a party of gladiators, and that from a king, to reduce himself to these circumstances.

32. The first thing Anicius did, after taking possession of Scodra, was, to order the ambassadors, Petilius and Perperna, to be sought for and brought to him; and having restored to them their former dignity, he immediately despatched Perperna to seize the king's friends and relations, who, hastening to Medeo, a city of Labeatia, conducted to the camp at Scodra, Etleva, the king's consort; his brother Caravantius; with his

two sons, Scerdiletus and Pleuratus. Anicius, having brought the Illyrian war to a conclusion within thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of his success; and, in a few days after, king Gentius himself, with his mother, queen, children, and brother, and other Illyrians of distinction. This one war was announced at Rome as finished before it was known to have been begun. At the time when these things took place, Perseus laboured under dreadful apprehensions, on account of the approach, both of the new consul Æmilius, who, as he heard, was coming with formidable threats, and also of the prætor Octavius: nor did he less dread the Roman fleet, and the danger which threatened the sea-coast. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at Thessalonica, with a small garrison of two thousand targeteers. Thither he sent Androcles, as governor, and ordered him to keep the troops encamped close by the naval arsenals. He ordered one thousand horse, under Antigonus, to Ænia, to guard the sea-coast; directing them, whenever they should hear of the enemy's fleet approaching the shore in any part, instantly to hasten thither, to protect the country people. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison the mountains Pythium and Petra, commanded by Histiæus, Theogenes, and Medon. After making these detachments, he set about fortifying the bank of the river Enipeus, the channel being dry and fordable; and, in order that all the men might apply themselves to this work, the women were obliged to bring provisions from the neighbouring cities into the camp. He ordered the soldiers to *fetch timber* from the woods which were not far distant. *Then a mound was formed and works thrown up strengthened with towers and with engines, disposed in various parts so that the enemy might not be able to force a way through without great opposition and danger. Thus he trusted that he should be secure against every attack of the Romans, and that, wearied out with inaction and slow delay, and drained by expenses, a disgust at so difficult a war would seize on the mind of the enemy. On the other side, the more diligence and caution Paullus saw the Macedonians use, the more assiduously did he study to devise some means of frustrating those hopes, which the enemy had not without reason conceived. But he suffered immediate distress from the scarcity of water, as the neighbouring river was al-*

most dried up, except that a little stream, and that impure, flowed in the part contiguous to the sea.

33. *The consul, when those who were sent to search the neighbourhood announced that no water could be found,*[1] at last ordered the water-carriers to attend him to the shore, which was not three hundred paces distant, and there to dig holes in several places, not far from each other. The great height of the mountains gave him reason to suppose that they contained hidden springs of water, the veins of which flowing through to the sea, mingled with its waves; and the more so, as they discharged no streams above ground. Scarcely was the surface of the sand removed, when springs began to boil up, small at first, and muddy, but in a little time they threw out clear water in great plenty, as if through the favourable interference of the gods. This circumstance added greatly to the reputation and influence of the general in the minds of the soldiers. He then ordered them to get ready their arms; and went himself, with the tribunes and first centurions, to examine the fords, in hopes of finding a passage, where the descent would be easy for the troops, and where the ascending the other bank would be least difficult. After taking a sufficient view of these matters, he made it his first care to provide, that, in the movements of the army, every thing should be done regularly, and without noise, at the first order and beck of the general. When notice was proclaimed of what was to be done to all at the same time, every one did not distinctly hear; and as the orders received were not clear, some making additions for themselves, did more than was ordered, while others did less; while dissonant shouts were raised in every quarter, insomuch that the enemy knew sooner than the soldiers themselves what was intended. He therefore directed, that the military tribune should communicate, secretly, to the first centurion of the legion, then he to the next, and that so on, in order that each should tell the next to him in rank what was requisite to be done, whether the instructions were to be conveyed from front to rear, or from rear to front. He likewise, by a new arrangement, forbade the sentinels to carry their shields when on duty; for as a sentinel did not go to fight, but to watch, he had no occasion for arms; it was his duty, when he perceived an enemy approaching, to retire, and

[1] The whole of the foregoing passage is supplied conjecturally.

to rouse the rest to arms. They used to stand with their helmets on, and their shields erected on the ground before them; when tired, they leaned on their spears; or laying their heads on the edge of their shields, stood dozing in such a manner, that from the glittering of their arms they could be seen afar off by the enemy, while themselves could see nothing. He likewise altered the practice of the advanced guards. Formerly, the guards were kept on duty through the whole day, all under arms, the horsemen with their horses bridled; and when this happened in summer, under a continual scorching sun, both men and horses were so much exhausted by the heat and the languor contracted in so many hours, that very often, when attacked by fresh troops, a few could get the better of a greater number. He therefore ordered, that they should retire from the morning-watch at noon, and that others should succeed to the duty for the rest of the day; by which means the enemy could never come fresh upon them when they were wearied.

34. Æmilius, after publishing, in a general assembly, his orders for these regulations, added a speech of similar purport to that which he had made in the city, that "it was the business of the commander alone to consider what was proper to be done, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with those whom he should call to council; and that such as were not called, ought not to pronounce their opinions either in public or in private. That it was a soldier's business to attend to these three things,—his body, that he may keep it in perfect strength and agility; his arms, in good order; and his provisions ready, in case of a sudden order; and to understand, that all other matters relating to him are under the care of the immortal gods and his captain. That in any army, where the soldiers formed plans, and that the chief was drawn, first one way, then another, by the rumours of the multitude, nothing was successful. For his part," he declared, that "he would take care, as was the duty of a general, to afford them occasion of acting with success. On their part, they were to make no inquiries whatever as to what was about to take place; but, when the signal was given, to discharge the duty of a soldier." After these precepts, he dismissed the assembly, while the veterans themselves acknowledged, that on that day, for the first time, they had, like recruits, been taught the business of a soldier. Nor did they, by such

expressions only, demonstrate with what perfect conviction they had listened to the consul's discourse; but the practical effect of it was immediate. In the whole camp, not one person was to be seen idle; some were sharpening their weapons; others scouring their helmets and cheek-pieces, their shields and breastplates; some fitted their armour to their bodies, and tested the agility of their limbs under it; some brandished their spears, others flourished their swords, and tried the points; so that it could be easily perceived that their intention was, whenever they should come to battle, to finish the war at once, either by a splendid victory or a memorable death. On the other side, when Perseus saw that, in consequence of the arrival of the consul, and of the opening of the spring, all was motion and bustle among the Romans, as in a new war; and that the camp had been removed from Phila and pitched on the opposite bank, and that the Roman general employed himself busily, sometimes in going round and examining all his works, doubtless looking out for a place to pass the river; *and sometimes in preparing every thing requisite for attack or defence of a camp, with the closest attention, and omitted nothing which could be attempted or achieved by a great general, whether against the enemy or for increasing the efficiency of his own men; he (Perseus) also exerted himself no less diligently on his part to rouse the courage of his soldiers, and add more and more strength to his defences, as if he were approaching the crisis of the whole business, and never considered all matters to be adequately provided for, or the bank sufficiently fortified and secured. Nevertheless, amidst this most vehement ardour on both sides, their camps were for some time in a state of tranquillity. Nor was it ever recorded that such powerful armies, with their camps pitched so near together, had ever lain so quiet.*

35. *In the mean time, a report announced that king Gentius had been defeated, in Illyria, by the prætor Anicius; and that himself, his family, and his whole kingdom, were in the hands of the Romans;* which event greatly raised the spirits of the Romans, and struck no small degree of terror into the Macedonians and their king. At first, Perseus endeavoured to suppress the intelligence, and sent messengers to Pantauchus, who was on his way from that country, forbidding him to come near the camp; but some of his people had already

seen certain boys, carried away among the Illyrian hostages; and it is certain that the more pains there are used to conceal any circumstances, the more readily they are divulged, through the gossiping disposition of the attendants of kings. About this time, ambassadors came to the camp from Rhodes, with the same message which had excited so much resentment in the Roman senate. They were now heard by the council in the camp with much greater indignation than at Rome; some *even advised* that they should be instantly driven out of the camp without any reply; but the consul said, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. Meanwhile, to show how far the influence of the Rhodians as mediators extended, he began to consult on the plan of carrying forward the war. Some, particularly the older officers, advised to force their way across the Enipeus, and through the enemy's works. "When they should advance in close order and make an assault, the Macedonians," they said, "would never be able to withstand them. They had been, last year, beaten out of many fortresses much higher and better fortified, which they had occupied with much stronger garrisons." Others recommended, that Octavius, with the fleet, should sail to Thessalonica; and, by committing depredations on the sea-coast, to divide the king's forces; so that when, on the appearance of another enemy behind him, he should turn about to protect the interior part of the kingdom, he would be forced to leave a passage over the Enipeus open in some place or other. The consul himself was of opinion, that the nature of the bank, and the works erected on it, presented insuperable difficulties; and, besides its being every where furnished with engines, he had been informed, that the enemy were remarkable for using missile weapons with uncommon skill, and with a very certain aim. The consul's full conviction leaned quite another way; as soon, therefore, as the council broke up, he sent for Schœnus and Menophilus, Perrhæbian merchants, whom he knew to be men of probity and good sense, and examined them in private about the nature of the passes leading into Perrhæbia. They told him, that the places themselves were not difficult; but that they were occupied by parties of the king's troops; from which he conceived hopes of being able to beat off those parties, by making a sudden attack with a strong force in the night, when they were off their guard.

For he considered that "javelins, and arrows, and other missile weapons, were useless in the dark, when one cannot see at a distance what to aim at; but that, when combatants closed together in a throng, the business must depend on the sword, in which the Roman soldier was superior." He resolved to employ those two men as guides; and, sending for the prætor Octavius, explained to him what he intended, ordering him to sail directly with the fleet to Heracleum, and to have in readiness, there, ten days' provisions for one thousand men. He then sent Publius Scipio Nasica, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, his own son, with five thousand chosen men, to Heracleum, as if they were to embark in the fleet, to ravage the coast of the interior parts of Macedonia, as had been proposed in the council. He told them, in private, that there were provisions prepared for them on board, so that they should have no delay. He then ordered the guides to divide the road in such a manner that they might attack Pythium at the fourth watch on the third day. He himself, on the day following, in order to withdraw the king from the observation of other matters, attacked his advanced guards as soon as it was light in the middle of the channel of the river, where the fight was maintained by the light infantry on both sides, for the bottom was so uneven, that heavy arms could not be used. The slope of each bank was three hundred paces long, and the breadth of the channel, which was of various depths, somewhat more than a mile. In this middle space the fight was carried on, while the king on one side, and the consul with his legions on the other, stood spectators on the ramparts of their camps. At a distance, the king's troops had the advantage in fighting with missile weapons; but in close fight the Roman soldier was more steady, and was better defended, either with a target or a Ligurian buckler. About noon, the consul ordered the signal of retreat to be given, and thus the battle ended for that day, after considerable numbers had fallen on both sides. Next morning at sun-rise, the fight was renewed with greater fury, as their passions had been irritated by the former contest; but the Romans were wounded, not only by those with whom they were immediately engaged, but much more by the multitudes that stood posted in the towers, with missiles of every sort, particularly stones; so that whenever they advanced towards the enemy's bank, the weapons thrown

from the engines reached even the hindmost of their men. The consul, having lost far more men on that day, somewhat later called off his men. On the third day he declined fighting, and moved down to the lowest side of the camp, as if intending to attempt a passage through an intrenchment which stretched down to the sea. Perseus, *who did not extend his cares beyond* the objects that lay before his eyes, *bent all his thoughts and exertions to stop the progress of the enemy in the quarter where he lay, careful of nought beside. In the mean time, Publius Nasica, with the detachment assigned to him, having departed towards the sea to Heracleum, when he arrived there, waited for nightfall, ordering his soldiers to refresh themselves. He then explained to the principal of his officers the real directions of the consul, and when first the darkness spread itself, bending his course to the mountain, he led his troops in silence to Pythium, as he had been commanded. When they had arrived at the very summit, which rises to a height of more than ten stadia, some repose was given to the wearied soldiers. This height, as has been already stated, Medon, Histiæus, and Theogenes, who were sent by Perseus, were occupying with five thousand Macedonians, but so great was the negligence of the king's generals, that no one perceived that the Romans were approaching. If we are to believe Polybius, Nasica, having attacked them while asleep, easily dislodged them from the height. Nasica himself, however, narrates the affair very differently in a letter to one of the kings. He says, that the mountain was of steep ascent, but so unguarded that he could have taken possession of the pass with no trouble, had not a deserter from those Cretans, whom he was taking with him, fled to Perseus, and informed him what was being done. That the king himself remained in his camp, but sent two thousand Macedonians and ten thousand auxiliaries, with Medon as their leader, to take possession of the pass. That with these a most fierce engagement took place on the top of the hill, and, among other things, that he himself was thrust at with a sword by a Thracian soldier, whom he transfixed by driving his spear through his breast. That at length the Macedonians, being conquered, gave way, and that their leader himself, throwing away his arms, sought safety in a disgraceful flight. The Romans pursuing the fugitives had an easy descent, without any danger, to the plain. In this state of*

things Perseus was in perplexity as to what was necessary to be done, as he feared lest, now that a way through the pass had been opened, he should be hemmed in by the Romans. It was absolutely necessary that he should either retire to Pydna, and await the enemy there, so as to fight with less danger under the walls of a fortified city; or that, dispersing his forces through the cities of Macedonia, conveying the corn and cattle into more fortified places, and devastating the fields, he should leave the bare soil to the enemy. The mind of the king fluctuated irresolute between these two propositions: his friends, thinking that that which was the most honourable would also be the safer, advised him to try the fortune of a battle, alleging both that he was superior in the number of his soldiers, and that he ought surely to trust to that valour which, while it was natural to their minds, would be inflamed by the most powerful and sacred incitements to a valiant opposition which could act upon men;—their altars, their hearths, and their religious institutions, amidst which and for which they had to fight; their parents and their wives, and, lastly, their king himself observing them, and exposing himself to a share of the danger. Influenced by these suggestions, the king prepared himself for a battle, and when he had retired to Pydna, at once pitched his camp, drew up his army, and assigned to each of his leaders his position and duty, as if about to fight immediately after the march. The locality was of this kind; the plain was suited for the ranging of the phalanx, which requires an open and even space, not, however, such as that it could be easily moved forward; then there were continuous hills which afforded to the light-armed troops the means of retreating at one time, and at another of wheeling round. Two streams, the one of which the inhabitants called Œson, the other Leucus, though they flowed with but a scanty supply of water, yet seemed likely to occasion some trouble to the Romans. Æmilius, having united his forces with Nasica, set out directly against the enemy, but at the sight of their army, which was most effective both as to the number and the strength of the soldiers, and admirably drawn up and ranged for battle, he stopped, struck with awe, and revolving many considerations within himself.

36. *The season of the year*[1] was a little after the summer

[1] The above has been introduced to supply the place of a passage which has been lost from the original text.

solstice; the time of the day was approaching towards noon; and his march had been performed amidst great quantities of dust, and the increasing heat of the sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and both would certainly be aggravated by mid-day coming on. He resolved, therefore, not to expose his men in that condition to an enemy, fresh and in full vigour; but so great was the ardour for battle in the minds of both parties, that the general had occasion for as much art to elude the wishes of his own men, as those of the enemy. He urged the military tribunes to hasten the forming of the troops, went himself round the ranks, and with exhortations inflamed their courage for the fight. At first, they called to him for the signal briskly; but afterwards, as the heat increased, their looks became less lively, and their voices fainter, while many stood resting on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. He then, at length, openly ordered the foremost ranks to measure out the front of a camp, and store the baggage; on seeing which, some undisguisedly rejoiced that he had not compelled them to fight when they were wearied with marching and with the scorching heat. Immediately about the general were the lieutenants-general, and the commanders of the foreign troops; among others Attalus, who, when they thought that the consul intended to fight, (for even to them he did not disclose his intention of delaying,) had all approved the measure. On this sudden alteration of his plan, while the rest were silent, Nasica alone of them all ventured to advise the consul, not to let slip from his hands an enemy, who, by shunning a battle, had baffled former commanders. "There was reason to fear," he said, "that if he should march off in the night, he would have to be pursued with extreme toil and danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the troops must be led about, as under former generals, wandering through the glens and forests of the Macedonian mountains. He therefore earnestly recommended to attack the enemy while he had him in an open plain, and not to lose the opportunity of obtaining a victory, which now presented itself." The consul, not in the least offended at the frank advice of so illustrious a youth, answered: "Nasica, I once thought as you do now; hereafter you will come to think as I do. By the many chances of war, I have learned when it is proper to fight, when to abstain from fighting. It would

not be right in me, at present, standing at the head of the troops, to explain to you the causes that render it better to rest to-day. Ask my reasons some other time. At present you will acquiesce in the judgment of an old commander." The youth was silent, concluding that the consul certainly saw some objections to fighting, which did not appear to him.

37. Paullus, as soon as he saw the camp marked out, and the baggage laid up, drew off, first, the veterans from the rear line, then the first-rank men, while the spear-men stood in the front, lest the enemy might make any attempt; and lastly, the spear-men, beginning at the right wing, and leading them away, gradually, by single companies. Thus were the infantry drawn off without tumult; and, in the mean time, the cavalry and light infantry faced the enemy; nor were the cavalry recalled from their station, until the rampart and trench were finished. The king, though he was disposed to have given battle that day, was yet satisfied; since his men knew, that the delay was owing to the enemy: and he led back his troops to their station. When the camp had been thoroughly fortified, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune of the second legion, who had been prætor the year before, with the consul's permission collected the soldiers in assembly, and gave them notice, lest they should any of them consider the matter as a prodigy, that, "on the following night, the moon would be eclipsed, from the second hour to the fourth." He mentioned that, "as this happened in the course of nature, at stated times, it could be known, and foretold. As, therefore, they did not wonder at the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon, or at the moon's sometimes shining with a full orb, and sometimes in its wane, showing only small horns, so neither ought they to construe as a portent, its being obscured when covered with the shadow of the earth." When on the night preceding the day before the nones of September, at the hour mentioned, the eclipse took place, the Roman soldiers thought the wisdom of Gallus almost divine; but the Macedonians were shocked, as at a dismal prodigy, foreboding the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of their nation; nor did their soothsayers explain it otherwise. There was shouting and yelling in the camp of the Macedonians, until the moon emerged forth into its full light. Both armies had been so eager for an engagement, that, next day, both the

king and the consul were censured by many of their respective men for having separated without a battle. The king could readily excuse himself, not only as the enemy had led back his troops into camp, openly declining a battle; but, also, as he had posted his men on ground of such a nature, that the phalanx (which even a small inequality of surface renders useless) could not advance on it. The consul, besides appearing to have neglected an opportunity of fighting, and to have given the enemy room to go off in the night, if he were so inclined, was thought to waste time at the present, under pretence of offering sacrifice, though the signal had been displayed, at the first light, for going out to the field. At last, about the third hour, the sacrifices being duly performed, he summoned a council, and there, too, he was deemed by several to spin out, in talking and unseasonable consultation, the time that ought to be employed in action; after the conversation, however, the consul addressed to them the following speech.

38. "Publius Nasica, a youth of uncommon merit, was the only one of those who were for fighting yesterday, that disclosed his sentiments to me; and even he was afterwards silent, so that he seems to have come over to my opinion. Some others have thought proper, rather to carp at their general in his absence, than to offer advice in his presence. Now, I shall, without the least reluctance, make known to you, Publius Nasica, and to any who, with less openness, entertained the same opinion with you, my reasons for deferring an engagement. For, so far am I from being sorry for yesterday's inaction, that I am convinced that by that course I preserved the army. And if any of you think that I hold this opinion groundlessly, let him come forward, if he pleases, and take with me a review of how many things were favourable to the enemy and adverse to us. In the first place, how far they surpass us in numbers, I am sure not one of you was at any time ignorant; and yesterday, I am convinced that you must have observed it, when you saw their line drawn out. Of our small force, a fourth part had been left to guard the baggage; and you know that they are not the worst of the soldiers who are left in custody of the baggage. But suppose we were all here, can we believe it a matter of little moment, that, with the blessing of the gods, we shall this day, if judged proper, or tomorrow at farthest, march to battle out of this our own camp,

where we have lodged last night? Is there no difference, whether you order a soldier to take arms in his own tent, when he has not suffered any fatigue on that day, either from a long march or laborious work; after he has enjoyed his natural rest, and is fresh; so as to lead him into the field vigorous both in body and mind; or whether, when he is wearied by such a march, or fatigued with carrying a load; while he is wet with sweat, and while his throat is parched with thirst, and his mouth and eyes filled with dust, you oppose him, under a scorching noon-day sun, to an enemy who has had full repose, and who brings into the battle his strength unimpaired by any previous circumstance? Is there, in the name of the gods, any one so dastardly, that, if matched in this manner, he would not overcome the bravest man? We must consider, that the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line of battle; had recruited their spirits, and were standing in regular order; whereas we must have formed our line in hurry and confusion, and have engaged before it was completed.

39. "We should then confessedly have an irregular and disorderly line, but should we have had a camp fortified, a watering-place provided, and the passage to it secured by troops, and all the country round reconnoitred; or should we have been without any one spot of our own, except the naked field on which we fought? Your fathers considered a fortified camp as a harbour of safety in all the emergencies of an army; out of which they were to march to battle, and in which, after being tossed in the storm of the fight, they had a safe retreat. For that reason, besides enclosing it with works, they strengthened it further with a numerous guard; for any general who lost his camp, though he should have been victorious in the field, yet was deemed vanquished. A camp is a residence for the victorious, a refuge for the conquered. How many armies, to whom the fortune of the fight has been adverse, when driven within their ramparts, have, at their own time, and sometimes the next moment, sallied out and defeated their victors! This military settlement is another native country to every soldier: the rampart is as the wall of his city, and his own tent his habitation and his home. Should we have fought while in that unsettled state, and without quarters prepared, to which, even if victorious, we might retire? In

opposition to these considerations of the difficulties and impediments to the fighting at that time, one argument is urged: What if the enemy had marched off in the course of last night? What immense fatigue, it is observed, must have been undergone in pursuing him to the remotest parts of Macedonia! But, for my part, I take it as a certainty, that if he had had any intention of retreating, he would neither have waited, nor drawn out his troops to battle. For, how much more easily could he have gone off while we were at a great distance, than now, when we are close behind him! Nor could he escape observation in departing either by day or by night. What could be more desirable to us, who were obliged to attack their camp, defended as it was by a very high bank of a river, and enclosed likewise with a rampart and a number of towers, than that they should quit their fortifications, and, marching off with haste, give us an opportunity of attacking their rear in an open plain? These were the reasons for deferring a battle from yesterday to this day. For I am myself also inclined to fight; and for that reason, as the way to come at the enemy over the river Enipeus was stopped, I have opened a new way, by dislodging the enemy's guards from another pass. Nor will I rest until I shall have brought the war to a conclusion."

40. Silence ensued after this address; for some were convinced by his arguments, and the rest were fearful of giving offence needlessly in a matter which, from whatever cause overlooked, could not now be regained. Even on that day, neither the king nor the consul was desirous of engaging; not the king, because he was not going, as on the day before, to attack men who were fatigued after their march, were hurried in forming their line, and not completely marshalled; nor the consul, because, in his new camp, no collection was yet made of wood or forage, to bring which from the adjacent country a great number of his men had gone forth from the camp. Still fortune, whose power prevails over all human schemes, brought about a battle. Nearer to the enemy's camp was a river, not very large, from which both parties supplied themselves with water; and that this might be done with safety, guards were stationed on each bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, a Marrucinian and a Pelignian, with two troops of Samnite horse, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Marcus Sergius Silus; and in the front of the camp

there was posted another guard, under Caius Cluvius, lieutenant-general, composed of three cohorts, a Firmian, a Vestinian, and a Cremonian; besides two troops of horse, a Placentine and an Æsernian. While there was quiet at the river, neither party making an attack; about the ninth hour, a horse, breaking loose from those who had the care of him, ran off towards the farther bank, and three Roman soldiers followed him through the water, which was about as high as their knees. At the same time two Thracians endeavoured to bring the horse from the middle of the channel to their own bank; but one of these having been slain, and the horse having been recovered, they retired to their post. On the enemy's bank there was a body of eight hundred Thracians, of whom a few, at first enraged at their countryman being killed before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of his slayers; in a little time some more, and at last all of them, and engaged with the guard which defended the bank on the Roman side. Some authors say, that by the command of Paullus, the horse was driven without a bridle to the enemy's side, and men sent to bring him back, in order that the enemy might first provoke the conflict. For when favourable auspices were not obtained by the first twenty victims, at length the haruspices declared, "that the entrails of the twenty-first portended victory to the Romans, provided they acted only upon the defensive, without striking the first blow." However, whether by the design of the leader or by accident, the battle was certainly brought about from this commencement, and, in a short time, was so augmented by party after party on both sides flying to carry succour to their comrades, that the commanders were compelled to come down to a general decision of the contest; for Æmilius, on hearing the tumult, came forth from his tent, and when it seemed neither easy nor safe to recall or stop the impetuosity of those who were rushing to arms, he thought it best to avail himself of the ardour of the soldiers, and to turn an accident into an opportunity. He therefore led out his forces from the camp, and riding among their ranks exhorted them to enter upon the contest they had so greatly desired with corresponding ardour. At the same time Nasica, having been sent forward to reconnoitre what was the position of affairs amongst those who were engaged in the commencing conflict, announced that Perseus was approaching with his

army in battle-array. First marched the Thracians, men of fierce countenance and tall of stature, and protected on their left side by bucklers which shone with remarkable brightness. A black cloak covered both shoulders, and on their right they brandished from time to time a sword of enormous weight. Next to the Thracians stood the hired auxiliaries, their armour and costume differing according to their respective nations; and among these were some Pæonians. Next came a band of the Macedonians themselves, which they called the phalanx of the Leucaspides. A few selected for their strength and valour were more conspicuous, shining in gilded armour and scarlet cloaks: this was the middle of the army. These were succeeded by those whom they called Chalcaspides, from their brazen and glittering bucklers. This phalanx was placed next to the other on the right wing. Besides these two phalanxes, which constituted the chief strength of the Macedonian army, the targeteers, who were also Macedonians, and carried pikes like those of the phalanx, but in other respects more lightly armed, were distributed on the wings advanced, and projecting beyond the rest of the line. The plain was illuminated with the brightness of their arms, the neighbouring hills echoed with their shouts, as they mutually cheered each other on. Such was the swiftness and boldness of all these forces as they came out to the fight, that those who were first slain fell at two hundred and fifty paces from the Roman camp. Meanwhile Æmilius advanced, and when he saw not only the other Macedonians, but those who constituted the phalanx, some with their bucklers, and some with their targets removed from their shoulders, and with their pikes inclined in one direction receiving the attack of the Romans, admiring the firmness of the serried ranks, and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes, he was smitten at once with astonishment and terror, as if he had never seen so fearful a spectacle, and was afterwards in the habit of frequently referring to it, and making this statement respecting himself. Carefully concealing however at the time the agitation of his troubled mind, he with serene countenance and careless aspect, and with his head and body undefended, drew up his line. The Pelignians were now fighting against the targeteers, who were ranged opposite to them, and when, after long and laborious efforts, they were unable to break through

that compact array, Salius, who was commanding the Pelignians, seized a standard and threw it among the enemy. On this a prodigious conflict was excited, whilst on the one side the Pelignians strove with all their might to recover the standard, the Macedonians on the other to retain possession of it. The former strove either to cut through the long spears of the Macedonians, or to repel them with the bosses of their bucklers, or in some instances to turn them aside even with their naked hands, while the latter drove them firmly grasped with both hands with such force against the enemy, who rushed on with rash and heedless fury, that, penetrating shields and bucklers, they overthrew the men transfixed in like manner. The first ranks of the Pelignians having been thus defeated, those who stood behind them were also cut down, and the rest retreated towards the mountain which the inhabitants call Mount Olocrus, though not yet in open flight. On this the grief of Æmilius burst forth, so that he even rent his robe with mortification, for in other places as well he saw that his men were hanging back and approaching with timidity that hedge of steel, as it were, with which the Macedonian line bristled in every part. But that skilful general observed that this conjunction of the foe was not every where close, but that here and there it opened with little interstices, either on account of the unevenness of the ground, or on account of the very length of its front, which was immensely extended, while those who attempted to occupy higher ground were necessarily, though unwillingly, separated from those who occupied lower positions, or those who were slower from those who were faster, and those who advanced from those who held back, and lastly, those who pressed upon the enemy from those who were repulsed. In order, therefore, entirely to break the ranks of the enemy, and to distribute the irresistible attack of the entire phalanx into a number of separate conflicts, he commanded his men, that wherever they should see the line of the enemy present openings, they should individually rush to those spots, and insinuating themselves like a wedge into such spaces, however narrow their extent, they should fight with impetuosity. This order having been issued and spread through the whole army, he led on in person one of the legions to the battle.

41. The troops were impressed by the high dignity of his office, the personal renown of the man, and, above all, by his

age: for, though more than sixty years old, he discharged the duties of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and danger. His legion filled up the space between the targeteers and the phalanxes, and thus disunited the enemy's line. Behind him were the targeteers, and his front faced the shielded phalanx of Chalcaspides. Lucius Albinus, a man of consular rank, was ordered to lead on the second legion against the phalanx of the Leucaspides, which formed the centre of the enemy's line. On the right wing, where the fight began, at the river, he brought forward the elephants, with the cohorts of allied cavalry; and from this quarter the retreat of the Macedonians first began. For as new contrivances generally make an important figure in the words of men, but on being put in practice ofttimes prove vain and ineffectual, so on that occasion the elephants in the line of battle were a mere name, without the least use. Their attack was followed by the Latin allies, who forced the enemy's left wing to give way. In the centre, the second legion charged and dispersed the phalanx; nor was there any more evident cause of the victory, than there being many distinct fights, which first disordered that body, when it wavered, and at last quite broke it. Its force, while it is compact and bristling with extended spears, is irresistible; but if, by attacking them separately, you force them to turn about their spears, which, on account of their length and weight, are unwieldy, they are mingled in a confused mass; and, if any disorder arises on the flank or rear, they fall into irretrievable disorder. Thus, now, they were obliged to oppose the Romans in small parties, and with their own line broken into numerous divisions; and the Romans, when any opening was made, worked themselves into their ranks. But had they advanced with their entire line, straight against the phalanx when in its regular order, just as happened to the Pelignians, who, in the beginning of the battle, incautiously engaged the targeteers; they would have impaled themselves on the spears, and would have been unable to withstand such a firm body.

42. But though a massacre was made of the infantry on all sides, except those who threw away their arms and fled, the cavalry quitted the field with scarcely any loss. The king himself was the first in flight. With the sacred squadrons of horse he took the road to Pella, and was quickly followed by

Cotys and the Odrysian cavalry. The other wings of the Macedonians, likewise, went off with full ranks: because, as the line of infantry stood in the way, the slaughter of them detained the conquerors, and made them careless of pursuing the cavalry. For a long time, the men of the phalanx were cut off, in front, on the flanks, and on the rear; at last, such as could avoid the enemy's hands, fled unarmed towards the sea; some even ran into the water, and, stretching out their hands to those on board the fleet, humbly begged their lives. And when they saw boats coming from all the ships, supposing that they were coming to take them in rather than to slay them, advanced farther into the water, so that some of them even swam. But, when they were cut to pieces as enemies by the boats, such as were able regained the land by swimming back, where they met with a more dreadful death; for the elephants, which their riders had driven down to the shore, trod them under foot, and crushed them in pieces. It was generally acknowledged, that the Macedonians never lost so great a number of men in any battle with the Romans; for their killed amounted to twenty thousand; six thousand, who made their escape from the field to Pydna, fell alive into the hands of the Romans, and five thousand were taken straggling through the country. Of the victorious army there fell not more than one hundred, the greater part of whom were Pelignians; but a much greater number were wounded. If the battle had been begun earlier, so that the conquerors might have had daylight enough for a pursuit, all their troops must have been utterly destroyed. As it happened, the approach of night both screened the fugitives, and made the Romans unwilling to follow them through an unknown country.

43. Perseus fled as far as the Pierian wood, with a military appearance, being attended by a numerous body of horse, together with his royal retinue; but when he came into the thicket, where there were numerous paths in different directions, and when darkness came on, he turned out of the main path with a very few, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The horsemen, abandoned by their leader, dispersed, in different directions, to their respective homes; some of whom made their way to Pella, quicker than Perseus himself, because they went by the straight and open road. The king was hindered by his fears and the many difficulties of

the way, till near midnight. Perseus was met at the palace by Euctus, governor of Pella, and the royal pages; but of all his friends who had escaped from the battle by various chances, and had reached Pella, not one would come near him, though they were repeatedly sent for. Only three persons accompanied him in his flight; Evander a Cretan, Neo a Bœotian, and Archidamus an Ætolian. With these he continued his retreat, at the fourth watch; for he began to fear, lest those who had refused to obey his summons, might, presently, attempt something more audacious. He had an escort of about five hundred Cretans. He took the road to Amphipolis; leaving Pella in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axius before daylight, as he thought that it, from the difficulty of passing it, would put an end to the further pursuit of the Romans.

44. The consul, when he returned victorious to his camp, to mar his entire joy, was much distressed by concern for his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who afterwards acquired the title of Africanus by the destruction of Carthage. He was, by birth, the son of the consul Paullus, and by adoption, the grandson of the elder Africanus. He was then only in the seventeenth year of his age, which circumstance heightened his father's anxiety; for, pursuing the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried away by the crowd to a distant part. But when he returned late in the evening, the consul, having received his son in safety, felt unmixed joy for the very important victory. When the news of the battle reached Amphipolis, the matrons ran together to the temple of Diana, whom they style Tauropolos, to implore her aid. Diodorus, who was governor of the city, fearing lest the Thracians, of whom there were two thousand in garrison, might, during the confusion, plunder the city, contrived to receive in the middle of the forum a letter through a person whom he had deceitfully suborned to personate a courier. The contents of it were, that "the Romans had put in their fleet at Emathia, and were ravaging the territory round; and that the governors of Emathia besought him to send a reinforcement to oppose the ravagers." After reading this, he desired the Thracians to march to the relief of the coast of Emathia, telling them, as an encouragement, that the Romans being dispersed through the country, they might easily kill many of them, and gain a large booty. At the same time he threw discredit on the

report of the defeat, alleging that, if it were true, many would have come thither direct from the retreat. Having, on this pretence, sent the Thracians out of the town, he no sooner saw them pass the river Strymon, than he shut the gates.

45. On the third day after the battle, Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and sent thence to Paullus suppliant ambassadors, with the wand of peace. In the mean time, Hippias Medon, and Pantauchus, the principal friends of the king, went themselves to the consul, and surrendered to the Romans the city of Berœa, to which they had fled after the battle; and several other cities, struck with fear, prepared to do the same. The consul despatched to Rome, with letters and the news of his victory, his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus. He gave to his infantry the spoils of the enemy who were slain, and to his cavalry the plunder of the circumjacent country, provided, however, that they did not stay out of the camp longer than two nights. He himself then removed nearer the sea towards Pydna. Berœa, Thessalonica, and Pella, and indeed almost every city in Macedonia, successively surrendered within two days. The inhabitants of Pydna, which was the nearest, had not yet sent any ambassadors; the confused multitude, made up of many different nations, with the numbers who had been driven into one place in their flight from the battle, embarrassed the counsels and unanimity of the inhabitants; the gates, too, were not only shut, but closed up with walls. Milo and Pantauchus were sent to confer, under the wall, with Solon, who commanded in the place. By his means the crowd of military people were sent away, and the town was surrendered and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Perseus, after making a single effort to procure the assistance of the Basaltians, to whom he had sent ambassadors in vain, came forth into a general assembly, bringing with him his son Philip, in order to encourage the Amphipolitans themselves, and to raise the spirits of those horse and foot soldiers who had either constantly accompanied him, or had happened to fly to the same place. But, though he made several attempts to speak, he was always stopped by his tears; so that, finding himself unable to proceed, he told Evander, the Cretan, what he wished to have laid before the people, and came down from the tribunal. Although the multitude, on observing the aspect of the king, and his pitiable

weeping, had themselves sighed and wept with him, yet they refused to listen to the discourse of Evander; and some, from the middle of the assembly, had the assurance to interrupt him, exclaiming, "Depart to some other place, that the few of us who are left alive may not be destroyed on your account." Their daring opposition stopped Evander's mouth. The king retired to his palace; and, causing his treasures to be put on board some barks which lay in the Strymon, went down himself to the river. The Thracians would not venture to trust themselves on board, but went off to their own homes, as did the rest of the soldiers. The Cretans only followed in hope of the money: but, as any distribution of it among them would probably raise more discontent than gratitude, fifty talents[1] were laid for them on the bank, to be scrambled for. After this scramble they went on board, yet in such hurry and disorder, that they sunk one of the barks, which was swamped by numbers in the mouth of the river. They arrived that day at Galepsus, and the next at Samothrace, to which they were bound. Thither it is said that as many as two thousand talents[2] were conveyed.

46. Paullus sent officers to hold the government of the several cities which had surrendered; lest, at a time when peace was but newly restored, the conquered might suffer any ill treatment. He detained with himself the ambassadors of Perseus; and, being uninformed of the flight of the king, detached Publius Nasica, with a small party of horse and foot, to Amphipolis, both that he might lay waste the country of Sintice, and be ready to obstruct every effort of the king. In the mean time, Melibœa was taken and sacked by Cneius Octavius. At Æginium, to which Cneius Anicius, a lieutenant-general, had been despatched, two hundred men were lost by a sally made from the town; the Æginians not being aware that the war was at an end. The consul, quitting Pydna, arrived with his whole army, on the second day, at Pella; and, pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from it, remained in that station for several days, reconnoitring on all sides the situation of the city; and he perceived that it was chosen to be the capital of the kingdom, not without good reason. It stands on a hill which faces the south-west, and is surrounded by morasses,

[1] 9687*l.* 10*s.* [2] 387,480*l.*

formed by stagnant waters from the adjacent lakes, so deep as to be impassable either in winter or summer. In the part of the morass nearest to the city the citadel rises up like an island, being built on a mound of earth formed with immense labour, so as to be capable of supporting the wall, and secure against any injury from the water of the surrounding marsh. At a distance it seems to join the city rampart, but is divided from it by a river, and united by a bridge; so that if externally invaded it has no access from any part, and if the king chooses to confine any person within it, there is no way for an escape except by that bridge, which can be guarded with great ease. This was the depository of the royal treasure; but, at that time, there was nothing found there but the three hundred talents which had been sent to king Gentius, and afterwards brought back. While they were stationed at Pella, audience was given to a great number of embassies, which came with congratulations, especially out of Thessaly. Then, receiving intelligence that Perseus had passed over to Samothrace, the consul departed from Pella, and after four days' march, arrived at Amphipolis. Here the whole multitude poured out of the town to meet him; a plain demonstration that the people considered themselves not as *bereft of a good and just king, but as delivered from a haughty tyrant. Paullus having entered the city while engaged in religious services, and performing a solemn sacrifice, the altar was suddenly kindled by lightning, while all considered the event to signify that the offerings of the consul were most acceptable to the gods, since they were consecrated by fire from heaven. The consul, after a short delay at Amphipolis, proceeded at once in pursuit of Perseus, and also that he might carry his victorious arms round to all the nations which had been under his sway, made for the province of Odomantice, a region beyond the river Strymon, and encamped at Siræ.*

BOOK XLV.

Perseus was captured by Æmilius Paulus in Samothrace. When Antiochus, king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, and ambassadors were sent to him by the senate, to order him to desist from besieging a king in alliance with Rome, on his being informed of the mandates of the senate, he answered, that he would consider what line of conduct he should adopt. Then Popilius, one of the ambassadors, described, with his wand, a circle around the king, and ordered him to give a decided answer before he passed it. By which decided conduct he compelled the king to desist from the war. The embassies of the nations and king, that came to congratulate the Romans, were admitted into the senate-house, with the exception of the embassy from the Rhodians, which was excluded because their feelings in that war were opposed to the Roman people. The next day, when the question was put "that war should be proclaimed against them," the Rhodian ambassadors pleaded the cause of their country before the senate, and were dismissed in a manner that rendered it uncertain whether they were looked on as enemies or allies. Macedon was reduced to the form of a Roman province. Æmilius Paulus triumphed; although his own soldiers opposed him, because they were dissatisfied with their share of the plunder, and Servius Sulpicius Galba spoke against him: Perseus and his three sons preceded his triumphal chariot. Still the joy of this triumph was not unmingled, for it was rendered remarkable by the death of his two sons: one of whom died before his father's triumph; the death of the other speedily followed. The ceremony of the conclusion of the census was performed by the censors. Three hundred and twelve thousand eight hundred and five citizens were enrolled. Prusias, king of Bithynia, came to Rome, to congratulate the senate on the victory gained over Macedon; and committed his son Nicomedes to the charge of the senate: being full of servility, he called himself the freed-man of the Roman people.

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1. ALTHOUGH Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, who were sent with the news of the victory, made all possible haste to Rome, yet they found rejoicings for that event anticipated there. The fourth day after the battle with Perseus, while games were exhibiting in the circus, a faint rumour spread itself suddenly among the people through

all the seats, "that a battle had been fought in Macedon, and that the king was entirely defeated." The rumour gathered strength, until at last arose shouting and clapping of hands, as if certain tidings of victory were brought to them. The magistrates were surprised, and caused inquiry to be made for the originator of this sudden rejoicing; but as none was found, the joy of course vanished, since the matter was uncertain; yet the prestige of conquest still remained impressed on their minds; and when, on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, the fact was established by authentic information, they rejoiced on a twofold account,—on that of the victory, and their happy presage of it. This exultation in the circus is related in another manner, with equal appearance of probability: that on the fifteenth day before the calends of October, being the second day of the Roman games, as the consul Licinius was going down to give the signal for the race, a courier, who said he came from Macedon, delivered to him a letter decorated with laurel. As soon as he had started the chariots, he mounted his own, and as he rode back through the circus to the seats of the magistrates, showed to the people the embellished tablets, at the sight of which the multitude, regardless of the games, ran down at once into the middle of the area. The consul held a meeting of the senate on the spot; and after reading the letter to them, by their direction told the people, before the seats of the magistrates, that "his colleague, Lucius Æmilius, had fought a general engagement with Perseus; that the Macedonian army was beaten and put to flight; that the king had fled with few attendants; and that all the states of Macedon had submitted to the Romans." On hearing this, a universal shouting and clapping of hands arose among the commons; and most of them, leaving the games, hastened home to communicate the joyful tidings to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle was fought in Macedon.

2. On the following day a meeting of the senate was held in the council-chamber, and a general supplication was voted, and likewise a decree of the senate was passed, that the consul should disband all his troops, excepting the legionary soldiers and seamen; and that their disbandment should be taken into consideration as soon as the deputies from the consul Æmilius, who had sent forward the courier, should

arrive in town. On the sixth day before the calends of October, about the second hour, the deputies came into the city, and proceeded directly to the tribunal in the forum. drawing after them, wherever they went, an immense crowd, composed of those who went forth to meet and escort them. The senate happened to be then in the council-chamber, and the consul introduced the deputies to them. They were detained there no longer than to give an account, "how very numerous the king's forces of horse and foot had been; how many thousands of them were killed, how many taken; with what small loss of men the Romans had made such havoc of the enemy, and with how small a retinue Perseus had fled; that it was supposed he would go to Samothrace, and that the fleet was ready to pursue him; so that he could not escape, either by sea or land." They were then brought out into the assembly of the people, where they repeated the same particulars, and the general joy was renewed in such a degree, that no sooner had the consul published an order, "that all the places of worship should be opened," than every one proceeded, with as much speed as he could use, to return thanks to the gods, and the temples of the immortal gods, throughout the entire city, were filled with vast crowds, not only of men, but of women. The senate, being re-assembled, ordered thanksgivings in all the temples, during five days, for the glorious successes obtained by the consul Lucius Æmilius, with sacrifices of the larger kinds of victims. They also voted that the ships, which lay in the Tiber fit for sea, and ready to sail for Macedon, in case the king had been able to maintain the contest, should be hauled up, and placed in the docks, and that the seamen belonging to them should be discharged, after receiving a year's pay; and, together with these, all who had taken the military oath to the consul; that all the soldiers in Corcyra and Brundusium, on the coast of the Hadriatic and in the territory of Larinum, (for in all these places had troops been cantoned, in order that the consul Licinius might, if occasion required, take them over to reinforce his colleague,) should be disbanded. The thanksgiving was fixed, by proclamation in the assembly, for the fifth day before the ides of October, and the five days following.

3. Two deputies, Caius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius, arriving from Illyria, brought intelligence that the army of

the Illyrians was defeated, their king, Gentius, taken prisoner, and all Illyria reduced under the dominion of the Roman people. On account of these services, under the conduct and auspices of the prætor, Lucius Anicius, the senate voted a supplication of three days' continuance, and it was accordingly appointed, by proclamation, to be performed on the fourth, third, and second days before the ides of November. Some writers tell us that the Rhodian ambassadors, who had not yet been dismissed, were, when the news of the victory was received, called before the senate in order to expose their absurd arrogance. On this occasion, Agesipolis, their principal, spoke to this effect: that "they had been sent by the Rhodians to effect an accommodation between the Romans and Perseus; because the war subsisting between them was injurious and burdensome to all Greece, and expensive and detrimental to the Romans themselves; but that fortune had acted very kindly, since, by terminating the war after another manner, it afforded them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on a glorious victory." This was the discourse of the Rhodians. The senate returned the following answer: that "the Rhodians had sent that embassy, not through anxiety for the interests of Greece, or for the expenses of the Roman people, but merely from their wish to serve Perseus. For, if their concern had been such as they pretended, they should have sent ambassadors at the time when Perseus, leading an army into Thessaly, had continued, for two years, to besiege some of the cities of Greece, and to terrify others with denunciations of vengeance. All this time not the least mention of peace was made by the Rhodians; but when they heard that the Romans had passed the defiles, and penetrated into Macedon, and that Perseus was held enclosed by them, then they sent an embassy, from no other motive whatever, but a wish to rescue Perseus from the impending danger." With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed.

4. About the same time Marcus Marcellus, coming home from Spain, where he had taken Marcolica, a city of note, brought into the treasury ten pounds' weight of gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting to a million of sesterces.[1] While the consul, Paullus Æmilius, lay encamped at Siræ, in Odomantice, as mentioned above, a letter from king Perseus

[1] 8072*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

was brought to him by three ambassadors of mean appearance, and it is reported that he, on looking at them, shed tears at the uncertainty of the lot of man; because he who, a short time before, not content with the kingdom of Macedon, had invaded Dardania and Illyria, and had called out to his aid the whole Bastarnian nation, now banished from his kingdom after the loss of his army, was forced to take refuge in a little island, where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the place, not by any strength of his own. But when he read the address, "King Perseus to the consul Paullus, greeting," the folly of a man, who seemed insensible to his condition, banished every feeling of compassion; therefore, although there were, in the remaining part of the letter, entreaties ill suited to royalty, yet the embassy was dismissed without an answer and without a letter. Perseus felt that he must, now that he was conquered, forego the name of king, and consequently sent another letter, inscribed simply with his name, in which he made a request, and obtained it too, that some persons should be sent to him, with whom he might confer on the state and condition of his affairs. Three ambassadors were accordingly despatched, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius; but nothing was effected by this embassy, for Perseus clung with all the energy of despair to the regal title, while Paullus insisted on an absolute submission of himself, and every thing belonging to him, to the honour and clemency of the Roman people.

5. Whilst these things are going on, the fleet of Cneius Octavius put in at Samothrace. When he also, by presenting immediate danger to Perseus's view, was endeavouring at one time by menaces, at another by hopes, to prevail on him to surrender; in this design he was greatly assisted by a circumstance which may have occurred either by accident or design. Lucius Atilius, a distinguished young man, observing that the people of Samothrace were met in a general assembly, requested permission of the magistrate to address a few words to them; which being granted, he said,—"People of Samothrace, our good hosts; is the account which we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred, and the entire soil holy and inviolable?" They all agreed in asserting the supposed sanctity of the place; whereupon he proceeded thus: "Why,

then, has a murderer, stained with the blood of king Eumenes, presumed to profane it? And though, previous to every sacrifice, a proclamation forbids all who have not pure hands to assist at the sacred rites, will you, nevertheless, suffer your holy places to be polluted by an assassin who bears the mark of blood on his person?" The story of king Eumenes having been nearly murdered by Evander at Delphi, was now well known by report through all the cities of Greece. The Samothracians, therefore, besides the consideration of their being themselves, as well as the temple and the whole island, in the power of the Romans, were convinced that the censure thrown on them was not unjust, and therefore sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, whom they style king, to Perseus, to acquaint him, that "Evander the Cretan was accused of murder; that they had a mode of trial established among them, by the practice of their ancestors, concerning such as were charged with bringing impure hands into the consecrated precincts of the temple. If Evander was confident that he was innocent of the capital charge made against him, let him come forth, and stand a trial; but, if he would not venture to undergo an inquiry, let him free the temple from profanation, and provide for his own safety." Perseus, calling Evander aside, advised him not on any account to stand a trial, because he was no match for his accusers, either in the merits of the cause, or in influence. He had secret apprehensions that Evander, on being condemned, would expose him, as the instigator of that abominable act. "What then remained," he said, "but to die bravely?" Evander made, openly, no objection; but telling the king that he chose to die by poison rather than by the sword, took measures in secret for effecting his escape. When this was told the king, fearing lest he should direct the anger of the Samothracians against himself as accessory to the escape of a guilty person, he ordered Evander to be put to death. No sooner was this rash murder perpetrated, than the idea immediately struck his mind that he had now drawn on himself the whole of the guilt, which before had affected Evander only; that the latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, and he had slain Evander in Samothrace; and thus the two most venerable sanctuaries in the world had, through his means alone, been defiled with human blood.

However, he avoided the imputation of this deed, by bribing Theondas to tell the people that Evander had laid violent hands on himself.

6. But by such an atrocious act, committed on his only remaining friend, on one whose fidelity he had experienced on so many trying occasions, and who, in return for not proving a traitor, was himself betrayed, he alienated the feelings of every one. All went over to the Romans as soon as they could, and consequently obliged him, now left almost alone, to adopt the design of flying. He applied to a Cretan, called Oroandes, to whom the coast of Thrace was well known, since he carried on traffic in that country, to take him on board his vessel, and convey him to Cotys. At one of the promontories of Samothrace, is the harbour of Demetrium; there the vessel lay. About sun-set every thing necessary for the voyage was carried thither, together with as much money as could be transported with secrecy; and at midnight, the king himself, with three persons, who were privy to his flight, going out through a back door into a garden near his chamber, and having, with much difficulty, climbed over the wall, went down to the shore. Oroandes had set sail, at the dusk of the evening, the very moment the money arrived, and was now steering for Crete. Perseus, after he could not find the ship in the harbour, wandered about for a long time on the coast, but at last, fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, he hid himself in a dark corner at one side of the temple. The royal pages was the name given among the Macedonians to a band of the children of the leading noblemen, who were selected to wait on the king: this band had accompanied Perseus in his flight, and did not even now desert him, until a proclamation was made by the herald of Cneius Octavius, that, "if the royal pages, and other Macedonians, then in Samothrace, would come over to the Romans, they should have impunity, liberty, and all their property, both what they had in the island, and what they had left in Macedon." On this notice they all passed over to the Romans, and gave in their names to Caius Postumius, a military tribune. Ion of Thessalonica delivered up to Octavius the king's younger children also; nor was any one now left with Perseus, except Philip, his eldest son. Then, after uttering many execrations against fortune, and the gods to whom the temple belonged,

for not affording aid to a suppliant, he surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, who gave orders to put him on board the prætor's ship; the remainder of his money was put on board the same ship; and the fleet immediately returned to Amphipolis. Thence Octavius sent the king into the camp to the consul, having previously sent forward a letter to inform him that he was a prisoner, and on the road thither.

7. Paullus, considering this a second victory, as it really was, offered sacrifices on receiving the intelligence; then, calling a council, and reading to them the prætor's letter, he sent Quintus Ælius Tubero to meet the king; the rest he desired to remain assembled in the prætorium. Never, on any other occasion, did so great a multitude gather about a spectacle. In the time of their fathers, king Syphax had been made prisoner, and brought into the Roman camp; but, besides that he could not be compared with Perseus, either in respect of his own reputation or that of his country, he was at the time merely a subordinate party in the Carthaginian war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian. Whereas Perseus was the principal in this war; and was not only highly conspicuous through his own personal renown, and that of his father, grandfather, and other relations in blood and extraction, but of these, two shone with unparalleled lustre,—Philip, and Alexander the Great, who made the empire of the Macedonians the first in the world. Perseus came into the camp, dressed in mourning, unattended by any of his countrymen, except his own son, who being a sharer in the calamity, made him more wretched. He could not advance on account of the number of persons that had collected to see him, until the lictors were sent by the consul, and they, after clearing the way, opened a passage to the prætorium. The consul arose to do him honour, but ordered the rest to keep their seats, and, advancing a little, held out his right hand to the king, on his entrance; and raised him up when he endeavoured to throw himself at his feet: nor would he suffer him to embrace his knees, but led him into the tent, and desired him to sit on the side opposite to the officers assembled in council.

8. The first question asked Perseus was, "by what injuries had he been compelled to enter into a war against the Roman people with such violent animosity, and to bring himself and his kingdom to the extremity of danger?" While all expected

his answer, fixing his eyes on the ground, he wept a long time in silence. The consul, again addressing him, said, "If you had succeeded to the government in early youth, I should have wondered less at your not being sensible of the great importance of the friendship, or enmity, of the Roman people: but that was not the case, as you bore a part in the war which your father waged with us, and, afterwards, must have remembered the peace which we observed towards him with the strictest sincerity. What then was your design in preferring war to peace, with those, whose power in war, and whose good faith in peace, you had so fully experienced?" Neither questions nor reproaches could draw an answer from him: on which the consul added, "Howsoever these things may have occurred, whether through the frailty of mankind, or accident, or necessity, be of good spirits. The clemency of the Roman people, displayed in the distress of numerous kings and nations, affords you not only hope, but almost perfect confidence of safety." This he said in the Greek language to Perseus; and then, turning to his own people, he said, in the Latin tongue, "You observe this striking instance of the instability of human affairs. To you, young men, principally, I address the observation. In the hour of prosperity, therefore, we ought to adopt against no man measures dictated by either pride or violence, nor confide implicitly in present advantages; since we know not what the evening may produce. He is really a man, whose spirit neither prosperity can elate by success, nor adversity break by misfortune." On the dismissal of the council, the charge of guarding the king is given to Quintus Ælius. Perseus was invited to dine that day with the consul, and every other honour, which could be shown him under existing circumstances, was paid to him.

9. The troops were immediately sent off to their winter cantonments. Amphipolis furnished the greater part with quarters, and the towns in that neighbourhood received the rest. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had lasted, without intermission, four years; and thus ended a kingdom, long renowned through a great part of Europe, and throughout all Asia. From Caranus, who was their first king, they reckoned Perseus the fortieth. Perseus came to the crown in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, received the title of king from the senate in

that of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, and reigned eleven years. The Macedonians were little known by fame until the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas; although the empire began to increase in his time, and through his agency, still it was confined within the limits of Europe, extending over all Greece, with a part of Thrace, and Illyria. Afterwards the power of Macedon poured down like a deluge on Asia, and in the course of the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, reduced under its dominion that almost immense tract which had constituted the empire of the Persians. Hence it overspread the Arabias and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth. At that time their empire and name were the first in the world; but on the death of Alexander, it was torn asunder into a number of kingdoms, whilst his successors, in the general scramble for power, dismembered it by their struggles. From the time of its highest elevation to this its final downfal, it stood one hundred and fifty years.

10. When the news of the victory, obtained by the Romans, was carried into Asia, Antenor, who lay with a fleet of small vessels at Phanæ, sailed over to Cassandrea. Caius Popilius, who staid at Delos to protect the ships bound to Macedon, learning that the war there was at an end, and that the enemy's fleet had left its station, sent home the Athenian squadron, and proceeded on his voyage for Egypt, to finish the business of the embassy with which he was charged, in order that he might meet Antiochus before he should approach the walls of Alexandria. When the ambassadors, after sailing along the coast of Asia, arrived at Loryma, a port somewhat more than twenty miles from Rhodes, and just opposite to that city, some of the principal Rhodians (for the news of the victory had by this time reached them too) met them, and requested them "to sail over to their city; that it was of the utmost consequence to the character and safety of the Rhodian state that they should, in person, inform themselves of what had been done, and what was then passing at Rhodes; so as to carry to Rome intelligence, founded on their own knowledge, and not on vague reports." After refusing for a long time, they were at length prevailed on to submit to a short delay of their voyage, for the sake of the safety of an allied city. When they came to Rhodes, the same persons, by urgent entreaties, persuaded

them to come into a general assembly. The arrival of the ambassadors rather heightened, than allayed, the fears of the public. For Popilius enumerated all the hostile expressions and actions, both of the community and of individuals, during the war: and, being naturally of an austere temper, he magnified the atrociousness of the matters which he mentioned, by the sternness of his countenance, and the harshness of his tone of voice; so that, as he had no cause of personal quarrel with their state, people judged from the severity of one Roman senator, what was the feeling of the whole senate towards them. The speech of Caius Decimius was more moderate; for he said, "that in most of the particulars mentioned by Popilius, the blame lay, not on the nation, but on a few incendiary ringleaders of the populace, who, employing their tongues for hire, procured the passing of several decrees, full of flattery towards the king; and had sent those embassies, at which the Rhodians should always feel not less shame than grief; all which proceedings, however, if the people were disposed to act properly, would fall on the heads of the guilty." He was heard with great satisfaction; not only because he extenuated the offences of the community, but because he threw the whole blame on the authors of their misconduct. When, therefore, their own magistrates spoke in answer to the Romans, the speech of those who endeavoured to exculpate them, in some measure, from the charges advanced by Popilius, was not so pleasing to them as the advice of those who concurred with the opinion of Decimius, in the necessity of giving up the principal instigators to atone for their crime. A decree was therefore immediately passed, that all who should be convicted of having, in any instance, spoken or acted in favour of Perseus, against the Romans, should be condemned to die. Several of those concerned had left the city on the arrival of the Romans: others put an end to their own lives. The ambassadors staid only five days at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Alexandria. Nor were the trials instituted, pursuant to the decree passed in their presence, carried on at Rhodes with less activity; and this perseverance of the Rhodians, in the execution of that business, was entirely owing to the mild behaviour of Decimius.

11. Whilst these events were going on, Antiochus, after a fruitless attempt on the walls of Alexandria, had retired:

and being now master of all the rest of Egypt, he left, at Memphis, the elder Ptolemy, whose restoration to the throne was the pretended object of his armament, though, in reality, he meant to attack him, as soon as he should have vanquished his competitors; and then he led back his army into Syria. Ptolemy, who was not ignorant of his intention, conceived hopes, that, while he held his younger brother under terror, and in dread of a siege, he might be received into Alexandria, provided his sister favoured the design, and his brother's friends did not oppose it. Accordingly, he never ceased sending proposals to his sister first, and his brother and his friends afterwards, until he effected an accommodation with them. His suspicions of Antiochus were awakened by this circumstance, that, when he gave him possession of the rest of Egypt, he left a strong garrison in Pelusium: a plain proof that he kept that key of Egypt in his hands, in order that he might be able, whenever he pleased, to introduce an army again into the country; and he foresaw, that the final issue of a civil war with his brother must be, that the conqueror, thoroughly weakened by the contest, would be utterly unable to contend with Antiochus. In these prudent observations of the elder brother, the younger, and those about him, concurred; while their sister greatly promoted the negotiation, both by her advice and entreaties. Accordingly, peace being made with the approbation of all, the elder Ptolemy was received into Alexandria, without any opposition even from the populace; who, during the war, had been severely distressed by a general scarcity, not only in consequence of the siege, but from receiving no provisions from the rest of Egypt after the enemy had retired from the walls. Although it was reasonable to suppose that Antiochus would be rejoiced at these events, if he had really marched his army into Egypt for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy on the throne,—(the plausible pretext which he had professed to all the states of Asia and Greece, in his answers to their embassies, and in the letters that he wrote,)—yet he was so highly offended, that he prepared to make war on the two brothers, with much greater acrimony and fury of resentment than he had shown against the one. He instantly sent his fleet to Cyprus; and, as soon as the spring appeared, he directed his route towards Egypt at the head of his army, and advanced into Cœle-

syria. Near Rhinocolura he was met by ambassadors from Ptolemy, who gave him thanks, because through his assistance he had recovered the throne of his fathers; and requested him to secure to him the enjoyment of the benefit, which he had himself conferred; and rather to signify what he wished to be done, than from an ally to become an enemy, and proceed by force of arms. To this he answered, that "he would neither recall his fleet, nor stop the march of his army, on any other conditions than the cession of all Cyprus and the city of Pelusium, together with the lands adjoining the Pelusian mouth of the Nile;" and he even named a particular day, on or before which he expected to receive an answer that these demands were complied with.

12. When the time fixed for the suspension of hostilities had elapsed, *Antiochus ordered the commanders of his fleet* to sail up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, while *he himself entered Egypt*, through the deserts of Arabia. *He was amicably received by the people* about Memphis, as he was, afterwards, by the rest of the Egyptians; some being led by inclination, others by fear; and he proceeded thus, by short marches, down to Alexandria. The Roman ambassadors met him after crossing the river at Eleusine, four miles from that city. On their approach he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popilius; but Popilius put into his hand a written tablet, containing the decree of the senate, and desired him first to peruse that. On perusing it, he said, that he, after calling his friends together, would consult on what was to be done; on which Popilius, with the usual asperity of his disposition, drew a line round the king, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, "Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the senate." Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the king hesitated for some time; but at last replied, "I will do as the senate directs." Popilius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him; as to a friend and ally. Antiochus having retired out of Egypt, on the day appointed, the ambassadors, after confirming by their influence the reconciliations between the brothers, as concord was far from being established among them, sailed to Cyprus: from which they sent home the ships of Antiochus, which had fought and defeated an Egyptian fleet. This embassy attracted a great share of respect from all

nations; because it had manifestly rescued Egypt out of the hands of the Syrian, when he had it within his grasp, and restored to the race of Ptolemy the kingdom of their forefathers. While one of the consuls of this year distinguished his administration by a glorious victory, the reputation of the other was thrown into the shade, because he had no opportunity of displaying his talents. When, in the beginning of his administration, he had appointed his troops to assemble, he entered the consecrated place without due auspices; and the augurs, on the matter being laid before them, pronounced the appointment improper. Going into Gaul, he lay encamped near the long plains, at the foot of the mountains Sicimina and Papirus, and passed the winter in the same country with the troops of the Latin allies. The Roman legions staid all the while in the city, because the day had been irregularly appointed for the meeting of the soldiers. The prætors went to their several provinces, except Caius Papirius Carbo, to whose lot Sardinia had fallen; the senate having commanded him to administer justice, at Rome, between natives and foreigners; a duty to which he had been already named.

13. Popilius, with his colleagues in the embassy to Antiochus, returned to Rome, and gave information, that all disputes between the kings had terminated, and that the army had marched out of Egypt into Syria. Soon after, ambassadors arrived from the kings themselves. Those of Antiochus represented, that "their king had considered a peace, which was agreeable to the senate, as preferable to a victory, how complete soever, and had, accordingly, obeyed the order of the Roman ambassadors, as implicitly as if it had been a mandate of the gods." They then offered his congratulations on their victory, "to which," they said, "the king would have contributed with his utmost power, if any commands to that effect had been given him." The ambassadors of Ptolemy, in the joint names of that prince and Cleopatra, presented their thanks, acknowledging that "they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods; since through their intervention they had been relieved from a most distressing siege, and had recovered the kingdom of their fathers, when it was almost entirely lost." The answer given by the senate was that "Antiochus had acted rightly and properly, in complying

with the demand of their ambassadors; and that his conduct was pleasing to the senate and people of Rome." To Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, they answered, that "the senate rejoiced very much, that any benefit or advantage had accrued to the Egyptian monarchs, through their instrumentality; and would take care, that they should always have reason to consider, that the strongest bulwark of their kingdom lay in the protection of the Roman people." Caius Papirius, the prætor, was commissioned to send the usual presents to the ambassadors. A letter now arrived from Macedon, which doubled the public joy, as it brought information that "king Perseus was in the hands of the consul." After the ambassadors were dismissed, a controversy between deputies from Pisa and others from Luna came on; the former, complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands by the Roman colonists; while the latter insisted that the lands in question had been marked out to them by the triumvirs. The senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Tiberius Sempronius Musca, Lucius Nævius Balbus, and Caius Apuleius Saturninus. A joint embassy from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenæus, came with congratulations on the victory; and Masgaba, son of king Masinissa, having landed at Puteoli, Lucius Manlius, the quæstor, was immediately despatched with money to meet him, and conduct him to Rome at the public expense. An audience of the senate was immediately given him on his arrival. This young prince spoke in such a manner that he made services, which were meritorious in themselves, still more gratifying. He recounted what numbers of foot and horse, how many elephants, and what quantities of corn his father had sent into Macedon in aid of the Romans during the last four years. "But there were two things," he said, "that made him blush; one, the senate having sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, to furnish necessaries for their army; the other, their having sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that the kingdom which he held had been acquired, and increased, and multiplied by the Roman people; and contenting himself with the management of it, acknowledged the right and sovereignty to be vested in those who granted it to him. It was just,

therefore, to take, and not to ask from him nor purchase, any of the produce of lands made over by themselves. Whatever remained, after supplying the Roman people, would be fully sufficient for Masinissa." That with these instructions he parted with his father; but he was afterwards overtaken by some horsemen, who announced to him the conquest of Macedon, with directions to congratulate the senate, and acquaint them that his father felt so much joy at that circumstance, that he wished to come to Rome, and in the Capitol to offer thanks to Jupiter supremely good and great. He requested, therefore, that if it were not disagreeable, the senate would give him permission to do so.

14. Masgaba was answered, that "his father, Masinissa, acted as became a prince of a benevolent and grateful disposition; to such a degree that, by acknowledging the kindness of his friends, he added value and dignity to it. The Roman people had been assisted by him in the Carthaginian war with exertions at once faithful and brave; by the favour of the Roman people he had obtained his kingdom, and had afterwards, in the successive wars with the three kings, discharged with his usual readiness every duty. That it was not surprising, that a king who had so intimately blended his own interests, and those of his kingdom, with the interests of the Romans, should be delighted at the victory of the Roman people. That he should return thanks to the immortal gods for the victory of the Roman people, before the tutelary deities of his family; that his son could return thanks in his stead at Rome; as he had already said enough in the way of congratulation, both in his own name and in his father's. But that the senate were of opinion, that his leaving his own kingdom, and going out of Africa, besides being inconvenient to himself, was detrimental to the Roman people." On Masgaba making a request that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, *might be brought to Rome as a* hostage in the place *of some other, the senate replied, that they could not reasonably require hostages from the Carthaginians, at the choice of any other person.* The quæstor was ordered, by a vote of the senate, to purchase presents for the young prince to the value of one hundred pounds' weight of silver, to accompany him to Puteoli, to defray all his expenses while he staid in Italy, and to hire two ships to carry him and the retinue of the king to Africa;

clothes were given to every one of his attendants, both freemen and slaves. Soon after this a letter was brought concerning Masinissa's other son, Misagenes, stating that, after the conquest of Perseus, he was sent by Lucius Paullus, with his horsemen, to Africa; and that while he was on his voyage in the Adriatic Sea, his fleet was dispersed, and himself, in a bad state of health, driven into Brundusium with only three ships. Lucius Stertinius, the quæstor, was sent to him to Brundusium, with presents of the same kind as those given to his brother at Rome, and he was ordered to provide lodgings for the prince and his retinue, and *every thing necessary for his health and convenience; and that the expenses of himself and his entire retinue should be paid liberally; that he should look out for ships by which the prince might pass over into Africa with ease and safety. The quæstor was ordered to give to each of the horsemen a pound of silver, and five hundred sesterces. The assemblies, for the election of consuls for the ensuing year, were held by Caius Licinius the consul. Quintus Ælius Pætus, Marcus Junius Pennus, were appointed consuls. Then Quintus Cassius Longinus, Manius Juventius Thalna, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Aulus Manlius Torquatus, Cneius Fulvius Gillo, C. Licinius Nerva, were made prætors. In the same year the censors, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Caius Claudius Pulcher, at length united in passing a decree on a matter, which had been for a long time discussed among themselves in different disputes. Gracchus, when the freedmen, after being repeatedly confined within the four city tribes, had once more spread themselves through them all, wished to pluck up by the root the evil which was alway sending fresh shoots, and to exclude from enrolment all who had ever been slaves. Claudius struggled energetically against him, and made frequent references to the institutions of their ancestors, who had often tried to restrain the freed-men, but never to totally exclude them from the rights of citizens. He said that some relaxation of the former strictness had been conceded even by the censors, Caius Flaminius and Lucius Æmilius. And indeed, although even at that time those dregs of the people had spread themselves through all the tribes, and it appeared requisite to reduce them again within what might be considered their original settlement, still at the time some important concessions were made to several of that rank.*

15. *For by those censors* the freed-men were enrolled in the four city tribes, excepting such as had a son more than five years old, who was their own offspring; all these the censors ordered to be surveyed in the tribe wherein they had been surveyed within the last five years; and such as had a farm, or farms, in the country, exceeding in value thirty thousand sesterces,[1] were allowed the privilege of being included in the country tribes. Though this reservation was made in their favour, yet Claudius still insisted, that "a censor could not, without an order of the people, take away from any man, and much less from a whole class of men, the right of suffrage. For though he can remove a man from his tribe, which is nothing more than ordering him to change it, yet he cannot, therefore, remove him out of all the thirty-five tribes; which would be to strip him of the rights of a citizen, and of liberty; not to fix where he should be surveyed, but to exclude him from the survey." These points were discussed by the censors, who at last came to this compromise: that out of the four city tribes, they should openly, in the court of the temple of Liberty, select one by lot, in which they should include all those who had ever been in servitude. The lot fell on the Æsquiline tribe; on which Tiberius Gracchus published an order, that all sons of freed-men should be surveyed in that tribe. This proceeding gained the censors great honour with the senate, who gave thanks to Sempronius for his perseverance in so good a design, and also to Claudius for not obstructing it. Greater numbers were expelled from the senate, and ordered to sell their horses, by them than by their predecessors. They both concurred in removing from their tribes and disfranchising the same persons, in every instance; nor did one of them remove any mark of disgrace inflicted by the other. They petitioned that, according to custom, the year and half's time allowed for enforcing the repairs of buildings, and for approving the execution of works contracted for, should be prolonged; but Cneius Tremellius, a tribune, protested against it, because he had not been chosen into the senate. This year Caius Cicereius dedicated a temple to Juno Monita on the Alban mount, five years after he had vowed it; and Lucius Postumius Albinus was inaugurated flamen of Mars.

16. The consuls, Quintius Ælius and Marcus Junius, hav-

[1] 242*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.*

ing proposed the business of distributing the provinces, the senate decreed that Spain, which during the Macedonian war had been but one province, should be again formed into two; and that the present governors, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, should continue in the government of Macedonia and Illyria, until, with the concurrence of commissioners, they should adjust the affairs of those countries disordered by the war, and reduce them to a form of government different from the regal. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Pisæ and Gaul, with two legions to each, containing separately five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse. The lots of the prætors were as follows: the city jurisdiction fell to Quintus Cassius; the foreign, to Manius Juventius Thalna; Sicily, to Tiberius Claudius Nero; Hither Spain, to Cneius Fulvius; and to Caius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Sardinia had fallen to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, but he could not proceed thither, being detained by a decree of the senate, to preside at trials of capital offences. The senate was then consulted concerning prodigies which were reported: the temple of the tutelar deities, on the Velian hill, had been struck by lightning; and two gates, and a large part of the wall, in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia, a shower of earth had fallen; and, at Lanuvium, a blazing torch was seen in the sky. Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported, that at Calatia, on the public lands, blood had flowed from his hearth, during three days and two nights. On account of this last occurrence in particular, the decemvirs were directed to consult the books; on which they ordered a general supplication for one day, and sacrificed in the forum fifty goats. On account of the other prodigies, there was a supplication for another day, with sacrifices of the larger victims, and the city was purified. Then, with reference to the gratitude due to the immortal gods, the senate decreed, that, "forasmuch as their enemies were subdued, and the kings Perseus and Gentius, with Macedon and Illyria, were in the power of the Roman people, whatever offerings were made in all the temples by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, the consuls, on occasion of the conquest of king Antiochus, offerings of the same value should then be made, and that Quintus Cassius and Manius Juventius, the prætors, should superintend them.

17. They then constituted commissioners, by whose advice

the generals, Lucius Paullus and Lucius Anicius, were to regulate the affairs of their provinces; ten for Macedon, and five for Illyria. Those nominated for Macedon were, Aulus Postumius Luscus, Caius Claudius, both of whom had been censors, Caius Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Paullus in the consulship; he then held the province of Gaul, as he had the command continued to him. To these, who were of consular rank, the senate added Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Caius Antistius Labeo, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. The following were nominated for Illyria: Publius Ælius Ligus, a man of consular rank, Caius Cicereius, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, (he had been prætor the last year, as had Cicereius many years before,) Publius Terentius Tuscivicanus, and Publius Manilius. The consuls were then advised by the senate, that, as one of them must go into Gaul, in the room of Caius Licinius, who was appointed a commissioner, they should, as soon as possible, either settle their provinces between themselves, or cast lots, as might be agreeable to them. They chose to cast lots; when Pisæ fell to Marcus Junius, (who was ordered to introduce to the senate the embassies that came to Rome from all quarters, with congratulations before he went to his province,) and Gaul to Quintus Ælius.

18. But although men of such characters were sent on the commission, that confident hopes might be entertained that the generals, influenced by their counsel, would determine on nothing derogatory either to the clemency or dignity of the Roman people, yet the heads of a plan of settlement were considered in the senate, that the said commissioners might carry, from Rome to the generals, an outline of the entire plan. First, it was determined, that "the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free; in order to demonstrate to all the world that the arms of the Roman people did not bring slavery to the free, but freedom to slaves, and that the nations which already enjoyed freedom, should be convinced that it would be safe and permanent under the protection of the *Roman people;* and that such nations as lived under regal government should be convinced that their princes, under awe of the Roman people, would be, at present, more just and mild; and that, should war break out at any time between their kings and the Roman people, the issue would bring victory to

the latter, and liberty to themselves. It was also provided, that the farming both of the Macedonian mines, which produced a very large profit, and that of crown lands, should be abolished; as business of this kind could not be managed without the intervention of revenue farmers; and wherever a tax-contractor was employed, either the rights of the people were a nonentity, or the freedom of the allies destroyed. Nor could the Macedonians themselves conduct such affairs; for while they afforded the managers opportunities of acquiring plunder for themselves, there never would be wanting causes of disputes and seditions. It was further determined, that there should be a general council of the nation; lest the perverseness of the populace might, some time or other, convert into pestilent licentiousness the liberty granted by the senate with a wholesome degree of moderation: but that Macedonia should be divided into four districts, each of which should have a council of its own; and that they should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used formerly to pay to their kings." Similar instructions were given respecting Illyria. Other particulars were left to the generals and commissioners; whose investigation of matters on the spot would enable them to form more accurate plans.

19. Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and states, Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, attracted the general attention in a very particular manner; for he was received by those who had served along with him in the late war, with even greater demonstration of kindness than if Eumenes had come in person. Two reasons, both, apparently, highly honourable, had induced him to come; one to offer congratulations, which were quite proper, in the case of a victory to which he himself had contributed; the other to complain of disturbances raised by the Gauls, and of a defeat received, by which his brother's kingdom was endangered. But he had, also, secret hopes of honours and rewards from the senate, which he could scarcely receive without infringing on his duty to his brother. There were among the Romans some evil advisers, who were working on his ambition by promises. They told him, that "the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was, that one was a steady friend to the Romans, and that the other was not a faithful ally either to them or to Perseus. That it was not easy to determine whether the

requests that he might make for himself, or those against his brother, were more likely to be obtained from the senate; so entirely were all disposed to gratify the one, and to grant nothing to the other." As the event proved, Attalus was one of those who would have coveted all that hope can promise to itself, had not the prudent admonitions of one friend put a curb on those passions, which were growing wanton through prosperity. He had, in his retinue, a physician, called Stratius, sent to Rome by Eumenes, who distrusted Attalus, for the purpose of watching over his conduct, and giving him faithful advice, if he should perceive him swerve from his allegiance. This man, although he had to address ears already prepossessed, and a mind already biassed, yet, by addressing him at judiciously selected times, restored the thing to its proper state, even after it had become almost desperate. He said that "different kingdoms grew into power by different means: that their kingdom being lately formed, and unsupported by any long-established strength, was upheld solely by the concord of the brothers; for, while one bore the title and the ornament which distinguishes the head of a sovereign, each of the brothers was considered as a king. As to Attalus, in particular, being the next in years, was there any man who did not consider him as king? and that, not only because they perceived his present power to be great, but because there was not a doubt but he must ascend the throne, in a very short time, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Eumenes, who had no legitimate issue" (for he had not at this time acknowledged the son who afterwards reigned). "To what purpose, then, employ violence, to attain what must come to him presently without any exertions on his part? Besides, a new storm had fallen on the kingdom, from the insurrection of the Gauls, which could scarcely be resisted by the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers. But if to a foreign war domestic dissensions were added, the evil could not be checked; nor would he effect any thing else than preventing his brother from dying on the throne, and depriving himself of the hope of ascending it. If both modes of acting were honourable,—either to preserve the kingdom for his brother, or to take it from him,—yet the honour that would result to him from the preservation of the kingdom, since it was united to brotherly love, would be the greater. The latter

indeed, would be detestable, and bordering nearly on parricide; what room, then, could there be for deliberation? For, whether did he mean to demand a share of the kingdom, or to seize the whole? If he would demand a share, then both, by the separation of their strength, would be rendered feeble, and exposed to injuries of every kind; if the whole, would he then require his elder brother, reduced to a private station, at his time of life and labouring under such bodily infirmities, to live in exile, and die in such a wretched state. For, not to mention the catastrophes of undutiful brothers recorded in stories, the fate of Perseus seemed a striking instance, who, prostrated at the feet of a victorious enemy, laid down, in the temple of the Samothracians, before the gods, who, as it were, demanded satisfaction for his crimes, the crown which he had seized after the death of his brother. Those very men," he continued, "who not through friendship for him, but enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures, would praise his affection and firmness, if he preserved to the last his allegiance to his brother."

20. These arguments prevailed in the mind of Attalus. Therefore, on being introduced to the senate, he congratulated them on their success, and made mention of his own services during the war, and those of his brother, whatever he had performed; of the defection of the Gauls, which had lately happened, and which had caused violent commotions; and he entreated that they should send ambassadors to those people, by whose authority they should be summoned to desist. After delivering these messages respecting the general interest of the state, he requested a grant of Ænus and Maronea to himself. Having thus disappointed the hopes of those who expected that he, after arraigning his brother's conduct, would solicit a partition of the kingdom, he retired from the senate-house. Seldom on other occasions was either a king or private person heard with such a degree of favour and approbation by all; during his stay he received presents and honours of every description, and they treated him similarly at his departure. Of the many embassies which came from Greece and Asia, that of the Rhodians engaged the greatest share of the public attention. At first they appeared in white, the colour which was most becoming to persons congratulating others, for had they worn mourning, they might seem to be la-

menting the misfortunes of Perseus. Afterwards the senate, being consulted by the consul, Marcus Junius, (the ambassadors standing in the Comitium,) whether they should grant them lodgings, entertainments, and an audience of the senate, they voted that no duty of hospitality was due to them. When the consul came out of the senate-house, after the Rhodians had told him that they were come to congratulate the Romans on their late success, and to clear their state of the charges made against it, and requested an audience of the senate, he returned this answer, that "it was the custom of the Romans both to grant audience in their senate, and to perform other acts of kindness and hospitality to their friends and allies; but that the Rhodians had not deserved in that war to be ranked in the number of friends or allies." On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, beseeching the consul and all present not to think it right that new and false imputations should operate more powerfully to their prejudice, than their long course of services, which they had themselves witnessed. They immediately assumed a mourning dress, and going round to the houses of the principal men, supplicated with prayers and tears that their cause might be heard before they were condemned.

21. Marcus Juventius Thalna, the prætor who had the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, stimulated the public resentment against the Rhodians, and promulgated a bill, that "war should be declared against the Rhodians, and that the people should choose one of the magistrates of the present year, who should be sent with a fleet to carry on that war;" with the hope that he himself should be the person chosen. Two of the plebeian tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius, opposed this proceeding. But the prætor, on his part, commenced the business in an unprecedented and pernicious manner; for without first consulting the senate, and without acquainting the consuls, of his own sole judgment he proposed to the people the question, "was it their will and order that war should be declared against the Rhodians?" whereas, ever until then, the senate was first consulted concerning the war, and then the business was laid before the people. On the other side, the plebeian tribunes *opposed this proceeding;* although it was a received rule that no tribune should protest against a proposal, until opportunity was given

to private citizens to argue for and against it; in consequence of which it had often happened that some, who had avowed no intention of protesting, having discovered defects in the law from the discourses of those who opposed it, on that account did protest; and some who came avowedly to protest, abstained from it, being convinced by the arguments of those who spoke in favour of the law. On this occasion the prætor and tribunes vied with each other in doing every thing out of time. *While the tribunes blamed the hasty proceeding of the prætor, they imitated the example by protesting before their time. The only pretence they alleged for it was, the necessity for adjourning the entire deliberation concerning the Rhodians until the return of the general and the ten commissioners from Macedon, who, after most carefully weighing the matter according to the communications received in their letters and tablets, were likely to give certain information relative to the feelings which each state had borne towards Perseus or the Romans. But when the prætor, nevertheless, persisted in his determination, the matter came to this, that Antonius, the tribune of the commons, after bringing the ambassadors before the people, dragged down from the rostrum Thalna, who was attempting to ascend it contrary to his wishes, and was beginning to address the people, and gave the Rhodians an opportunity of speaking before the general assembly. But although the violent and impetuous attempt of the prætor had been defeated by corresponding firmness on the part of the tribune, still anxiety did not as yet leave the minds of the Rhodians; for the senators bore them a most unfriendly feeling; so that the Rhodians were relieved from the impending evil for the present, rather than completely rescued from it. Therefore, when a meeting of the senate was granted to them, after requesting it for a long time and frequently, on their introduction by the consul they lay at first for a long time with their persons prostrated on the ground; afterwards, when the consul raised them up and ordered them to speak, Astymedes, whose appearance was most calculated to excite pity, spoke to the following effect: "Conscript fathers, this grief and degradation of allies, who enjoyed your friendship a short time ago, cannot fail to be pitied even by those who are irritated against us; and how much more justly will compassion enter your minds, if you will but consider the hard conditions*

under which we this day, in your presence, plead the cause of our state, already almost condemned. Others are accused prior to their condemnation; nor do they suffer punishment until their guilt is ascertained.

22. "Whether we Rhodians have transgressed, or not, is yet doubtful; meanwhile we suffer punishments and disgraces of all sorts. In former times, when we visited Rome, after the conquest of Carthage, after the defeat of Philip, and after that of Antiochus, we *were escorted* from a mansion furnished us by the public, into the senate-house, to present our congratulations to you, conscript fathers, and, from the senate-house to the Capitol, carrying offerings to your gods. But now, from a vile and filthy inn, scarcely gaining a reception for our money, treated as enemies, and forbid to lodge within the city, we come in this squalid dress to the Roman senate-house: we, Rhodians, on whom a short time ago you bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria; on whom you conferred the most ample rewards and honours. You order even the Macedonians and Illyrians, as we hear, to be free; though they were in servitude before they waged war with you: (nor do we envy the good fortune of any; on the contrary, we acknowledge therein the usual clemency of the Roman people.) But will you convert, from allies into enemies, the Rhodians, who were guilty of nothing more than remaining neutral during the war? You are in truth the same Romans, who boast that your wars are successful because they are just; who glory not so much in the issue of them, in that you conquer, as in the commencement of them, because you do not undertake them without a just cause. The attack on Messana, in Sicily, made the Carthaginians your enemies. The siege of Athens, and attempt to reduce Greece to slavery, together with the assistance of men and money given to Hannibal, led to hostilities with Philip. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Ætolians, your enemies, came over in person with a fleet from Asia to Greece; and by seizing Demetrias, Chalcis, and the pass of Thermopylæ, endeavoured to dispossess you of empire. The motives to your war with Perseus were his attacks on your allies, and his putting to death the princes and leading members of certain states. But, if we are doomed to ruin, to what motive will our misfortune be ascribed? I do not yet separate the cause

of the state from that of our countrymen, Polyaratus and Dino, with others, whom we have brought hither in order to deliver them into your hands. But supposing every one of us were equally guilty, I ask what was our crime with respect to the late war? We favoured the interest of Perseus; and we have supported that prince against you in like manner as, in the wars of Antiochus and Philip, we supported you against those kings. Now, in what manner we are accustomed to assist our allies, and with what vigour to conduct wars, ask Caius Livius and Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets on the coasts of Asia. Your ships never fought a battle without us. We, with our own fleet, fought one engagement at Samos and a second on the coast of Pamphylia, against that distinguished commander, Hannibal. The victory, which we gained in the latter, was the more glorious to us because, although we lost a great part of our navy and the flower of our youth in the unsuccessful action at Samos, we were not deterred from venturing again to give battle to the king's fleet on its return from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not out of ostentation, (that would ill become our present situation,) but to remind you in what way the Rhodians assist their allies.

23. "When Philip and Antiochus were subdued, we received from you very ample rewards. If the fortune of Perseus were such as yours now is by the favour of the gods and your own courage, and we were to go into Macedon, to the victorious king, to demand rewards from him, what merit should we have to plead? Is it that he was aided by us with money or corn; with land or sea forces? Had we defended his garrison? where had we, either under his generals or by ourselves? If he should inquire where were our soldiers or ships acting in concert with his; what answer could we give? Perhaps we might be pleading our cause before him, if successful, as we are now, before you. All that we have gained by sending ambassadors to both, to mediate a peace, is, that we received no thanks from either party, and incurred from one of them accusations and danger. Perseus, indeed, might justly object to us what you cannot, conscript fathers, that at the commencement of the war we sent ambassadors to Rome, promising supplies of all sorts requisite for the war, and engaging to be ready, as in former wars, with our docks, our

arms, and our men. It was your fault that we did not perform this, since you, whatever was the reason, rejected our assistance on that occasion. We have, therefore, neither acted in any instance as enemies, nor been deficient in the duty of well-affected allies; but we were prevented by you from performing it. What then shall we say? Rhodians, has there been nothing said or done in your country which you disapprove of, and at which the Roman people would be justly offended? Henceforth I do not mean to defend what has been done, (I am not so weak,) but to distinguish the cause of the public from the guilt of private men. For there is no nation whatever that has not, generally, some ill-disposed members, and always an ignorant populace. I have heard, that even among the Romans there have been men who worked themselves into power by courting the multitude; that the plebeians sometimes seceded from you, and that the government was not always in your hands. If it were possible for this to happen in a state so well constituted, who can wonder at there being some among us, who, out of a wish to gain the king's friendship, led our commons astray by bad advice? Yet they effected nothing more than our remaining inactive, without infringing on our duty. I shall not pass by that, which has been made the heaviest charge against our state during the war. We sent ambassadors at the same time to you and Perseus, to mediate a peace; and that unfortunate design was, by a furious orator, as we afterwards heard, rendered foolish to the last degree; for it is ascertained that he spoke in such a manner as Caius Popilius, the Roman ambassador, should have spoken, when you sent him to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to induce them to cease from hostilities. But still, whether this conduct is to be called arrogance or folly, it was the same towards Perseus as towards you. States, as well as individuals, have their different characters; some are violent, others daring, others timid; some addicted to wine, others more particularly to women. Fame says that the Athenian nation was quick and bold, beyond its strength, in beginning an enterprise; and that the Lacedæmonian was dilatory and backward in entering upon business, even when confident of success. I cannot deny that Asia, throughout its whole extent, produces men too much inclined to vanity, and that the speech of even the

Rhodians is too much tinctured with vain-glory, because we seem to have the pre-eminence above the neighbouring states; and that, too, owing not so much to our strength as to the marks of honour and esteem conferred on us by you. That embassy received on the spot sufficient reproof for its immediate misconduct, when it was dismissed with so severe an answer. But, if the disgrace which we then suffered was too trifling, surely the present mournful and suppliant embassy would be a sufficient expiation for an embassy even more insolent than that was. Irritable men hate arrogance; men of sense despise it, particularly if shown in words; more especially, if it be shown by an inferior towards a superior; but no one has ever yet thought it deserving of capital punishment. There was, in truth, danger lest the Rhodians should contemn the Romans! Some men have spoken, even of the gods, in terms too presumptuous; yet we have never heard of any one being struck with thunder on that account.

24. "What charge then remains, of which we are to acquit ourselves, since there has been no hostile act on our part, and the insolent language of an ambassador, though grating to the ear, has not deserved the ruin of a state. Conscript fathers, I hear that the estimate of the penalty for our secret wishes has become the subject of your conversation. Some assert that we favoured the king, and therefore that we should be punished with war; others, that we did indeed wish him success, but ought not, on that account, to suffer the penalty of war, since it has not been so instituted either by the practice or laws of any state, that if any one should wish an enemy to perish, he should be condemned, provided that he did nothing towards effecting his wishes. We feel, indeed, grateful to those who absolve us from the punishment, though not from the crime; but we lay down this law for ourselves: if we all entertained the wishes of which we are accused, we will then make no distinction between the will and the deed: let us all be punished. If some of our people in power favoured you, and others the king, I do not demand, that for the sake of us who were on your side, the favourers of the king may be saved; but I deprecate our perishing through them. You are not more inveterate against them than is our state itself; and most of them, when they ascertained this, fled, or put themselves to death, the others have been condemned by us, and

they will soon be in your power, conscript fathers. The rest of us Rhodians, as we have merited no thanks during the war, so neither have we deserved punishment. Let the accumulation of our former services atone for our present dereliction of duty. You have recently waged war with three kings: let not the circumstance of our having been inactive in one of these wars, be more injurious to us than our having fought on your side in the other two has served us. Consider Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, as you would three votes; two of them acquit us; one, although it would be unfavourable, is nevertheless doubtful. If they were to sit in judgment over us, we would be condemned. Conscript fathers, you are to decide, whether Rhodes is to continue on the earth or to be utterly destroyed. You are not deliberating concerning war, conscript fathers, for though it is in your power to declare war, it is not in your power to wage it, as not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your anger, we will beg time from you, until we carry home an account of this unhappy embassy. We will then, every free person of all the Rhodians, both men and women, with all our wealth, embark in ships, and leaving the seats of our tutelar deities, both public and private, repair to Rome, where, heaping together in the Comitium, at the door of your senate-house, all our gold and silver, all the public and private property that we possess, we will submit our persons, and those of our wives and children, to your disposal; that, whatever we are to suffer, we may suffer here. Let our city be sacked and burned far away from our view. The Romans may pass a judgment, that the Rhodians are enemies; but we have also a right, in some degree, to judge ourselves; and we never will judge ourselves your enemies, nor do one hostile act, should we even suffer extreme calamities."

25. After so mournful a speech, they all prostrated themselves again, and as supplicants, held out olive branches; but at length they were raised, and withdrew from the senate-house. They then began to ask the opinions of the senators. The most inveterate against the Rhodians were those, who as consuls, prætors, or lieutenant-generals, had been engaged in the war with Macedon. Marcus Porcius Cato was the principal supporter of their cause, who, though naturally austere, acted his part as a senator, on this occasion, with much mild-

ness and lenity. I will not introduce here a specimen of his copious eloquence, by relating what he said: his speech is extant, and is comprised in the fifth book of his Antiquities. The answer given to the Rhodians was, that "they should neither be declared enemies, nor any longer remain in alliance with Rome." At the head of this embassy were Philocrates and Astymedes. They determined that half their number, with Philocrates, should carry home to Rhodes an account of their proceedings; and that the other half, with Astymedes, should remain at Rome, that they might be acquainted with what passed, and inform their countrymen. For the present, they were commanded to remove their governors out of Lycia and Caria, before a certain day. This intelligence was announced at Rhodes; and although it was galling in itself, yet as the Rhodians were relieved from the dread of a greater evil, for they had feared a war, the announcement created joy. They therefore immediately voted a present, amounting in value to twenty thousand pieces of gold, and deputed Theætetus, the commander of their fleet, on that embassy. They wished to procure an alliance with the Romans; but, in such a manner, as that no order of the people should pass concerning it, nor any thing be committed to writing; for in either of these cases, if they failed in succeeding, there would be greater disgrace in the refusal. The admiral of the fleet was empowered, singly, to negotiate that business, if he could effect it without any law being brought forward at Rome on the subject; for, during a considerable length of time, they had maintained a friendship with the Romans, in such a manner as not to bind themselves by a treaty of alliance, for no other reason than that they might neither preclude the kings from all hope of their assistance, if any of them should need it, nor themselves from a participation of the advantages which might accrue from the good fortune and liberality of the said kings. At this time, however, an alliance seemed particularly desirable, not to render them more secure from others, (for excepting the Romans, they feared none,) but to make them less suspected by the Romans themselves. About this time, the Caunians revolted from them, and the Mylasensians seized on the towns of the Euromensians. The spirit of their community was not so totally broken as to hinder their perceiving, that, if Lycia and

Caria were taken from them by the Romans, their other provinces would either assert their own freedom by a revolt, or be seized on by their neighbours; and that they themselves would then be shut up in a small island; within the shores of a barren country, which could by no means maintain the numerous people in so large a city. They therefore sent out, with all speed, a body of troops, and reduced the Caunians to obedience, though they had received succours from Cybara: and afterwards defeated in a battle at Orthosia the Mylassians and Alabandians, who, having seized the province of Euroma, had marched against them with their allied forces.

26. Whilst these events are occurring in Rhodes, different matters are going on in Macedon and Rome; in the mean time, in Illyria, Lucius Anicius, having reduced king Gentius under his power, as before mentioned, placed Gabinius over a garrison that he posted in Scodra, which had been the capital of the kingdom; and appointed Caius Licinius commander in Rhizon and Olcinium, which were towns very conveniently situated. Leaving these two in charge of Illyria, he marched with the rest of his forces into Epirus. Here, Phanota was the first place which submitted to him; the whole multitude, with fillets on their heads, coming out to meet him. Placing a garrison there, he went over into Molossis, all the towns of which province, except Passora, Tecmo, Phylace, and Horreum, having surrendered, he marched first against Passora. The two men of the greatest authority in that city, were Antinous and Theodotus, who were remarkable for their warm attachment to Perseus, and hatred to the Romans; the same individuals had instigated the whole nation to revolt from the Romans. These men, since they had no hope of pardon, owing to their consciousness of guilt, shut the gates, that they might be buried under the general ruin of their country, and exhorted the multitude to prefer death to slavery. No man dared to open his lips against men of such transcendent power. At last one Theodotus, a young man of distinction, (when his greater dread of the Romans had overpowered the lesser fear of his own leaders,) exclaimed, "What madness has seized you, to make the public accessory to the crimes of two individuals? I have often heard mention made of men who offered themselves to death for the sake of their country; but those are the first that were ever found, who required that

their country should perish for them. Why not open our gates, and submit to that power to which the whole world has submitted?" As he spoke thus, the multitude followed him; on which Antinous and Theodotus rushed out on the advanced guards of the enemy, and freely exposing themselves to their weapons, were slain, and the city was surrendered to the Romans. Through a similar obstinacy in Cephalus, a man in power, the gates of Tecmo were shut: when he was put to death, Anicius received the surrender of the town. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege. Having thus reduced Epirus, Anicius distributed his troops in winter quarters, through the most convenient towns; and returning into Illyria, held a general convention at Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome, and to which place he had summoned the principal men from all parts of the province. There, with advice of the council, he proclaimed from his tribunal, that "the senate and people of Rome granted freedom to the Illyrians; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from all their towns, citadels, and castles. That the Issensians and Taulantians, with the Pirustans, that were included among the Dassaretians, the Rhizonites, and the Olcinians, should not only enjoy liberty, but likewise an immunity from taxes; because when Gentius was in his full strength, they had revolted to the Romans. That the same exemption was granted to the Daorseans; because they forsook Caravantius, and came over with their arms to the Romans; and that the Scodrans, Dassaretians, Selepitans, and the rest of the Illyrians, should pay half the taxes which they had formerly paid to their king." He then divided Illyria into three districts; he made the first division out of the people above mentioned, the second comprehended all the Labeatians, and the third the Agranonites, Rhizonites, and Olcinians, with the contiguous states. Having established this constitution in Illyria, he returned into Epirus, to his winter quarters at Passaro.

27. While these matters are passing in Illyria, Paullus, before the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Quintus Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to sack Agassæ and Æginium: Agassæ, because the inhabitants, after surrendering their city to the consul, and voluntarily soliciting an alliance with Rome, had revolted again to

Perseus: the crime of the people of Æginium was of a late date; not giving credit to the report of the Romans being victorious, they had treated with hostile cruelty some soldiers who came into the city. He also detached Lucius Postumius to pillage the city of Ænia; because the inhabitants had continued in arms with more obstinacy than the neighbouring states. Autumn now drew nigh; at the commencement of this season, when he resolved to make a tour through Greece, in order to take a view of those curiosities, which, being celebrated by fame, are represented as greater than they really are when examined by the eye, he gave the command of his quarters to Caius Sulpicius Gallus, and, with a moderate retinue, began his journey, accompanied by his son Scipio, and Athenæus, king Eumenes' brother, and directed his route through Thessaly to the famous oracle at Delphi; where he offered sacrifices to Apollo, and, in honour of his victory, destined for his own statues some unfinished columns in the vestibule, on which they had intended to place statues of king Perseus. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia; where, after viewing the mouth of the cave, through which people applying to the oracle descend, in order to obtain information from the gods, he sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercyna, who have a temple there; and then went down to Chalcis, to see the curiosities of the Euripus, and of the island of Eubœa, which is there united to the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis he passed by sea to Aulis, a port three miles distant, famous for having been formerly the station of Agamemnon's fleet of one thousand ships, and distinguished also for the temple of Diana, in which that king of kings sought a passage for his fleet to Troy, by offering his daughter Iphigenia as a victim at the altar. Thence he came to Oropus, in Attica; where an ancient prophet is worshipped as a god, and has an old temple, rendered delightful by the surrounding springs and streams. He then went to Athens, which, though filled with only the decayed relics of ancient grandeur, still contained many things worthy of observation; the citadel, the port, the walls connecting Piræeus with the city; the dock-yards, the monuments of illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, alike remarkable for the variety of the materials and the ingenuity of the artists.

28. After sacrificing to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel,

he continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Corinth. The city was then flourishing, as this visit was prior to its fall; the citadel too, and the isthmus, afforded admirable views; the former, within the walls, and towering up to an immense height, yet abounding with springs; and the latter, separating by a narrow neck two seas, which wash it on the east and west. He next visited the celebrated cities of Sicyon and Argos; then Epidaurus, which, though unequal to them in opulence, was yet remarkable for a famous temple of Esculapius, which, standing at five miles' distance from the city, was at that time rich in offerings, which the sick had dedicated to that deity, as an acknowledgment for the remedies which restored them to health; but now, full of the traces of them only, whence they have been torn away. Thence he proceeded to Lacedæmon, renowned, not for magnificent works of art, but for its laws and discipline; and then, passing through Magalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here, having taken a view of all things worthy of notice, and beholding Jupiter in a manner present before him, he was struck with the deepest reverence; therefore he ordered preparations to be made for a sacrifice, with more than usual magnificence, and as if he were going to make offerings in the Capitol; having made his circuit through Greece in such a manner as not to inquire into the sentiments which any one, either in his public or private capacity, entertained in the war against Perseus, lest he might disturb the minds of the allies with any kind of apprehensions. On his way back to Demetrias, a crowd of Ætolians, in mourning apparel, met him: on his expressing surprise, and asking the reason of this proceeding, he was told that five hundred and fifty of the chief of their countrymen had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, who surrounded their senate with Roman soldiers, sent by their commander Bæbius; that others had been driven into exile; and that the accusers were in possession of the goods of the killed and exiled. They were ordered to wait on him at Amphipolis and then, having met Cneius Octavius at Demetrias, who informed him that the ten commissioners were landed, he laid aside all other business, and went to Apollonia to meet them. And when Perseus, owing to the negligence of his guard, had come hither to meet him from Amphipolis, (the distance is a day's journey,) Æmilius spoke to him with great courtesy;

but is said to have severely reprimanded Caius Sulpicius, when he reached the camp at Amphipolis; first, for allowing Perseus thus to ramble through the province, and next, for indulging the soldiers so far as to suffer them to strip the buildings on the city walls of the tiles, in order to cover their own winter huts. These tiles he ordered to be carried back, the buildings to be repaired, and put in their former condition. He gave in charge to Aulus Postumius, Perseus, with his elder son Philip, and sent them into a place of confinement; his daughter and younger son he ordered to be brought from Samothrace to Amphipolis, and treated them with all possible kindness.

29. When the day arrived, on which he had ordered ten chiefs from each of the states to attend at Amphipolis, and all the writings wherever deposited, and the money belonging to the king, to be brought thither, he seated himself, with the ten commissioners, on his tribunal, while the whole multitude of the Macedonians surrounded him. Though they were inured to the government of a king, yet the strange tribunal presented a terrible appearance; the path that was cleared towards the prætor by the removal of the people, the herald, the sergeant, were all objects strange to their eyes and ears, and capable of inspiring awe in allies, much more in conquered enemies. Silence being proclaimed by the herald, Paullus declared in the Latin language the regulations adopted by the senate, and by himself with the advice of the council; and the prætor, Cneius Octavius, (for he too was present,) translated them into the Greek language, and read them aloud. First of all he ordered, that "the Macedonians should live free; possessing the same cities and lands as before; governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates; and that they should pay to the Roman people one-half of the taxes which they had paid to their kings. Next, that Macedon should be divided into four districts. That the division which should be deemed the first, should comprehend the lands between the rivers Strymon and Nessus: to this territory should be added the territory beyond the Nessus, towards the east, wherein Perseus had possessed villages, castles, or towns, excepting Ænus, Maronea, and Abdera; and the country beyond the Strymon, verging towards the west, including all Bisaltica, with Heraclea, which they call Sintice. That the second dis-

trict should be the country enclosed by the river Strymon, on the east, where were excepted Sintice-Heraclea and Bisaltica, and by the river Axius on the west; to which should be added the Pœnians, who dwelt near the river Axius, and on its right bank. The third district comprised the territory bounded by the river Axius on the east, the Peneus on the west, and Mount Bora on the north. That to this division should be joined that tract of Pæonia, which stretches along the western side of the Axius; Edessa also, and Berœa, should be united to it. The fourth district was to consist of the country on the north of Mount Bora, touching Illyria on one side, and Epirus on the other. He then appointed the capitals of the districts in which the councils should be held: of the first district, Amphipolis; of the second, Thessalonica; of the third, Pella; and of the fourth, Pelagonia. In these he ordered that the councils of the several districts should be assembled, the public money deposited, and the magistrates elected." He then gave notice, "that it was determined, that there should not be intermarriage, nor liberty to purchase lands or houses, out of the limits of their respective districts, that the mines of gold and silver must not be worked; but those of iron and copper might." The tax imposed upon such persons as worked them, was one half of that which they had paid to the king. He likewise forbade the use of imported salt. To the Dardanians, who laid claim to Pæonia, because it had formerly been theirs, and was contiguous to their territory, he declared that, "he gave liberty to all who had been under subjection to Perseus." After the refusal of Pæonia, he granted them liberty to purchase salt, and ordered that the third district should bring it down to Stobi, in Pæonia; and he fixed the price to be paid for it. He prohibited them from cutting ship timber themselves, or suffering others to cut it. To those districts which bordered on the barbarians, (and excepting the third, this was the case with them all,) he gave permission to keep armed forces on their frontiers.

30. These terms, announced on the first day of the convention, affected the minds of those who were present with very different emotions. Liberty being granted them beyond their expectation, and the annual tribute being lightened, gave them high satisfaction; but then, by the prohibition of a commercial intercourse between the districts, Macedon appeared dismem-

bered, like an animal torn asunder into separate limbs, which stood in need of mutual aid from each other; so little did the Macedonians themselves know how great was the extent of their country, how aptly it was formed for a division, and how content each part could be with its own resources. The first division contains the Bisaltians, men of the greatest courage (residing beyond the river Nessus, and on both sides of the Strymon); it has many peculiar productions of the vegetable kingdom, and mines also, and the advantages derived from the city of Amphipolis, which, standing just in the way, shuts up every passage into Macedonia from the east. The second division has two very remarkable cities, Thessalonica and Cassandria, and the country of Pallene, producing grain and fruits in abundance; its harbours at Torone and Mount Athos, (they call the latter the port of Ænea.) besides others, some of which are conveniently situated opposite Eubœa, and some upon the Hellespont, give it opportunities for maritime business. The third district has the celebrated cities of Edessa, Berœa, and Pella; and is partly inhabited by the Vettians, a warlike people; also by great numbers of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious husbandmen. The fourth district is occupied by the Eordæans, Lyncestans, and Pelagonians, to whom are joined Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elemiotis. All this tract is cold and rough, and unfavourable to tillage; it has men whose dispositions are like the land that they till. Their vicinity to the barbarians renders them more ferocious; for they at one time inure them to arms, and at another are in peace, and introduce their customs among them. Having separated the interests of the several districts of Macedon by this division, he declared that he would give them a constitution which should bind the Macedonians in general, when he was prepared to give them a body of laws also.

31. The Ætolians were then summoned to appear; in which trial the inquiry was directed to discover, rather, which party had favoured the Romans, and which the king, than which had done, and which suffered injury; for the murderers were absolved from guilt, and likewise the banishment of the exiles confirmed, and the death of the citizens overlooked. Aulus Bæbius alone was condemned for having lent Roman soldiers as agents in the butchery. This result in the case of the Ætolians puffed up the party which favoured the Romans to

an intolerable degree of arrogance, throughout all the states and nations of Greece; and subjected all those, on whom the slightest suspicion of being in the king's interest fell, to be trodden under their feet. Of the leading men in the states, there were three parties; two of which paying servile court either to the Romans, or the kings, sought to aggrandize themselves by enslaving their countries; while one, adopting a middle course, and struggling against both, stood up in support of their laws and liberty. Although the last had the greatest share of the affection of their countrymen, still they had the least interest among foreigners. The partisans of the Romans being elated by the success of their party, alone held the offices of magistracy, and alone were employed on embassies. Great numbers of these, coming from the diets of Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and other parts of Greece, filled the ears of the ten commissioners with insinuations, that "those who, through folly, had openly boasted of being friends and intimates of Perseus, were not the only persons who had favoured his cause; much greater numbers had done so in secret. That there was another party, who under pretence of supporting liberty, had, in the diets, advanced every measure contrary to the Romans; and that those nations would not continue faithful, unless the spirit of these parties was broken, and the influence of those, who had no other object than the advancement of the Roman power, was augmented and strengthened." These persons, whose names were given in by this clique, were summoned by the general's letter out of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, to follow him to Rome, and plead their cause. Two of the ten commissioners, Caius Claudius and Cneius Domitius, went to Achaia, that they might, on the spot, summon by proclamation the persons implicated. This was done for two reasons; one was because they believed that the Achæans would have greater spirit and confidence than the rest, and might disobey, and perhaps even endanger Callicrates, and other authors of the charges, and informers. The other reason for summoning them on the spot, was, that the commissioners had in their possession letters from the chief men of the other nations, which had been found among the king's papers; but with regard to the Achæans the charges were not clear, because no letters of theirs had been discovered. When the Ætolians were dismiss-

ed, the Acarnanian nation was called in. No alteration was made in their situation, only Leucas was disunited from their council. Then making more extensive inquiries respecting those who had, publicly or privately, favoured the king, they extended their jurisdiction even into Asia, and sent Labeo to demolish Antissa, in the island of Lesbos, and to remove the inhabitants to Methymna; because they had received within their port, and supplied with provisions, Antenor, the commander of the king's fleet, while cruising with his squadron on the coast of Lesbos. Two distinguished men were beheaded, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Ætolian, because, imitating his father, he had borne arms against the Roman people; and Neo, a Theban, by whose advice his countrymen had formed an alliance with Perseus.

32. This examination into foreign matters having intervened, the general assembly of the Macedonians was again summoned, and information was given them that "with regard to the government of Macedon, they must elect senators called by themselves Synedroi, by whose advice the republic should be directed." Then was read a list of Macedonians of distinction, who, with their children above fifteen years of age, were ordered to go before him into Italy. This injunction, at first view cruel, appeared afterwards to the Macedonian populace to have been intended in favour of their freedom. For the persons named were Perseus's friends and courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the commanders of his ships or garrisons; men accustomed to pay servile obedience to the king, and to domineer haughtily over others; some immoderately rich, others vying in expense with those to whom they were unequal in fortune, all living in regal pomp and luxury; in a word, none possessed of a disposition suited to a member of a commonwealth, and all incapable of paying due obedience to the laws, and of enjoying an equal participation of liberty. All, therefore, who had held any employment under the king, even those who had been upon the most trivial embassies, were ordered to leave Macedon and go into Italy; and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disobeyed the mandate. He framed laws for Macedon with such care, that he seemed to be giving them not to vanquished foes, but to allies who had merited well; laws so wise, that even experience (which is the only corrector of laws) could not find

any fault in them after a long trial. Turning from serious business, he celebrated with great pomp at Amphipolis games, for which he had been making preparations for a long time, having sent people to the states and kings in Asia to give notice of the intended diversions, and in his late tour through Greece he had himself mentioned his design to the principal people. There came thither from every region in the world, multitudes of artists of every sort, skilled in such exhibitions, and vast numbers of wrestlers and noble horses; deputations also came with victims and every other mark of respect usually shown out of regard to gods or men, in great games of Greece. Hence it came to pass, that the people admired not only the magnificence, but likewise the skill displayed in the entertainments; in which kind of business the Romans were, at that time, quite inexperienced. Feasts were also provided for the ambassadors with the same degree of care and opulence. They made frequent mention of an expression of his, that to furnish out a feast, and to conduct games, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer.

33. When the games of every kind were finished, he put the brazen shields on board the ships; the rest of the arms, being all collected together in a huge pile, the general himself, after praying to Mars, Minerva, mother Lua, and the other deities, to whom it is right and proper to dedicate the spoils of enemies, set fire to them with a torch, and then the military tribunes who stood round all threw fire on the same. It was remarkable, that, at such a general congress of Europe and Asia, where such multitudes were assembled, some to congratulate the victors, some to see the shows; and where such numerous bodies of land and naval forces were quartered, so great was the plenty of every thing, and so moderate the price of provisions, that presents of divers articles were made by the general to private persons, and states, and nations; not only for their present use, but even to carry home with them. The stage entertainments, the gymnastics, and the horse races, did not afford a more pleasing spectacle to the crowd which had assembled, than the Macedonian booty, which was all exposed to view, consisting of the ornaments of the palace at Pella, namely, statues, pictures, tapestry, and vases, formed of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, in so elaborate a manner, that they seemed intended not merely for present

show, like the furniture of the palace of Alexandria, but even for continual use. These were embarked in the fleet, and given in charge to Cneius Octavius, to be carried to Rome. Paullus, after dismissing the ambassadors with great courtesy, crossed the Strymon, and encamped at the distance of a mile from Amphipolis; then resuming his march, he arrived on the fifth day at Pella. Having passed by that city, he halted for two days at a place called Spelæum, and detached his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica, with half of the troops, to lay waste the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perseus in the war, ordering them to meet him at Oricum; then, taking the road to Epirus, on his fifteenth encampment, he reached the city of Passaro.

34. Not far from this was the camp of Anicius, to whom he sent a letter, desiring him not to be alarmed at any thing that should happen, for "the senate had granted to his soldiers the plunder of those cities in Epirus which had revolted to Perseus." Having despatched centurions, who were to give out that they came to bring away the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes might be free, as well as the Macedonians; he summoned before him ten of the principal men of each city, and after giving them strict injunctions that all their gold and silver should be brought into the public street, he then sent cohorts to the several states. Those that were destined for the more remote states set out earlier than those who were sent to the nearer, that they might all arrive on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to act. Early in the morning all the treasure was collected; at the fourth hour the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder, and so ample was the booty acquired, that the shares distributed were four hundred denariuses[1] to a horseman, and two hundred to a footman. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were led away captive. Then the walls of the plundered cities, they were about seventy in number, were razed; the effects sold, and the soldiers' shares paid out of the price. Paullus then marched down to the sea to Oricum, having by no means satisfied the wishes of his men as he had imagined, for they were enraged at being excluded from sharing in the spoil of the king, as if they had not waged any war in Macedon. When he found, at Oricum, the troops sent with his son Max-

[1] 12*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

imus and Scipio Nasica, he embarked the army, and sailed over to Italy. Anicius, a few days after, having held a convention of the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, and having ordered those of their chiefs, whose cases he had reserved for consideration, to follow him into Italy, waited only for the return of the ships that the Macedonian army had used, and then passed over to Italy. At the time that these events took place in Macedon and Epirus, the ambassadors that had been sent with Attalus, to put a stop to hostilities between the Gauls and king Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a suspension of arms for the winter, the Gauls were gone home, and the king had retired to Pergamus into winter quarters, where he fell sick of a grievous disease. The first appearance of spring drew out both parties from their respective homes; the Gauls had advanced as far as Synnada, while Eumenes had collected from every quarter his forces, at Sardis. Then the Romans held a conference with Solovettius, general of the Gauls, at Synnada, and Attalus accompanied them; but it was not thought proper that he should enter the camp of the Gauls, lest the passions of either party might be heated by debate. Publius Licinius held a conference with the Gallic chieftain, and brought back word that he was rendered more haughty by the attempt to persuade him; so that it might, therefore, seem matter of wonder that the mediation of Roman ambassadors should have had so great influence on Antiochus and Ptolemy, two powerful kings, as to make them instantly conclude a peace; and yet, that it had no influence with the Gauls.

35. The captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first brought to Rome, and put in custody, and next the other prisoners; then such of the Macedonians and principal men of Greece as had been ordered to come to Rome; for of these, not only such as were at home were summoned by letter, but even those who were said to be at the courts of the kings. In a few days after, Paullus was carried up the Tiber to the city, in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry, which had been the property of the king; while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days, arrived Ani-

cius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet. A triumph was voted by the senate to all three: and instructions were given to Quintus Cassius, the prætor, to apply to the plebeian tribunes, who, by the authority of the senate, should propose to the commons the passing of an order to invest them with military command during the day on which they should ride through the city in triumph. Those in the middle rank are never assailed by popular displeasure, which usually aims at the highest. With regard to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, no hesitation was made; yet they detracted from the merits of Paullus, with whom these men could not, without blushing, set themselves in comparison. He had kept his soldiers under the ancient rules of discipline, and had made smaller donations out of the spoil, than they hoped to receive, since the treasures of the king were so large; for if he had indulged their avarice, there would have left nothing to be carried to the treasury. The whole Macedonian army was disposed to attend negligently in support of their commander, at the assembly held for the passing of the order. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, (who had been military tribune of the second legion in Macedon, and who was a personal enemy of the general,) by his own importunities, and by soliciting them through the soldiers of his own legion, had instigated them to attend in full numbers, to give their votes, and to "take revenge on a haughty and morose commander, by rejecting the order proposed for his triumph. The commons of the city would follow the judgment of the soldiery. Was it probable that he could not give the money? The soldiers could confer honours! Let him not hope to reap the fruits of gratitude among those from whom he had not merited them."

36. The soldiers were urged on by these expressions, and when, in the Capitol, Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed the order, and private citizens had an opportunity of speaking on the law, no one came forward to speak in favour of it, as there was not a doubt entertained of its passing. Whereupon Servius Galba suddenly came forward and demanded of the tribune, that, "as it was then the eighth hour, and as there would not be time enough to produce all the reasons for not ordering a triumph to Lucius Æmilius, they should adjourn to the next day, and proceed with the business

early in the morning: for he would require an entire day to plead that cause." When the tribune desired, that he would say then whatever he chose to object; by his speech he protracted the affair until night, representing to the people and reminding the soldiers, that "the duties of the service had been enforced with unusual severity; that greater toil and greater danger had been imposed on them than the occasion required; while, on the other hand, in respect of rewards and honours, every thing was conducted on the narrowest scale; and if such commanders succeeded, military employment would become more irksome and more laborious to the soldiers, while it would produce to the conquerors neither riches nor honours. That the Macedonians were in a better condition than the Roman soldiers. If they would attend next day, in full numbers, to reject the order, men in power would learn, that every thing was not in the disposal of the commander, but that there was something in that of the soldiery." The soldiers, instigated by such arguments, filled the Capitol next day with such a crowd, that no one else could find room to vote. When the tribes which were first called in gave a negative to the question, the principal men in the state ran together to the Capitol, crying out, that "it was a shameful thing that Lucius Paullus, after his success in such an important war, should be robbed of a triumph; that commanders should be given up, in a state of subjection, to the licentiousness and avarice of their men. As it was, too many errors were made through a desire to gain popularity; but what must be the consequence if the soldiers were raised into the place of masters over their generals?" All heaped violent reproaches on Galba. At last, when the uproar was calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested from the tribunes that they would begin the proceedings anew, and give him an opportunity of speaking to the people. These, after withdrawing to deliberate, being overcome by the influence of the leading men of the state, began the proceedings over again, and declared that they would call back the tribes as soon as Servilius and other private persons should have delivered their sentiments.

37. Servilius then said: "Romans, if we had no other means of judging what a consummate commander Lucius Æmilius was, this one would be sufficient: that, notwithstanding

he had in his camp soldiers so fickle and mutinously inclined, with an enemy so noble, so zealous, and so eloquent, to stir up the passions of the multitude, yet he never had any sedition in his army. That strictness of discipline, which they now hate, kept them then in order. Subjected to the ancient rules, they did not mutiny. If truly, Servius Galba wished to make his debut as an orator in the case of Lucius Paullus, and to give a specimen of his eloquence, still he ought not to obstruct his triumph, since, if there was no other reason in its favour, the senate had judged it to be well merited. But on the day after the triumph, when he should see Æmilius in a private station, he should prefer a charge, and prosecute him according to the laws; or else, at a later period, when he himself should be invested with magistracy, let him cite Paullus to a trial, and accuse his enemy before the people. By such conduct Lucius Paullus would both receive the reward of his proper conduct, a triumph for extraordinary success in war, and also meet punishment, if he had committed any thing unworthy of his former or present reputation. Instead of which, he has undertaken to detract from the merits of a man to whom he cannot impute either crime or dishonour. Yesterday he demanded a whole day, for making his charges against Lucius Paullus, and he spent four hours, which remained of that day, in delivering a speech to that purpose. What accused man was ever so transcendently wicked, that the offence of his life could not be set forth in that number of hours? And yet, in all that time, what did he object to him, that Lucius Paullus, if actually on his trial, would have wished to be denied? Let any one with me fancy for a moment, two assemblies: one composed of the soldiers who served in Macedon; the other, of sounder judgment, unbiassed either by favour or dislike; where the whole body of the Roman people is the judge. Let the cause of the accused be pleaded, first, before the citizens, peaceably assembled in their gowns. Servius Galba, what have you to say before the Roman citizens? for such a discourse, as you made before, is totally precluded. You were obliged to stand at your posts with too much strictness and attention; the watches were visited with too much exactness and severity; you had more fatigue than formerly, because the general himself went the rounds, and enforced the duties. On the same day you per-

formed a march, and, without repose, were led forth to battle. Even when you had gained a victory, he did not allow you rest: he led you immediately in pursuit of the enemy. When he has it in his power to make you rich, by dividing the spoil, he intends to carry the king's treasure in his triumph, and deposit it in the treasury. Though these arguments may have some incentive to stimulate the passions of soldiers, who imagine that too little deference has been shown to their licentious temper, and too little indulgence to their avarice; yet they would have no kind of influence on the judgment of the Roman people; who, though they should not recollect old accounts, and what they heard from their parents, of the numerous defeats suffered in consequence of the desire of commanders to gain popularity, or of victories gained in consequence of strict enforcement of discipline; yet must they surely remember, what a difference there was in the last Punic war between Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the dictator. The accuser, therefore, would soon know, that any defence, on the part of Paullus, would be superfluous.

38. "Let us now pass to the other assembly; and here I am not to address you as citizens, but as soldiers, if, indeed, this name can cause a blush, and inspire you with shame, for your injurious treatment of your general. And I for my part feel my own mind affected in a very different manner, when I suppose myself speaking to an army, from what it was, just now, when my speech was addressed to the commons of the city. For what say you, soldiers, is there any man in Rome, except Perseus, that wishes there should be no triumph over Macedon; and are you not tearing him in pieces with the same hands with which you subdued the Macedonians? That man, who would hinder you from entering the city in triumph, would, if it had been in his power, have hindered you from conquering. Soldiers, you are mistaken, if you imagine that a triumph is an honour to the general only, and not to the soldiers also, as well as to the whole Roman people. This honour does not belong to Paullus alone. Many who failed of obtaining a triumph from the senate, have triumphed on the Alban Mount. No man can wrest from Lucius Paullus the honour of having brought the Macedonian war to a conclusion, any more than he can from Caius Lutatius, that of

putting an end to the first Punic war, or from Publius Cornelius, that of finishing the second; or from those who, *since those generals,* have triumphed. Neither will a triumph add to, or diminish, the honour of Lucius Paullus as a commander: the character of the soldiers, and of the whole Roman people, is more immediately concerned therein, lest they should incur the imputation of envy and ingratitude towards one of their most illustrious citizens, and appear to imitate, in this respect, the Athenians, who have persecuted their distinguished men by exciting the hatred of the populace. Sufficient error was committed by your ancestors in the case of Camillus, whom they treated injuriously, before the city was recovered from the Gauls through his means; error sufficient, and more than sufficient, was committed by you in the case of Publius Africanus. How must we blush, when we reflect that the habitation and house of the conquerer of Africa was at Liternum; that his tomb is shown at Liternum! And shall Lucius Paullus, equal to any of those men in renown, receive from you an equal share of ill-treatment? Let then this infamy be first blotted out, which is shameful in the eyes of other nations, and injurious to ourselves; for who will wish to resemble either Africanus, or Paullus, in a state ungrateful and inimical to the virtuous? If there were no disgrace in the case, and the question merely concerned glory, what triumph does not imply the general glory of the Roman race? Are all the numerous triumphs over the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians, called the triumphs of the generals only, or of the Roman people? As the triumphs were celebrated not merely over Pyrrhus, or Hannibal, or Philip, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians; so it was not the individual, Manius Curius, or Publius Cornelius, nor Titus Quinctius, but the Romans, that triumphed. This, indeed, is the peculiar case of the soldiers, who, themselves both crowned with laurel, and conspicuous for the presents each one has received, proclaim the triumph by name, and march in procession through the city, singing their own and their commander's praises. If, at any time, soldiers are not brought home from a province to such honours, they murmur; and yet, even in that case, they consider themselves distinguished, even in their absence, because by their hands the victory was obtained. Soldiers, if it should be asked, for what purpose you were brought

home to Italy, and not disbanded immediately, when the business of the province was finished; why you came to Rome, in a body, round your standards; why you loiter here, and do not repair to your several homes: what other answer can you give, than that you wished to be seen triumphing? And, certainly, you have a right to show yourselves as conquerors.

39. "Triumphs have been lately celebrated over Philip, father of the present king, and over Antiochus. Both these triumphs over them took place when they were in possession of their thrones, and shall there be no triumph over Perseus, who has been taken prisoner, and, with his children, brought away to the city? But if Lucius Paullus, as a private citizen, should, amid the crowd of gowned citizens, interrogate, from the lower ground, those mounting to the Capitol in a chariot, and clad in gold and purple,—'Lucius Anicius, Cneius Octavius, whether do you esteem yourselves, or me, more deserving of a triumph?' I am confident they would yield him the chariot, and, through shame, themselves present to him their ensigns of honour. And do ye choose, citizens, that Gentius should be led in procession, rather than Perseus; do you wish to triumph over an accessary, rather than over the principal in the war? Shall the legions from Illyria, and the crews of the fleet, enter the city with laurel crowns; and shall the Macedonian legions, after being refused a triumph, be only spectators of other men's glories? What then will become of such a rich booty, the spoils of a victory so lucrative? Where shall be buried so many thousand suits of armour, stripped from the bodies of the enemy? shall they be sent back to Macedon? Where shall be lodged the statues of gold, of marble, and of ivory: the pictures, the tapestries, such a quantity of wrought silver and gold, and such a mass of royal money? Shall they be conveyed to the treasury by night, as if they were stolen? What? when will that greatest of shows, the celebrated and powerful captive king, Perseus, be exhibited to the eyes of a victorious people? Most of us remember what a concourse the captured king Syphax, an auxiliary only in the Punic war, caused; and shall the captured king, Perseus, with his sons, Philip and Alexander, names so illustrious, be withdrawn from the eager gaze of the state? All men are eagerly anxious to behold Lucius Paullus himself, twice consul, the conqueror of Greece, entering the

city in his triumphal chariot. We made him consul for this very purpose, that he should finish a war which had been protracted for four years, to our great shame. When he obtained that province by lot, and when he was setting out for it, with presaging minds, we destined to him victory and triumph; and shall we now, when he is victorious, refuse him a triumph; shall we defraud, not only men, but the gods also of the honours due to them? For a triumph is due to the gods also, and not to men only: your ancestors commenced every business of importance with worshipping them, and ended all in the same manner. The consul, or prætor, (when going to his province and to a war, dressed in his military robe, and attended by his lictors,) offers vows in the Capitol; and when he returns victorious, after bringing the war to a conclusion, carries in triumph to the Capitol, to the deities to whom he made the vows, the due offering of the Roman people. The victims that precede him are not the most immaterial part of the procession,—to demonstrate that the commander comes home with thanksgivings to the gods for the success granted to the state. You may slay at sacrifices performed by different persons, all those victims, which he has claimed to be led in his triumph. Do you intend to interrupt those banquets of the senate which (whether they are meant for the gratification of men, or both of gods and men) are not partaken of either in any private or even public unconsecrated place, but only in the Capitol,—because such is the will of Servius Galba? Shall the gates be shut against the triumph of Lucius Paullus? Shall Perseus, king of Macedon, with his children, the multitude of other captives, and the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind on this side of the river? Shall Lucius Paullus, in a private character, go straight from the gate to his house, as if returning home from his country-seat? And do you, centurion, and you, soldiers, listen to the votes of the senate respecting your general, Paullus, rather than to what Servius Galba may invent? Listen to me, who say this, rather than to him. He has learned nothing, but to speak; and even that with rancour and malice. I have three-and-twenty times fought against the enemy, on challenges; from every one with whom I engaged, I brought off spoils. I have my body plentifully marked with honourable scars, all received in front." It is said that he then stripped himself, and men-

tioned in what war each of his wounds was received; while he was showing these, he happened to uncover what ought to be concealed, and a swelling in his groins raised a laugh among those near him. He then said, "This too, which excites your laughter, I got by continuing days and nights on horseback; nor do I feel either shame or sorrow for it, any more than for these scars, since it never prevented me from rendering effectual service to the republic, either in peace or war. An aged soldier, I have shown to youthful soldiers this body of mine, often wounded by the weapons of the enemy. Let Galba expose his, which is sleek and unhurt. Tribunes, be pleased to call back the tribes to vote. Soldiers, I[1] *will go down among you, and will follow you as you proceed to give your votes, and I will mark the turbulent and ungrateful, and such as require that they should not be governed by the general, but that he should become their willing slave, through a desire to gain popularity.*" *The great body of the soldiers felt so deeply the justice of this reproof, that they changed their minds, so that all the tribes, when recalled to give their votes, passed unanimously the bill concerning the triumph. Therefore Paullus, having at length overcome the malice and detraction of his enemies, celebrated a triumph over king Perseus and the Macedonians, which lasted three days, namely, the fourth, third, and second days, before the calends of December. This triumph, whether we consider the greatness of the conquered king, or the appearances of the images, or the quantity of money, was by far the most magnificent that was ever celebrated, so that by its greatness it precluded all comparison with occurrences of a similar nature. The people having raised stands, like those in the theatre, along the market-place and the other streets of the city, by which the procession was to move, were spectators, and were dressed in white gowns. All the temples were open, and were wreathed with garlands and smoking with incense. The lictors and beadles kept the whole extent of the streets clear, and the way open, by removing from the middle of them the mob, which was crowding together and wandering about.*

[1] The conclusion of this speech is lost. The effect of it was, that the order for the triumph of Lucius Paullus passed unanimously. The beginning of the account of the procession is also lost. As we have adopted Twiss's text in our translation, we give here the continuation of the history, which has been derived chiefly from Plutarch.

Although the gorgeous spectacle was destined to occupy three days, as we have already mentioned, yet the first day scarcely sufficed for the procession of the statues and paintings, which were placed on two hundred and fifty chariots. The next day all the most beautiful and most magnificent arms of the Macedonians were carried along on many waggons; and these arms were glittering with all the brightness of steel, or lately polished brass, and were piled up in such a manner with regard to one another, that although they seemed to be heaped up in masses rather than artificially arranged, yet they presented to the eye a striking appearance, owing to this very fortuitous and confused arrangement: helmets were mixed with shields, and coats of mail with greaves, and Cretan targets, and Thracian bucklers, and quivers, in one heap with the bridles of horses, and naked swords exposing their threatening points, and Macedonian spears projecting from the sides. And as all these arms were loosely bound together, whenever they clashed with one another in the carriage, they sent forth a certain terrible and martial sound, so that not even the arms of the conquered could be viewed without a feeling of fear. Then more than seven hundred and fifty vases, filled with coined silver, were borne along by three thousand men. Each vase contained three talents, and was borne by four men. There were some who bore silver bowls, and goblets, and cups, and vessels made of horn, remarkable as well for the beauty of their arrangement, as for their size and weight, and the surpassing workmanship of the raised carving. On the third day, at the very dawn, the trumpeters began the march, playing not only the festal strains which were usual in solemn processions, but also sounding the war-notes, as if they were advancing to battle. A hundred and twenty fat oxen with gilded horns, and adorned with fillets and wreaths of flowers, were led along. Young men, begirt with kinds of exquisite workmanship, led the bulls along; and to them were added as companions, boys who bore golden and silver goblets. Then followed the persons who bore the coined gold in seventy-seven vases, each of which contained three talents, like those in which the silver was carried. Then was seen the sacred goblet, ten talents in weight, adorned with precious gems, which Paullus had ordered to be made, and also the goblets of Antigonus and Seleucus, and the cups made by Thericles, and other dis-

tinguished artists, all made of gold, with which the saloons of Perseus had been furnished. After them came the chariot of Perseus, laden with his arms, and a diadem in addition. A band of captives followed, namely, Bethys, the son of king Cotys, who had been sent by his father into Macedon as a hostage, and subsequently taken by the Romans along with the children of Perseus; then the children of Perseus themselves, accompanied by a band of tutors and guardians, who in tears stretched forth their hands mournfully to the spectators, and instructed the boys to implore suppliantly the mercy of the victorious people. There were two sons and one daughter who excited the greater commiseration in the spectators, because they themselves, on account of their age, could scarcely comprehend their misfortunes. Therefore the majority of the spectators could not refrain from tears, and a sort of silent grief saddened the minds of all, and prevented them from enjoying real pleasure, as long as the children met their gaze. Behind his children walked Perseus with his wife, in a mourning robe, dressed in sandals, after the Greek custom, like a person stupified and astonished, whom the greatness of his calamities seemed to have deprived of reason. Then followed a crowd of friends and acquaintances, in whose countenances deep grief was depicted, for whenever they gazed on the king they wept bitterly, demonstrating clearly that they were grieved on account of his calamities, but forgot their own. Perseus had endeavoured to avert this ignominy by entreaties, and had sent persons to Æmilius, to beg that he should not be led in the triumphal procession. Æmilius smiled at the dastardly spirit of the wretch, and said, "that this request was formerly, and is even now, under his own actions and power;" thereby giving him a silent hint, that he should avoid by a noble death that of which he was afraid. But his irresolute mind was not capable of adopting so determined a design, and under the soothing influence of some hope, he preferred being considered part of his own spoil. Then four hundred golden crowns were carried along, which had been sent by almost all the states of Greece and Asia, through their ambassadors, as gifts to Paullus, and an expression of their joy for his victory: their value, if they were considered intrinsically, was immense, yet they constituted a slight addition to the enormous treasures which were borne in that triumph.

40. Valerius Antias tells us, that the total of the captured gold and silver, carried in the procession, was one hundred and twenty millions of sesterces;[1] but from the number of chariots, and the weights of the gold and silver, specifically set down by himself, the amount is unquestionably made much greater. An equal sum, it is said, had been either expended on the late war, or dissipated during the flight, when he sought Samothrace; and it was more wonderful on this account, because so large a quantity of money had been amassed within the space of the thirty years that intervened since Philip's war with the Romans, partly out of the produce of the mines, and partly from the other branches of revenue. Philip began war against the Romans almost destitute of money; Perseus, on the contrary, was immensely rich. Last came Paullus himself, in his chariot, making a very majestic appearance, both from the dignity of his person, and from his age. After his chariot, among other illustrious personages, were his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio; then the cavalry, troop by troop, and the cohorts of infantry, each in its order. The donative distributed among them was one hundred denariuses[2] to each footman, double to a centurion, and triple to a horseman; and it is believed that he would have given as much more to the infantry, and in the same proportion to the others, had they not objected to his attaining the present honour, or had they answered with thankful acclamations, when that sum was announced as their reward. But Perseus, led through the city of his enemies in chains, before the chariot of the general, his conqueror, was not the only instance at the time of the misfortunes incident to mankind; another appeared even in the victorious Paullus, though glittering in gold and purple. For, of two sons, (whom, after having given away two others on adoption, he had retained at home, the sole heirs of his name, household gods, and estate,) the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph, and the elder fourteen years of age, three days after it; who ought to have been carried in the chariot with their father, dressed in the prætexta, and anticipating, in their hopes, the like kind of honours for themselves. A few days after, at a general assembly granted by Marcus Antonius, tribune of the people, after Paullus has descanted on his own proper services, as usually done

[1] 968,750*l.* [2] 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*

by other commanders, his speech was memorable, and worthy of a Roman chief.

41. "Although, Romans, I think you are not ignorant that I have successfully administered the state, nor that two dreadful strokes have lately crushed my house; since now my triumph and now the funerals of my two sons have been exhibited to your view; yet permit me, I pray you, to take in few words, and with that temper which becomes me, a comparative view of my own private situation, and the happy state of the public. Departing from Italy, I sailed from Brundusium at sun-rise; at the ninth hour, with my whole squadron, I reached Corcyra. On the fifth day after that I offered sacrifice to Apollo, at Delphi, in expiation of myself, of your armies and fleets. From Delphi I arrived on the fifth day in the camp; where, having received the command of the army, and altered several matters which greatly impeded success, I advanced into the country; as the enemy's camp was impregnable, and Perseus could not be brought to an action, I forced the pass of Petra in the very face of his guards, and at length, compelled the king to come to an engagement, and gained a complete victory. I reduced Macedonia under the power of the Romans; and in fifteen days finished a war, which four consuls before me had for four years conducted in such a manner, that each left it to his successor more formidable than he had found it. Other prosperous events followed in consequence of this; all the cities of Macedon submitted; the royal treasure came into my hands; the king himself, with his children, was taken in the temple of Samothrace, just as if the gods themselves delivered him into my hands. I now thought my good fortune excessive, and on that account to be suspected; I began to dread the dangers of the sea, in carrying away the king's vast treasure, and transporting the victorious army. When all arrived in Italy, after a prosperous voyage, and I had nothing further to wish, I prayed that (as fortune generally from the highest elevation rolls backwards) my own house, rather than the commonwealth, might feel the change. I hope, therefore, that the republic is free from danger, by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity, as to have my triumph, in mockery as it were of human fortunes, intervene between the funerals of my two sons. And though Perseus and myself are at

present exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes of mortals, yet he,—who, himself in captivity, saw his children led captive,—has them still in safety; while I, who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the Capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the Capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring; nor out of so large a family of children is there one remaining to bear the name of Lucius Æmilius Paullus. For, as out of a numerous progeny, the Cornelian and Fabian families have two of them who were given in adoption. In the house of Paullus, except the old man, none remains. However, your happiness, and the prosperous state of the commonwealth, console me for this ruin of my house." 42. These words, expressed with such magnanimity, moved the minds of the audience with deeper commiseration than if he had with tears bewailed the loss of his children in the most plaintive terms.

Cneius Octavius celebrated a naval triumph over king Perseus, on the calends of December. That triumph was without prisoners or spoils. He distributed to each seaman seventy-five denariuses;[1] to the pilots who were on board, twice that sum; and to the masters of ships, four times. A meeting of the senate was then held. The fathers ordered that Quintus Cassius should conduct king Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, to be there kept in custody; but that he should retain his attendants, money, plate, and furniture. Bitis, son to the king of Thrace, was sent to Carseoli; with the hostages he had given to Macedon, the rest, who had been led in triumph, were ordered to be shut up in prison. A few days after this passed, ambassadors came from Cotys, king of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the said hostages. When they were introduced to an audience of the senate, and alleged, as an argument, in excuse of Cotys, that he had not voluntarily assisted Perseus in the war, but had been compelled to do it; and likewise requested the senate to allow the hostages to be ransomed, at any price that should be judged proper; the following answer was returned to them: that "the Roman people remembered the friendship which had subsisted between them and Cotys, and likewise his predecessors, and the Thracian nation; that the giving of hostages was the very fault laid to his charge, and not an

[1] 2*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.*

apology for it; for Perseus, even when at rest from others, could not be formidable to the Thracian nation, much less when he was embroiled in a war with Rome. But that notwithstanding that Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman people, yet the senate would consider rather what suited their own dignity, than what treatment he had merited; and would send home his son and the hostages; that the kind acts of the Roman people were always gratuitous, and that they chose to leave the value of them in the memory of the receivers, rather than to demand it at the time." Titus Quintius Flamininus, Caius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus were nominated ambassadors to conduct the hostages to Thrace; and a present of two thousand *asses*[1] was made to each of the Thracian ambassadors. Bithys was fetched from Carseoli, and, accompanied by the hostages, was sent to his father along with the ambassadors. Some of the king's ships which were taken from the Macedonians, which were of a size never seen before, were hauled ashore in the field of Mars.

43. While the memory of the Macedonian triumph was remaining not only in the minds but almost before the eyes of the people, Lucius Anicius triumphed over king Gentius and the Illyrians, on the day of the festival of Quirinus. These exhibitions were considered rather as similar than equal. The commander himself was inferior; Anicius was not to be compared in renown with Æmilius; a prætor, in dignity of office, with a consul; neither could Gentius be set on a level with Perseus, nor the Illyrians with the Macedonians; nor the spoils, nor the money, nor the presents obtained in one country, with those obtained in the other. But though the late triumph outshone the present, yet the latter, when considered by itself, appeared very far from contemptible. For Anicius had, in the space of a few days, entirely subdued the Illyrian nation, though they were remarkable for their courage both on land and sea, and confident in the strength of their position; he had also taken their king and the whole royal family. He carried in his triumph many military standards, and much spoil of other sorts, with all the royal furniture; and also twenty-seven pounds' weight of gold, and nineteen of silver, besides three thousand denariuses,[2] and, in Illyrian money, the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand.[3]

[1] 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* [2] 96*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* [3] 3874*l.*

Before his chariot were led Gentius, with his queen and children; Caravantius, the king's brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty he gave forty-five denariuses[1] to each footman, double that sum to a centurion, triple it to a horseman; to the Latin allies the like sums as to natives, and to the seamen the same as to the soldiers. The soldiers attended this triumph with greater demonstrations of joy than that of Æmilius, and the general was celebrated in abundance of songs. Valerius Antias says, that twenty thousand sesterces[2] were produced by the sale of the booty, besides the gold and silver carried to the treasury; but, as no sources appeared from which such a sum could be raised, I have set down my authority instead of asserting the fact. King Gentius, with his queen, children, and brother, was, pursuant to an order of the senate, taken to Spoletium, to be kept there in custody; the rest of the prisoners were thrown into prison at Rome; but the people of Spoletium refusing the charge, the royal family was removed to Iguvium. There remained of the Illyrian spoil, two hundred and twenty barks, which Quintus Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed among the Corcyreans, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians.

44. The consuls of this year, after merely ravaging the lands of the Ligurians, as the enemy never brought an army into the field, returned to Rome to elect new magistrates, without having performed any matter of importance; and on the first day on which the assembly could meet, they appointed Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus, consuls. Lucius Livius, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quintilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius, were elected prætors on the next day. The two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia were decreed to these prætors. There was an intercalation made in the calendar this year, which took place on the day after the feast of Terminus. One of the augurs, Caius Claudius, died this year, and Titus Quintus Flamininus was chosen in his place by the college. The flamen quirinalis, Quintus Fabius Pictor, died also. This year king Prusias arrived at Rome with his son Nicomedes. Coming into the city with a large retinue, he went directly from the gate to the forum, to the tribunal of the prætor, Quintus Cassius; and a crowd

[1] *l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* [2] 161,458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

immediately collecting, he said, that "he came to pay his respects to the deities inhabiting the city of Rome, and to the Roman senate and people, to congratulate them on their conquest of the two kings, Perseus and Gentius, and the augmentation of their empire by the reduction of Macedon and Illyria under their dominion." When the prætor told him that, if he chose it, he would procure him audience of the senate on the same day, he desired two days' time, in which he might go round and visit the temples of the gods, see the city, and his acquaintances and friends. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then quæstor, who had been sent to Capua to meet him, was appointed to conduct him around Rome. A house was likewise provided, capable of lodging him and his retinue with convenience. On the third day after, he attended at a meeting of the senate. He congratulated them on their success, recounted his own deserts towards them during the war, and then requested that "he might be allowed to fulfil a vow of sacrificing ten large victims in the Capitol, and one to Fortune at Præneste; a vow which had been made for the success of the Roman people. He further desired that the alliance with him might be renewed; and that the territory taken from king Antiochus, and not granted to any other, but now in possession of the Gauls, might be given to him." Lastly, he recommended to the senate his son Nicomedes. He was assisted by the interest of all those who had commanded armies in Macedon; his requests therefore were granted, except that with regard to the territory, concerning which he received this answer: that "they would send ambassadors to examine the matter on the spot. If the territory in question had become the property of the Roman people, and if no grant had been made of it, they would deem no other so deserving of a present of the kind as Prusias. But if it had not belonged to Antiochus, it evidently, in consequence, did not become the property of the Roman people; or if it had been already granted to the Gauls, Prusias must excuse the Roman people if they did not choose to confer a present on him in violation of the rights of others. A present cannot be acceptable to the receiver, which he knows the donor may take away whenever he thinks proper. That they cheerfully accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and Ptolemy, king of Egypt, was an instance of the great care with which the Roman people supported the children of their

friends." With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents were ordered to be given him to the value of * * * * sesterces, besides vases of silver, weighing fifty pounds. And they voted that gifts should be given to his son Nicomedes of the same value with those given to Masgaba, the son of king Masinissa; and that the same victims, and other matters pertaining to sacrifices, should be furnished to the king at the public expense, as to the Roman magistrates, whenever he chose to make the offering, either at Rome or at Prænestè; and that twenty ships of war should be assigned to him, and which were then lying at Brundusium, of which he should have the use until he arrived at the fleet which was presented to him. That Lucius Cornelius Scipio should not quit him, but defray all his expenses, and those of his retinue, until they went on board the ships. We are told that Prusias was wonderfully rejoiced at the kind treatment which he received from the Roman people; that he refused all that had been offered to himself, but ordered his son to receive the present of the Roman people. Such are the accounts given of Prusias by our own writers. Polybius, however, represents that king as having degraded the majesty of his name,—and says that he used to meet the ambassadors, wearing a cap, and having his head shaved, calling himself a freed slave of the Roman people, and, accordingly, bearing the badges of that class; that likewise at Rome, when coming into the senate-house, he stooped down and kissed the threshold; called the senate his tutelar deities, and used other expressions not so honourable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. He staid in the city and its vicinity not more than thirty days, and then returned to his kingdom, and the war that had been carried on in Asia.

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Here ends all that has reached us of this history. Of ninety-five books more, which it originally consisted of, the contents only have been preserved; they are as follow:—

BOOK XLVI.

King Eumenes came to Rome. [Y. R. 586. B. C. 166.] A general law was introduced, that no king should be permitted to come to Rome, in order that he might not appear to be declared an enemy, if he were excluded; nor yet justified, if he were admitted—because

he had remained neutral in the Macedonian war. The consul, Claudius Marcellus, subdued the Alpine Gauls; and Caius Sulpicius Gallus the Ligurians. [Y. R. 587. B. C. 165.] The ambassadors of king Prusias complain of Eumenes, for ravaging their borders; they accuse him of entering into a conspiracy, with Antiochus, against the Romans. A treaty of friendship was made with the Rhodians, upon their solicitation. [Y. R. 588. B. C. 164.] A census was held by the censors; the number of the citizens was found to be three hundred and twenty-seven thousand and twenty-two. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was chosen chief of the senate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, being dethroned by his younger brother, was restored by ambassadors sent from Rome. [Y. R. 589. B. C. 163.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, died, and was succeeded by his son Ariarathes, who entered anew into a treaty of friendship with the Romans. [Y. R. 590. B. C. 162.] Expeditions against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians, were attended with various success. Commotions took place in Syria, on occasion of the death of Antiochus, who had left a son, an infant; Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who had been a hostage at Rome, secretly murders this young Antiochus, with his tutor Lysias, because he was not dismissed by the Romans, and usurps the kingdom. [Y. R. 591. B. C. 161.] Lucius Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus, died. Such was the moderation and integrity of this great commander, that, notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedon, upon the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's fortune. [Y. R. 592. B. C. 160.] The Pomptine marshes were drained, and converted into dry land, by the consul, Cornelius Cethegus.

BOOK XLVII.

Cneius Tremellius, a plebeian tribune, was [Y. R. 593. B. C. 159] fined for contending in an unjust cause with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the chief priest; which greatly enhanced the authority of the priesthood. A law was made respecting the canvassing for offices. [Y. R. 594. B. C. 158.] A census was held: the number of Roman citizens was found to be three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was again chosen chief of the senate. A treaty was concluded between the Ptolemies, brothers, that one should be the king of Egypt, the other of Cyrene. [Y. R. 595. B. C. 157.] Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, being deprived of his kingdom by the intrigues and power of Demetrius, king of Syria, was restored by the senate. Ambassadors were sent by the senate to determine a territorial dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. [Y. R. 596. B. C. 156.] Caius Marcius, the consul, fought against the Dalmatians, at first unfortunately; but afterwards successfully. The cause of this war was, that they had made inroads upon the Illyrians, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [Y. R. 597. B. C. 155.] The Dalmatians were subdued by the consul, Cornelius Nasica. The consul, Quintus Opimius, defeats the Transalpine Ligurians, who

had plundered Antipolis and Nicæa, two towns belonging to the Massilians. [Y. R. 598. B. C. 154.] Various ill successes occurred under different commanders, in Spain. In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the city, the consuls enter upon office immediately after the conclusion of their election; which alteration was made on account of a rebellion in Spain. [Y. R. 599. B. C. 153.] The ambassadors sent by the senate to determine a dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, return, and report that the Carthaginians had collected a vast quantity of materials for ship-building. Several prætors, accused of extortion by different provinces, were condemned and punished

BOOK XLVIII.

A census was held by the censors [Y. R. 600. B. C. 152]; the number of citizens amounted to three hundred and twenty-four thousand. The causes of the third Punic war are enumerated: when a large army of Numidians was said to be in the territory of the Carthaginians, with Ariobarzanes, the descendant of Syphax, as general, Marcus Porcius Cato advised that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, because they had invited Ariobarzanes into their country, apparently to oppose king Masinissa, but in reality against the Romans. Publius Scipio Nasica being of a contrary opinion, it is resolved to send ambassadors to Carthage, to inquire into the truth of the affair. The Carthaginian senate being reproved for levying forces, and preparing materials for ship-building, contrary to treaty, declare themselves ready to make peace with Masinissa, upon condition of his giving up the lands in dispute. But Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, a man of a seditious disposition, at that time chief magistrate, notwithstanding the determination of the senate to abide by the decision of the ambassadors, urges the Carthaginians to war against the Romans, in such strong terms, that the ambassadors are obliged to save themselves by flight from personal violence. On this being announced at Rome, the senate becomes more highly incensed against them. Cato, being poor, celebrated the funeral obsequies of his son, who died in the office of prætor, at a very small expense. Andriscus, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Perseus, king of Macedonia, was sent to Rome. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been six times declared chief of the senate, on his death-bed, gives strict orders to his sons that he shall be carried out to burial on a couch, without the usual ornaments of purple and fine linen, and that there shall not be expended on his funeral more than ten pieces of brass: alleging that the funerals of the most distinguished men used, formerly, to be decorated by trains of images, and not by vast expense. An inquiry was instituted concerning poisoning. Publicia and Licinia, women of high rank, accused of the murder of their husbands, were tried before the prætor, and executed. [Y. R. 601. B. C. 151.] Gulussa, son of Masinissa, gives information that troops were levying and a fleet fitting out at Carthage, and that there could be no doubt of their intending war. Cato urging a declar-

ation of war, and Nasica speaking against it, entreated the senate to do nothing rashly; it is resolved to send ten ambassadors to inquire into the affair. The consuls, Lucius Licinius Lucullus, and Aulus Postumius Albinus, carrying on the levying of soldiers with inflexible severity, were committed to prison by the tribunes of the people, for not, at their entreaty, sparing some of their friends. The ill success of the war in Spain having so discouraged the citizens of Rome, that none could be found to undertake any military command or office, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus comes forward, and offers to undertake any office whatever, which it should be thought proper to call him to: roused by his example, the whole body of the people make the like offer. It was thought that the consul, Claudius Marcellus, had reduced all the states of Celtiberia to a state of tranquillity; nevertheless, his successor, Lucius Lucullus, is engaged in war with the Vaccæans, Cantabrians, and other nations of Spaniards, hitherto unknown; all of which he subdues. In this war, Publius Cornelius Africanus Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Lucius Paullus, and nephew, by adoption, of Africanus, a military tribune, slays a barbarian who had challenged him, and distinguishes himself highly at the siege of Intercatia, being the first who scaled the wall. The prætor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, fights against the Lusitanians unsuccessfully. When the ambassadors, returning from Africa, together with some Carthaginian deputies, and Gulussa, reported that they found an army and a fleet ready for service at Carthage, the matter was taken into consideration by the senate. Cato, and other principal senators, urge that an army should be immediately sent over into Africa; but Cornelius Nasica declaring that he yet saw no just cause for war, it is resolved that it should not be declared, provided the Carthaginians would burn their fleet, and disband their troops; but if not, that then the next succeeding consuls should propose the question of war. A theatre which the censors had contracted for, being built, Cornelius Nasica moves, and carries the question, that it be pulled down, as being not only useless, but injurious to the morals of the people: the people, therefore, continue to behold the public shows standing. Masinissa, now ninety-two years old, vanquishes the Carthaginians, who had made war against him unjustly, and contrary to treaty. By this infraction of the treaty, they also involve themselves in a war with Rome.

BOOK XLIX.

The commencement of the third Punic war, dated [A. U. 602. B. C. 150], which was ended within five years after it began. Marcus Porcius Cato, deemed the wisest man in the state, and Scipio Nasica, adjudged by the senate to be the best, differ in opinion, and have a sharp altercation: Cato urging the demolition of Carthage; Nasica arguing against it. It was, however, resolved, that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, for having fitted out a fleet contrary to treaty, and led forth an army beyond the boundaries of

their state; for having committed hostilities against Masinissa, the friend and ally of the Romans; and refusing to admit Gulussa, who accompanied the ambassadors into their city. [Y. R. 603. B. C. 149.] Before any forces were embarked, ambassadors came from Utica, and surrendered their state and property to the Romans: an ominous circumstance highly pleasing to the Roman senate, and at the same time a grievous mortification to the Carthaginians. Games were exhibited at Tarentum, in honour of Pluto, according to directions found in the Sibylline books, the same as had been celebrated a hundred years before, during the first Punic war. [Y. R. 502.] The Carthaginians send thirty ambassadors to Rome, to make a tender of submission; but the opinion of Cato, that the consuls should be ordered to proceed immediately to the war, prevails. These, passing over into Africa, receive three hundred hostages, and take possession of all the arms and warlike stores to be found in Carthage; they then, by authority of the senate, command them to build themselves a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. Roused by this indignant treatment, the Carthaginians resolve to have recourse to arms. Lucius Marcius and Marcus Manlius, consuls, lay siege to Carthage. During this siege, two military tribunes force their way in, with their troops, in a place which they observed to be negligently guarded; they are set upon and beaten by the townsmen, but rescued afterwards by Scipio Africanus, who also, with a few horsemen, relieves a Roman fort, attacked by the enemy in the night. He also repulsed the Carthaginians, who sallied forth in great force to attack the camp. When, afterwards, one of the consuls (the other having gone to Rome to hold the elections) observed that the siege of Carthage was not going on prosperously, and proposed to attack Hasdrubal, who had drawn up his forces in a narrow pass, he (Scipio) first advised him not to venture upon an engagement on ground so very disadvantageous: and then, when his advice was overruled by those who were envious both of his prudence and valour, he himself rushed into the pass; and when the Romans were routed and put to flight, as he foresaw would take place, he returns with a very small body of horse, rescues his friends, and brings them off in safety. Which valiant action, Cato, although much more inclined to censure than to praise, extols in the senate in very magnificent terms: saying that all the others, who were fighting in Africa, were but mere shadows; Scipio was life itself: and such was the favour he gained among his fellow-citizens, that at the ensuing election the greater number of the tribes voted for electing him consul, although he was under the legal age. Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the people, proposes a law, that the Lusitanians, who, notwithstanding they had surrendered upon the faith of the Roman people, had been sold in Gaul, by Servius Galba, should be restored to liberty; which Marcus Cato supports with great zeal, as may be seen by his oration, which is still extant, being published in his annals. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, although Cato had before handled him with great severity, yet takes up the cause of Galba. Galba himself too, apprehensive of being condemned, taking up in his arms his own two infant children

and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, speaks in his own behalf, in such a piteous strain of supplication, that the question was carried in his favour. One Andriscus, a man of the meanest extraction, having given himself out to be the son of Perseus, and changed his name to Philip, flies from Rome, whither Demetrius had sent him, on account of this audacious forgery; many people believing his fabulous account of himself to be true, gather round him, and enable him to raise an army; at the head of which, partly by force, and partly by the willing submission of the people, he acquires the possession of all Macedon. The story which he propagated was this: that he was the son of Perseus by a harlot; that he had been delivered to a certain Cretan woman to be taken care of, and brought up; in order that whatever might be the event of the war, in which the king was at that time engaged with the Romans, some one, at least, of the royal progeny might remain. That, upon the death of Perseus, he was educated at Adramytteum, until he was twelve years old; ignorant all along of his real parentage, and always supposing himself to be the son of the person who brought him up. That, at length, this person being ill, and about to die, discovered to him the secret of his birth; informing him at the same time of a certain writing, sealed with the royal signet of Perseus, which had been intrusted to his supposed mother, to keep and give to him, when he should attain to manhood: but with the strictest injunctions that the affair should be kept a profound secret until the arrival of that period. That, when the time came, the writing was delivered to him; in which was indicated a very considerable treasure, left him by his father. That the woman, after informing him fully of the circumstance of his birth, earnestly besought him to quit that part of the country before the affair should come to the knowledge of Eumenes, the enemy of his father Perseus, lest he should be murdered. That, fearful of being assassinated, and in hopes also of receiving some assistance from Demetrius, he had gone into Syria; and had there first ventured openly to declare who he was.

BOOK L.

The aforesaid impostor [Y. R. 604. B. C. 148] assuming the name of Philip, being about to invade and forcibly possess himself of Thessaly, was prevented by the Roman ambassadors, with the aid of the Achæans. Prusias, king of Bithynia, a man abandoned to the practice of every vice, was murdered by his son Nicomedes, assisted by Attalus, king of Pergamus. He had another son, who in the place of teeth in his upper jaw, is said to have had one entire bone. The Romans send an embassy to negotiate peace between Nicomedes and Prusias; it happening that one of the ambassadors had his head deformed by scars, from many wounds; another was lame from gout, and the third was of weak understanding: Cato said, it was an embassy without head, feet, or heart. The king of Syria was of the royal race of Perseus; but being, like Prusias, addicted to every vicious pursuit, and passing his whole time in tippling-

houses, brothels, and such like places of infamous resort, Ammonus rules in his stead; and puts to death all the king's friends, together with his queen Laodice, and Antigonus, the son of Demetrius. Masinissa, king of Numidia, a man of a character truly illustrious, dies, aged upwards of ninety years; he retained the vigour of youth even to his last years; and begot a son at the age of eighty-six. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, being authorized by his will so to do, divides his kingdom into three parts, and allots their respective portions of it to his three sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal. Scipio persuades Phamæas, general of the Carthaginian cavalry, under Himilco, a man highly looked up to and relied upon by the Carthaginians, to revolt to the Romans, with the troops under his command. Claudius Marcellus, one of the three ambassadors sent to Masinissa, was lost in a storm. Hasdrubal, nephew of Masinissa, was put to death by the Carthaginians, who suspected him of treasonable views, on account of his affinity to Gulussa, now the friend of the Romans. Scipio Æmilianus, when a candidate for the ædileship, was elected consul by the people, though under age: a violent contest arises from this, the people supporting, the nobles opposing, his election; which, at length, terminates in his favour. Manius Manlius takes several citizens in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The impostor Philip, having slain the prætor, Publius Juventius, and vanquished his army, was himself afterwards subdued and taken prisoner by Quintus Cæcilius, who recovered Macedonia.

BOOK LI.

Carthage, [Y. R. 605. B. C. 147,] comprehended in a circuit of twenty-three miles, was besieged with immense exertion, and was gradually taken; first, by Manœinus, acting as lieutenant-general; and afterwards by Scipio, the consul, to whom Africa was voted as his province, without casting lots. The Carthaginians having constructed a new mole, (the old one being destroyed by Scipio,) and equipped, secretly, in an unusually short space of time, a considerable fleet, engage, unsuccessfully, in a sea-fight. Hasdrubal, with his army, notwithstanding he had taken post in a place of extremely difficult approach, was cut off by Scipio; who at length took the city by storm, in the seven hundredth year after its foundation. [Y. R. 606. B. C. 146.] The greater part of the spoil was returned to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. During the destruction of the city, when Hasdrubal had given himself up into Scipio's hands, his wife, who, a few days before, had not been able to prevail upon him to surrender to the conqueror, casts herself, with her two children, from a tower into the flames of the burning city. Scipio, following the example of his father, Æmilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedon, celebrates solemn games; during which he exposes the deserters and fugitives to wild beasts. The origin of the Achæan war is referred to the circumstance of the ambassadors of the Romans being expelled from Corinth by the Achæans, when they were sent to separate from the Achæan council those cities which had been under the dominion of Philip.

BOOK LII.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus engages and conquers the Achæans, together with the Bœotians and Chalcidians. Critolaus, their unsuccessful general, poisons himself; in whose room, the Achæans choose as general, Diæus, the chief promoter of the insurrection; he also is conquered, in an engagement near Isthmos, and all Achaia reduced; Corinth was demolished, by order of the senate, because violence had been done there to the ambassadors. Thebes also, and Chalcis, for having furnished aid to the Achæans, were destroyed. Lucius Mummius afforded in himself an example of extreme forbearance, for, having all the vast wealth and splendid ornaments of the opulent city of Corinth in his power, he took none of them. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphs, on account of his victory, over Andriscus; likewise Publius Cornelius Scipio, for the conquest of Carthage and Hasdrubal. [Y. R. 607. B. C. 145.] Viriathus, in Spain, from a shepherd becomes a hunter, then leader of a band of robbers; afterwards general of a powerful army, with which he possesses himself of all Lusitania, having vanquished the prætor, Petilius, and put his army to flight. Caius Plautius, the prætor, sent against him, is equally unfortunate. So successful was his career, that, at length, it was deemed necessary to send a consul, at the head of a consular army, against him. Commotions in Syria, and wars between the kings in those parts are recorded. Alexander, a man utterly unknown, and of an unknown race, murders Demetrius, and usurps the crown in Syria: he is afterwards slain by Demetrius, (son of the before-mentioned Demetrius,) aided by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, whose daughter he had married. Ptolemy grievously wounded in the head; dies of the operations intended for the cure of his wounds; and is succeeded by his younger brother, Ptolemy, king of Cyrene. Demetrius, by his cruelty towards his subjects, provokes an insurrection; is vanquished by Diodotus, and flies to Seleucia, while Diodotus claims the crown for Alexander, a child scarcely two years old. Lucius Mummius triumphed over the Achæans, and so carried in his triumph brazen standards, marble statues, and pictures.

BOOK LIII.

Appius Claudius, the consul, [Y. R. 608. B. C. 144,] subdued the Salacians, a nation of the Alps. Another impostor, assuming the name of Philip, appears in Macedonia, but is vanquished by the quæstor, Lucius Tremellius. [Y. R. 609. B. C. 143.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the proconsul, defeats the Celtiberians. [Y. R. 610. B. C. 142.] Quintus Fabius, the proconsul, takes many cities of Lusitania, and recovers the greatest part of that country. Caius Julius, a senator, writes the history of Rome in the Greek language.

BOOK LIV.

Quintus Pompeius, the consul, [Y. R. 611. B. C. 141,] subdues the Termestines in Spain, and makes peace with them, and also with

the Numantines. A census was held,—the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two. Ambassadors from Macedon complain that Decius Junius Silanus, the prætor, had extorted money from that province; Titus Manlius Torquatus, the father of Silanus, sought and obtained permission to inquire into the matter. And the case having been considered at home, he condemned and disowned his son, and did not even attend his funeral after he had hung himself, but continued to sit at home, and give audience to those who consulted him, as if nothing, which concerned him, had happened. [Y. R. 612, B. C. 140.] Quintus Fabius, the proconsul, having successfully terminated the war, stains the honour of his victories by making peace with Viriathus, upon terms of equality. [Y. R. 613. B. C. 139.] Servilius Cæpio procures the death of Viriathus, by traitors; he is much bewailed, and interred with distinguished funeral honours by his army. He was, in truth, a great man, and a valiant general; and in the fourteen years during which he carried on war with the Romans, had very frequently vanquished their armies.

BOOK LV.

While Publius Cornelius Nasica, [Y. R. 614. B. C. 138,] (who was nicknamed Serapio by the plebeian tribune Curiatius, a man of humour,) and Decius Junius Brutus, the consuls, were holding the levies, an act of public justice was done, in the sight of the whole body of the young men then assembled, which afforded a very useful example: Caius Matienus was accused, before the tribunes, of deserting from the army in Spain; being found guilty, he was scourged under the gallows, and sold as a slave, for a sestertius.[1] The tribunes of the people claimed the privilege of exempting from service any ten soldiers whom they thought proper; on this being refused by the consuls, they commit the latter to prison. Junius Brutus, the consul in Spain, allots lands, and a town called Valentia, to the soldiers who had served under Viriathus. Marcus Popilius, having made peace with the Numantines, which the senate refused to ratify, was routed, and his whole army put to flight. [Y. R. 615. B. C. 137.] While Caius Hostilius Mancinus, the consul, was sacrificing, the holy chickens escape from their coop, and fly away; afterwards, as he was getting on board his ship, to sail for Spain, a voice is heard crying out, "Go not, Mancinus, go not." The event afterwards proves these omens to have been inauspicious: for, being vanquished by the Numantines, and driven out of his camp, when he had no prospect of preserving his army, he made a disgraceful peace, which the senate likewise refused to ratify. Upon this occasion thirty thousand Romans were beaten by only four thousand Numantines. Decius Junius Brutus subdues all Lusitania, as far as the western sea; and when his soldiers refused to pass the river Oblivio, he seizes the standard and carries it over; whereupon they follow him. The son of Alexander, king of Syria, was traiterously murdered by his guardian

[1] Worth a little more than 2*d*.

Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon: his physicians were bribed to give out that he had a stone in his bladder; and in pretending to cut him for it, they killed him.

BOOK LVI.

[Y. R. 616. B. C. 136.] Decius Junius Brutus fought with success against the Gallæcians, in Farther Spain: Marcus Æmilius Lepidus engages the Vaccæans, unsuccessfully, and is as unfortunate as Mancinus was against the Numantines. The Romans, to absolve themselves from the guilt of breach of treaty, order Mancinus, who made the peace with the Numantines, to be delivered up to that people; but they refuse to receive him. [Y. R. 617. B. C. 135.] The lustrum was closed by the censors: the number of citizens was three hundred and twenty-three thousand. Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, subdued the Vardeans in Illyria. Marcus Cosconius, the prætor, fights against the Scordiscians, in Thrace, and conquers them. The war in Numantia still continuing, owing to the ill-conduct of the generals, the senate and people voluntarily confer the consulship upon Scipio Africanus: on which occasion the law, which prohibits any man from being elected consul a second time, is dispensed with. [Y. R. 618. B. C. 134.] An insurrection of the slaves arose in Sicily; which is committed to the care of the consul, Caius Fulvius, when the prætor is unable to quell it. Eunus, a slave, a Syrian by birth, was the author of this war; by gathering a large body of the rustic slaves, and breaking open the prisons, he raised a considerable army: Cleon also, another slave, having assembled seventy thousand slaves, joins him; and they, several times, engage the Roman forces in those parts.

BOOK LVII.

Scipio Africanus laid siege to Numantia, [Y. R. 619. B. C. 133,] and restored to the strictest military discipline the army, which had been corrupted by licentiousness and luxury: this he effected by cutting off every kind of pleasurable gratification; driving away the prostitutes who followed the camp, to the number of two thousand; keeping the soldiers to hard labour, and compelling every man to bear on his shoulders provisions for thirty days, besides seven stakes for their fortifications; to any one who lagged behind on account of the burden, he used to cry out, When you are able to defend yourself with your sword, then cease to carry your fortification; he ordered another who carried with ease a small shield, to bear one unusually large; and not unfrequently ridiculed them for being more expert in managing their shields for the defence of their own bodies, than their swords for the annoyance of those of the enemy. When he found any man absent from his post, he ordered him to be flogged with vine twigs, if a Roman; if a foreigner, with rods. He sold all the beasts of burden, that the soldiers might be forced to carry their own baggage. He engaged in frequent skirmishes with the enemy, with good success. The Vaccæans, being reduced to extremity, first put their wives and children to death, and then slew themselves.

Antiochus, king of Syria, having sent him some very magnificent presents, Scipio, contrary to the practice of other commanders, who used to conceal these royal gifts, received them openly, and ordered the quæstor to place the whole to the public account, and promised, out of them, to reward those who should most distinguish themselves by their valour. When Numantia was closely invested on all sides, he gave orders that those who came out in search of victuals should not be killed; saying, that the more numerous the inhabitants were, the sooner would their provisions be consumed.

BOOK LVIII.

Titus Sempronius Gracchus, the plebeian tribune, having proposed an Agrarian law, (contrary to the sense of the senate, and the equestrian order,) to the effect that no person should hold more than five hundred acres of the public lands, wrought himself up to such a degree of passion that he deprived his colleague, Marcus Octavius, of his authority by a law which he made, and appointed himself, together with his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, commissioners for dividing the lands. He also proposed another Agrarian law, by which the land was still more at his disposal, that the same commissioners should be authorized to determine which was public and which private land. When afterwards it appeared that there was not land sufficient to be divided so as to satisfy the people, whose hopes he had raised to cupidity by the expectations held out to them, he declared that he would propose a law, that all those, who by the law of Sempronius were entitled to such grant, should be paid in money out of the bequest of king Attalus. But Attalus, king of Pergamus, son of Eumenes, had made the Romans his heirs. The senate was roused to indignation at such repeated ill-treatment; and chiefly Publius Mucius, the consul, who, having delivered a severe invective against Gracchus in the senate, was seized by him, dragged before the people, and accused; nevertheless he continued to inveigh against him from the rostrum. Gracchus, endeavouring to procure his re-election as tribune, was slain in the Capitol, by the chief nobles, by the advice of Publius Cornelius Nasica, after having been beaten first with the fragments of the seats, and was thrown, without the rites of sepulture, into the river, together with some others who fell in the tumult. Various engagements, with various success, against the slaves in Sicily are recorded.

BOOK LIX.

The Numantines, reduced to the extremity of distress by famine, put themselves to death. Scipio having taken the city, destroys it and triumphs in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage. [Y. R. 620. B. C. 132.] The consul, Publius Rupilius, puts an end to the war with the slaves in Sicily. Aristonicus, the son of king Eumenes, invades and seizes Asia; which having been bequeathed to the Roman people by Attalus, ought to be free. The consul, Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief priest, marches against him out of Italy, (which never was done before,) engages

with him in battle, is beaten and slain. Marcus Peperna, the consul, subdued Aristonicus. Quintus Metellus and Quintus Pomponius, the first plebeians who were ever both at one time elected censors, closed the lustrum; the number of citizens amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, besides orphans and widows. [Y. R. 621. B. C. 131.] Quintus Metellus gives his opinion, that every man should be compelled to marry, in order to increase the population of the state. His speech upon the occasion is still extant, and so exactly does it apply to the present times, that Augustus Cæsar read it in the senate upon occasion of his proposing to release marriage from all restraints on account of the difference of rank. Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, orders the censor, Quintus Metellus, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock for striking him out of the list of the senate; but the other tribunes interfere and protect him. [Y. R. 622. B. C. 130.] Quintus Carbo, the plebeian tribune, proposes a law that the people might have the power of re-electing the same tribune as often as they please: Publius Africanus argues against the proposition in a speech of great energy, in which he asserts that Tiberius Gracchus was justly put to death. Gracchus supports the proposed law; but Scipio prevails. War was waged between Antiochus, king of Syria, and Phraates, king of Parthia, nor does the record show that greater tranquillity existed in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes, being detested on account of his cruelty by his subjects, who set his palace on fire, escaped to Cyprus, and when the people conferred the kingdom upon his sister Cleopatra, whom he had divorced, after having first ravished and then married her daughter; he being enraged, murders the son he had by her at Cyprus, and sent his head and limbs to the mother. [Y. R. 623. B. C. 129.] Seditions were excited by Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Gracchus, and Caius Carbo, appointed to carry into execution the Agrarian law: these were opposed by Publius Scipio Africanus, who going home at night in perfect health, was found dead in his chamber the next morning. His wife, Sempronia, sister of the Gracchuses, with whom Scipio was at enmity, was strongly suspected of having given him poison: no inquiry however was made into the matter. Upon his death the popular seditions blaze out with great fury. Caius Sempronius, the consul, fought the Iapidæ, at first unsuccessfully, but soon repairs all his losses by a signal victory, gained by the valour of Junius Brutus, the conqueror of Lusitania.

BOOK LX.

Lucius Aurelius subdued the rebellious Sardinians. [Y. R. 624. B. C. 128.] Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, who first subdued the Transalpine Ligurians, was sent to assist the Massilians, against the Salvian Gauls, who were ravaging their country. Lucius Opimius, the prætor, caused the revolted Fregellans to lay down their arms, and destroyed Fregellæ. [Y. R. 625. B. C. 127.] An extraordinary multitude of locusts in Africa, killed and lying dead on the ground, is said to have produced a pestilence. [Y. R. 626. B. C. 126.] The

censors closed the lustrum: the number of the citizens was three hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six. [Y. R. 627. B. C. 125.] Caius Gracchus, the plebeian tribune, the brother of Tiberius, even more eloquent than his brother, carried some very dangerous laws; among others, one respecting corn, that the people shall be supplied with the article in the market at the rate of half and a third of an *as*; also an Agrarian law, the same as his brother's: and a third intended to corrupt the equestrian order, who at that time were subservient in all their opinions to the senate: namely, that six hundred of them should be admitted into the senate: these six hundred equestrians were to be joined to three hundred senators, for at that time there were only three hundred senators; that is, in other words, that the equestrian order should have double influence in the senate. His office being continued to him another year, by Agrarian laws which he passed, he caused that many colonies should be led out into Italy, and he himself, having been made triumvir, headed one to the territory of demolished Carthage. [Y. R. 628. B. C. 124.] The successful expeditions of the consul Quintus Metellus against the Balearians, called by the Greeks Gymnesians, because they go naked all the summer, are recorded. They are called Balearians, from their skill in throwing weapons; or, as some will have it, from Baleus, the companion of Hercules, who left him there behind him, when he sailed to Geryon. [Y. R. 629. B. C. 123.] Commotions in Syria, in which Cleopatra murders her husband Demetrius, and also his son Seleucus, for assuming the crown without her consent, upon his father's death, are also mentioned.

BOOK LXI.

Caius Sextius, the pro-consul, [Y. R. 630. B. C. 122,] having subdued the nation of the Salyans, founds a colony, which he named Aquæ Sextiæ, after his own name, and on account of the abundance of water which he found there, flowing both from hot and cold springs. [Y. R. 631. B. C. 121.] Cneius Domitius, the proconsul, fought the Allobrogians with success at the town of Vindalium. The cause of this war was their receiving, and furnishing with all the aid in their power, Teutomalius, the king of the Salyans, who had fled to them, and their ravaging the lands of the Æduans, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [Y. R. 632. B. C. 120.] Caius Gracchus, upon the expiration of his seditious tribunate, seized upon the Aventine mount with a considerable number of armed followers; Lucius Opimius, by a decree of the senate, armed the people, drove him from it, and put him to death, together with Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, a participator of the same wild project. Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, nephew of Paullus, gained a battle against the Allobrogians and Bituitus, king of the Arvernians, in which one thousand one hundred and twenty of the army of Bituitus were slain. [Y. R. 633. B. C. 119.] The king having come to Rome to make satisfaction to the senate, was sent prisoner to Alba, there to be kept in custody, as it was not considered safe to send him back to Gaul. A decree was also passed, that his

son, Congentiatus, should be taken and sent to Rome. The Allobrogians were admitted to a capitulation. Lucius Opimius, being brought to trial before the people for committing to prison some citizens who had not been condemned, was acquitted.

BOOK LXII.

The consul, Quintus Marcius, [Y. R. 634. B. C. 118,] subdued the Stonians, an Alpine nation. Micipsa, king of Numidia, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to his two sons, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, his nephew, whom he had adopted. [Y. R. 635. B. C. 117.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus subdued the Dalmatians. Jugurtha went to war with his brother Hiempsal; vanquished him and put him to death; drove Adherbal from his kingdom, who was restored by the senate. [Y. R. 636. B. C. 116.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the censors, expelled thirty-two senators. [Y. R. 637. B. C. 115.] Disturbances in Syria are recorded.

BOOK LXIII.

Caius Porcius, the consul, [Y. R. 638. B. C. 114,] fought against the Scordiscians in Thrace, unsuccessfully. The lustrum was closed by the censors: the number of the citizens amounts to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six. Æmilia, Licinia, and Marcia, vestal virgins, were found guilty of incest. [Y. R. 639. B. C. 113.] The Cimbrians, a wandering people, came into Illyria, where they fight with and defeat the army of the consul, Papirius Carbo. [Y. R. 640. B. C. 112.] The consul, Livius Drusus, made war successfully upon the Scordiscians, a people descended from the Gauls.

BOOK LXIV.

Jugurtha attacked Adherbal, besieged him in Cirta, and put him to death, contrary to the express commands of the senate. [Y. R. 641. B. C. 111.] War was declared against him on this account, which being committed to the conduct of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, he made peace with Jugurtha, without authority from the senate and people. [Y. R. 642. B. C. 110.] Jugurtha, called upon to declare who were his advisers, came to Rome upon the faith of a safe-conduct; he is supposed to have bribed many of the principal senators. And being called on to stand his trial for the murder of a certain prince, by name Massiva, slain at Rome, who had aimed at his kingdom, which he hoped to obtain through the hatred of the Romans to Jugurtha, he escaped when he found himself in danger; and is reported to have said, on going away, "O venal city! doomed to quick perdition, could but a purchaser be found!" Aulus Posthumius, having fought against Jugurtha unsuccessfully, added to his disgrace, by making an ignominious peace with him; which the senate refused to ratify.

BOOK LXV.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, the consul, [Y. R. 643. B. C. 109.] defeated Jugurtha, in two battles, and ravaged all Numidia. Marcus Junius Silanus, the consul, fought unsuccessfully against the Cimbrians. The Cimbrian ambassadors petitioning the senate for a settlement and lands, were refused. [Y. R. 644. B. C. 108.] Marcus Minucius, the proconsul, vanquished the Thracians. Cassius, the consul, with his army, was cut off by the Tigurine Gauls, in the country of the Helvetians. The soldiers who survived that unfortunate action stipulated for their lives, by giving hostages, and delivering up half their property.

BOOK LXVI.

Jugurtha, [Y. R. 645. B. C. 107,] being driven out of Numidia by Caius Marius, received aid from Bocchus, king of the Moors. [Y. R. 646. B. C. 106.] Bocchus, having lost a battle, and being unwilling to carry on the war any longer, delivered up Jugurtha in chains to Marius. In this action, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, the quæstor under Marius, distinguished himself most highly.

BOOK LXVII.

Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, [Y. R. 647. B. C. 105,] lieutenant-general under the consul, was taken prisoner by the Cimbrians, his army being routed; and was slain by Boiorix, for saying, in their council, when they talked of invading Italy, that the Romans were not to be conquered. Cneius Mallius, the consul, and Quintus Servilius Cæpio, the proconsul, were taken prisoners by the same enemies who defeated their armies and drove them from both their camps, with the loss of eighty thousand men, and forty thousand sutlers, and other camp-followers. The goods of Cæpio, whose rashness was the cause of this misfortune, were sold by auction, by order of the people; being the first person whose effects were confiscated, since the dethronement of king Tarquin, and he was deprived of office. [Y. R. 648. B. C. 104.] Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led in triumph before the chariot of Caius Marius, and was put to death in prison. Marius entered the senate, in his triumphal habit; the first person that ever did so: on account of the apprehensions of a Cimbrian war, he is continued in the consulship for several years, being elected a second and a third time, in his absence; dissembling his views, he attains the consulship a fourth time. The Cimbrians, having ravaged all the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, passed into Spain, where, having committed many depredations, they were at length put to flight by the Celtiberians: returning into Gaul, they joined the Teutons, a warlike people.

BOOK LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius, the prætor, [Y. R. 649. B. C. 103,] attacked the pirates, and chased them into Cilicia. The consul, Caius Marius, when attacked by the Teutons and Ambrogians, with their utmost force, defended himself; and afterwards, in two battles, in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ, utterly defeated them, with the loss, it is said, of two hundred thousand killed, and ninety thousand taken prisoners. Marius was elected consul, in his absence, a fifth time. A triumph was offered to him, which he deferred until he should have subdued the Cimbrians also. [Y. R. 650. B. C. 102.] The Cimbrians, having driven Quintus Catulus, the proconsul, from the Alps, where he had possessed himself of the narrow passes, and erected a castle to command the river Athesis, which he abandoned, passed into Italy. Catulus and Marius, having effected a junction of their forces, fought and vanquished them: in this battle we are told that there fell one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy, and that sixty thousand were taken. Marius, on his return to Rome, was received with the highest honours, by the whole body of the citizens; two triumphs were offered him, but he contented himself with one. The principal men in the state, who were for some time extremely envious that such distinctions should be conferred upon a man of no family, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth. [Y. R. 651. B. C. 101.] Publicius Malleolus was executed for the murder of his mother; being the first that ever was sewn up in a sack and cast into the sea. The sacred shields are said to have shaken, with considerable noise, previous to the conclusion of the Cimbrian war. Wars between the kings of Syria.

BOOK LXIX.

Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, aided by Marius,—the soldiers having killed his competitor, Aulus Nonius,—having been forcibly elected prætor, exercised his office with a violence equal to that by which he obtained it. Having procured an Agrarian law, he summons Metellus Numidicus to stand his trial before the people, for refusing to swear to the observance of it. Metellus, notwithstanding he enjoyed the protection of all the best men in the state, yet, being unwilling to furnish matter of dispute, retires into voluntary exile, to Rhodes: there he passed his time entirely in study, and in receiving the visits of men of eminent character. [Y. R. 652. B. C. 100.] Caius Marius, the chief promoter of the sedition, who had now purchased a fourth consulship, by openly distributing money among the tribes, pronounced sentence of banishment upon him after his departure. The same Appuleius Saturninus murders Caius Memmius, who was a candidate for the consulship, fearing lest he might have, in him, a strenuous opposer of his evil actions. By which conduct the senate was aroused, and Caius Marius, when he could no longer defend Saturninus, being a man of fickle and ver-

satile disposition, who always suited his plans to circumstances, joined it. Saturninus, with Glaucias, and other participators of the same mad conduct, having been overpowered by force of arms, was killed in what may be considered a war. [Y. R. 653. B. C. 99.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus was recalled from banishment by the decided favour of the whole state. Marcus Aquilius, the proconsul, put an end to the servile war in Sicily.

BOOK LXX.

Manius Aquilius, [Y. R. 654. B. C. 98,] being accused of extortion, refused to implore the favour of the judges appointed to try him. Marcus Antonius, his advocate, cut open his vest, and showed the scars of his honourable wounds; upon sight of which he was clearly acquitted. [Y. R. 655. B. C. 97.] This fact is related upon the authority of Cicero only. Titus Didius, the proconsul, fought successfully against the Celtiberians. [Y. R. 656. B. C. 96.] Ptolemy, king of Cyrene, surnamed Apio, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people: and the senate decreed that the cities in that kingdom should be free. [Y. R. 657. B. C. 95.] Ariobarzanes was restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia by Lucius Sylla. Ambassadors from Arsaces, king of Parthia, come to Sylla, to solicit the friendship of the Roman people. [Y. R. 658. B. C. 94.] Publius Rutilius, a man of the strictest integrity, because he exerted himself, when lieutenant-general under Quintus Mucius, the proconsul, to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the revenue farmers, became odious to the equestrian order, who had the cognizance of affairs of that nature, and being brought to trial, was condemned to exile. [Y. R. 659. B. C. 93.] Caius Sentius, the prætor, fought unsuccessfully against the Thracians. [Y. R. 660. B. C. 92.] The senate not being disposed to tolerate the inefficiency of the equestrian order in the exercise of their judicial functions, tried, by all its influence, to have those functions transferred to itself, and Marcus Livius Drusus, the plebeian tribune, promoting this design, stimulated the people, by the pernicious hope of bribes, to add their sanction. Moreover a commotion occurred among the kings of Syria.

BOOK LXXI.

Marcus Livius Drusus, the plebeian tribune, [Y. R. 661. B. C. 91,] in order the more effectually to support the senate in their pretensions, gained the concurrence of the allies, and the Italian states, by promising them the freedom of the city. Aided by them, besides the Agrarian and corn laws, he carried that also relative to criminal jurisdiction;—that in capital prosecutions the senate should have equal authority with the equestrian order. It was afterwards found that the freedom which he had promised could not be conferred upon them; which incensed and incited them to revolt. An account is given of their assembling,—their combinations and speeches made at their meetings, by the chief men among

them. Drusus becoming obnoxious even to the senate, on account of his conduct in this affair, and being considered as the cause of the social war, was slain in his own house, by an unknown hand.

BOOK LXXII.

The Italian states, the Picentians, Vestinians, Marcians, Peligni-ans, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, revolted, the war commencing with the Picentians. Quintus Servilius, the proconsul, was murdered, in the town of Asculum, with all the Roman citizens in the place. The whole body of the Roman people assumed the military dress. Servius Galba, having been taken by the Luca-nians, escaped by the assistance of a woman with whom he lodged. [Y. R. 662. B. C. 90.] Æsernia and Alba were besieged by the Italians. Aid was sent to the Romans by the Latins, and other foreign nations, and the expeditions, and sieges, on both sides, are recorded.

BOOK LXXIII.

The consul, Lucius Julius Cæsar, fought against the Samnites unsuccessfully. The colony of Nola fell into the hands of the Sam-nites, together with Lucius Posthumius, the prætor, whom they killed. Many different states went over to the enemy. After Pub-lius Rutilius had fought unsuccessfully against the Marcians, and had been slain in battle, Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, en-countered them with better success. Servius Sulpicius defeated the Pelignians, in a pitched battle. Quintus Cæpio, Rutilius's lieutenant-general, made a successful sally against the enemy be-sieging him; on account of which success he was made equal in com-mand to Marius, and becoming adventurous and rash, was surprised in an ambuscade, and his army being defeated, was slain. Lucius Julius Cæsar, the consul, fought successfully against the Samnites. On account of this victory the inhabitants of Rome laid aside the military habit; the war being carried on with various success, Æsernia, with Marcellus, fell into the hands of the Samnites. Caius Marius vanquished the Marcians, Herius Asinius, the prætor of the Marrucinians, being killed. Caius Cæcilius subdued the rebellious Salvians in Transalpine Gaul.

BOOK LXXIV.

Cneius Pompeius defeated the Picentians, and laid siege to their town; on account of this victory the inhabitants of Rome resume their purple robes, and other distinguishing marks of magistracy. Caius Marius fought an undecided battle with the Marcians. Freedmen's sons were now first received into the army. [Y. R. 663. B. C. 89.] Aulus Plotius, the lieutenant, subdued the Umbrians, and Lucius Porcius, the prætor, the Marcians, both of whom had revolted. Nicomedes was restored to the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to that of Cappadocia. Cneius Pompeius, the con-sul, overthrew the Marcians in a pitched battle. The citizens,

being deeply involved in debt, Aulus Sempronius Asellio, the prætor, was murdered in the forum, by the usurers, in consequence of some judgments given by him in favour of debtors. Incursions were made by the Thracians, and devastations committed against the Macedonians.

BOOK LXXV.

Aulus Posthumius Albinus, commander of a fleet, upon a suspicion of treachery, was murdered by the forces under his command. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, lieutenant-general, defeated the Samnites, and took two of their camps. The Vestinians surrendered to Cneius Pompeius. Lucius Porcius, the consul, having been successful in frequent engagements with the Marcians, was slain in an attack upon their camp, which circumstance decided the victory in favour of the enemy. Coseonius and Luccelus overthrew the Samnites in a battle, slew Marius Egnatius, the most distinguished of their generals, and received the surrender of many of their towns. Lucius Sylla subdued the Hirpinians, defeated the Samnites in many battles, and received the submission of several states: in consequence of having performed so many distinguished services, as scarcely any one had ever done under the circumstances, he repaired to Rome to solicit the consulship.

BOOK LXXVI.

Aulus Gabinius, the lieutenant, having defeated the Lucanians, and taken several of their towns, was slain in an attack on their camp. Sulpicius, a lieutenant-general, committed military execution on the Marrucinians, and reduced their whole country. Cneius Pompeius, the proconsul, forced the Vestinians and Pelignians to submission. Also the Marcians, defeated in several battles, by Lucius Murena and Cæcilius Pius, sued for peace. [V. R. 664. B. C. 88.] Asculum was taken by Cneius Pompeius, and the Italians there were put to death by Mamercus Æmilius. Silo Pompædius, the author of the revolt, was killed in an action. Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, were driven out of their kingdoms by Mithridates, king of Pontus. Predatory incursions were made by the Thracians into Macedon.

BOOK LXXVII.

Publius Sulpicius, the tribune of the people, having, with the aid of Caius Marius, carried certain laws: "that those who had been banished should be recalled; that the newly-created citizens, and the sons of freedmen, should be distributed among the tribes, and that Caius Marius should be appointed general against Mithidrates, king of Pontus," and having used violence towards Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Sylla, the consuls, who had opposed these proceedings; Quintus, the son of Pompeius, who was married to Sylla's daughter, being murdered, Lucius Sylla came into the town with an army, and fought against the faction of Sulpicius and Marius, in the city, and

drove it out. Twelve of the number, among whom are Caius Marius, the father, and his son, were condemned by the senate. Publius Sulpicius having concealed himself in a farm-house in the neighbourhood, being betrayed by one of his slaves, was apprehended and put to death. The slave, being entitled to the reward promised to the discoverer, was made free; and was then thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for having traitorously betrayed his master. Caius Marius, the son, passed over into Africa. Caius Marius, the father, having concealed himself in the marshes of Minturna, was seized by the townspeople: after a Gallic slave who was sent to despatch him, being terrified at his majestic appearance, had retired, unable to accomplish the deed, he was publicly placed in a vessel, and sent off to Africa. Lucius Sylla reformed the state, and afterwards sent forth colonies. Cneius Pompeius, the proconsul, procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius, the consul, who was to have succeeded him in the command of the army. Mithridates, king of Pontus, seized Bithynia and Cappadocia, after having driven the Roman general, Aquilius, out of them; and at the head of a great army entered Phrygia, a province belonging to the Roman people.

BOOK LXXVIII.

Mithridates possessed himself of Asia; threw into chains Quintus Oppius, the proconsul, and Aquilius, the general; and ordered all the Romans in Asia to be massacred on the same day; he attacked the city of Rhodes, the only one which had retained its fidelity to the Roman state; and being overcome in several actions at sea, he retreated. [Y. R. 665. B. C. 87.] Archelaus, one of the king's governors, invaded Greece and took Athens. Commotions resulted in several states and islands, some endeavouring to draw over their people to the side of the Romans, others to that of Mithridates.

BOOK LXXIX.

Lucius Cornelius Cinna having, by force of arms, procured the enactment of several injurious laws, was driven out of the city by his colleague, Cneius Octavius, together with six plebeian tribunes. Thus deposed from the authority, he procured the command of his army under Appius Claudius, by bribery, and made war upon the city, having called to his assistance Caius Marius, and other exiles, from Africa. In this war, two brothers, (one of Pompeius's army, the other of Cinna's,) encountered each other without knowing it; and when the conqueror despoiling the enemy recognised his brother, he vented his grief in uncontrolled lamentation, and having prepared a funeral pile for him, he stabbed himself on it, and was consumed with him. Although this war might have been suppressed at first, yet owing to the treachery of Pompeius, who, by encouraging either party, gave power to Cinna, whilst he only succoured the patriotic party when their energies were exhausted; and also to the neglect of the consul; Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo

gained strength and laid siege to the city. Marius took Ostia, which he plundered in the most cruel manner.

BOOK LXXX.

The freedom of the city of Rome was granted to the Italian states. The Samnites, the only people who continued in arms, joined Cinna and Marius, and overthrew Plautius's army, killing the general. Cinna and Marius, with Carbo and Sertorius, seized the Janiculum; and were repelled by the consul Octavius. Marius plunders Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. The principal men in the state having now no hope of resisting, on account of the cowardice and treachery both of the generals and soldiers, who, being bribed, either refused to fight, or deserted to one party or another, received Cinna and Marius into the city, who, as if it had been captured, devastated it by murder and robbery, putting to death the consul, Cneius Octavius, and all the chiefs of the opposite party; among others, Marcus Antonius, a man highly distinguished for his eloquence, with Lucius and Caius Cæsar, whose heads they stuck up on the rostrum. The younger Crassus having been slain by a party of horsemen at Fimbria; his father, to escape suffering insult, killed himself. Cinna and Marius, without even the formality of an election, declared themselves consuls; and on the first day of their entering upon office, Marius ordered Sextus Licinius, a senator, to be cast from the Tarpeian rock, and after having committed very many atrocious acts, died on the ides of January. If we compare his vices with his virtues, it will be difficult to pronounce whether he was greater in war, or more wicked in peace. Having preserved his country by his valour, he ruined it afterwards by every species of artifice and fraud; and finally destroyed it by open force.

BOOK LXXXI.

Lucius Sylla besieged Athens, [A. U. 666. B. C. 86,] held by Archelaus, under Mithridates, and took it, after an obstinate resistance. The city and such of the inhabitants as remained alive, were restored to liberty. Magnesia, the only city in Asia which continued faithful, was defended against Mithridates with great valour. The Thracians invaded Macedon.

BOOK LXXXII.

Sylla defeated Mithridates in Thessaly, killing one hundred thousand men, and taking their camp. The war being renewed, he entirely routed and destroyed the king's army. Archelaus, with the royal fleet, surrendered to Sylla. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Cinna's colleague in the consulship, who was appointed to succeed Sylla in the command of his army, became so odious to his men, on account of his avarice, that he was slain by Caius Fimbria, his lieutenant-general, a man of consummate audacity, who assumed the command. Several cities in Asia were taken by Mithridates,

who treated them with extreme cruelty. Macedon was invaded by the Thracians.

BOOK LXXXIII.

[Y. R. 667. B. C. 85.] Caius Fimbria having defeated several of Mithridates' generals in Asia, took the city of Pergamus, and was very near making the king captive. He took and destroyed the city of Ilion, which adhered to Sylla, and recovered a great part of Asia. Sylla overcame the Thracians in several battles. Lucius Cinna and Cneius Papirius Carbo, having declared themselves consuls, made preparations for war against Sylla; Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the chief of the senate, having made a speech among that body, by their assistance, with that of all who desired tranquillity, effected that ambassadors should be sent to Sylla, concerning a treaty of peace. Cinna, attempting to force his men to embark and go against Sylla, was slain by them. [Y. R. 668. B. C. 84.] Carbo alone held the consulship. Sylla made peace in Asia with Mithridates, upon conditions that the king should evacuate Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria, deserted by his army, which went over to Sylla, put himself to death, by calling on his slave to cut off his head.

BOOK LXXXIV.

Sylla replied to deputies sent by the senate, that he would yield to the authority of the senate, upon condition that those who, being banished by Cinna, had fled to him, should be restored; which proposition appeared reasonable to the senate, but was opposed and rejected by Carbo and his faction, who conceived that they would derive more advantage from a continuance of the war. Carbo, requiring hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, to bind them more firmly in union against Sylla, was overruled by the senate. The right of voting was given to the new citizens by a decree of the senate. Quintus Metellus Pius, who had taken part with the chief men of the state, being prepared for war in Africa, was crushed by Caius Fabius, the prætor. [Y. R. 660. B. C. 83.] Carbo's faction and the Marian party procured a decree of the senate, that the armies should every where be disbanded. The sons of freedmen were distributed among the thirty-five tribes. Preparations were made for war against Sylla.

BOOK LXXXV.

Sylla entered Italy at the head of an army, and defeated in a battle Norbanus, the consul, by whom his ambassadors, sent to negotiate a peace, had been maltreated. Having ineffectually tried every means with Lucius Scipio, the other consul, to bring about a peace, he prepared to attack his camp, when the consul's whole army deserted to Sylla, having been seduced by some soldiers sent out by him. Scipio was set free, when he could have been killed. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius, who took Asculum, raised an army of volunteers, and went over to Sylla with three legions;

also the whole body of the nobility quit the city and joined his camp. Sundry actions in different parts of Italy are recorded in the book.

BOOK LXXXVI.

While Caius Marius, son of Caius Marius, was made consul [V. R. 670. B. C. 82] by force, before he was twenty years old, Caius Fabius was burned alive in his tent, in Africa, for his avarice and extortion. Lucius Philippus, Sylla's lieutenant-general, having overthrown and killed the prætor, Quintus Antonius, took Sardinia. Sylla made a league with the states of Italy, lest he should be suspected of intending to deprive them of their constitution and the right of suffrage, which had been lately conceded to them. So confident was he of the victory, that he published an order that all persons engaged in law-suits, bound by sureties, should make their appearance at Rome, although the city was yet in the possession of the opposite party. Lucius Damasippus, the prætor, having called together the senate, at the desire of Marius, murdered such of the nobility as remained in the city; among them Quintus Mucius Scævola, the high priest, who, endeavouring to make his escape, was killed in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta. Besides, it includes an account of the war in Asia against Mithridates, renewed by Lucius Muræna.

BOOK LXXXVII.

Sylla, having conquered and destroyed Caius Marius's army, at Sacriportus, laid siege to Præneste, where Marius had taken refuge. He recovered Rome out of the hands of his enemies. Marius attempting to break forth from Præneste, was repelled. This book moreover contains an account of the successes of the different commanders under him, every where.

BOOK LXXXVIII.

Sylla, having routed and cut off the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, drove him out of Italy; he completely subdued the Samnites near the city of Rome, before the Colline gate: they were the only one of all the Italian states that had not before laid down their arms. Having restored the affairs of the commonwealth, he stained his glorious victory with the most atrocious cruelties ever committed; he murdered eight thousand men in the Villa Publica, who had submitted and laid down their arms, and published a list of persons proscribed: he filled with blood the city of Rome, and all Italy. He ordered all the Prænestines, without exception, although they had laid down their arms, to be murdered; he killed Marius, a senator, by breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and scooping out his eyes. Caius Marius, being besieged at Præneste by Lucretius Asella, one of the partisans of Sylla, having endeavoured to escape through a mine, was intercepted by an army, and committed suicide; this took place in the centre of the mine, when he found it impossible to escape with Pontius Telesinus, the

companion of his flight, for each having drawn his sword, rushed madly on: when he had slain Telesinus, he himself, being wounded, begged of a slave that he would despatch him.

BOOK LXXXIX.

Marcus Brutus being sent in a fishing-boat to Lilybæum, by Cneius Papirius Carbo, who had sailed to Cossura, to discover if Pompeius were there, and being surrounded by the ships, which Pompey had sent, turned the point of his sword against himself, and threw himself on it with all the weight of his body, at one of the ship's benches. Cneius Pompeius, being sent by the senate to Sicily, with full powers, having taken Carbo prisoner, put him to death; he dies weeping with womanly weakness. Sylla, having been created dictator, marched through the city with twenty-four lictors, which no one had ever done before. He established new regulations in the state; abridged the authority of the plebeian tribunes; took from them the power of proposing laws; increased the college of priests and augurs to fifteen; filled up the senate from the equestrian order; took from the descendants of the proscribed persons all power of reclaiming the property of their ancestors, and sold such of their effects as had not been already confiscated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces. He ordered Lucretius Ofella to be put to death in the forum, for having declared himself a candidate for the consulship, without having previously obtained his permission; and when the people of Rome were offended, he called a meeting, and told them that Ofella was slain by his orders. [Y. R. 671. B. C. 81.] Cneius Pompeius vanquished and killed, in Africa, Cneius Domitius, one of the proscribed persons, and Hiarbas, king of Numidia, who were making preparations for war. He triumphed over Africa, although not more than twenty-four years of age, and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any man before. Caius Norbanus, of consular rank, being proscribed, when he was taken at Rhodes, committed suicide. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, coming privately and in disguise to the back door of his wife Bastia's house, was refused admission, and she told him that he was a proscribed man, whereupon he stabbed himself, and sprinkled the door of his wife's house with his blood. Sylla took Nolla, a city of the Samnites, [Y. R. 672. B. C. 80,] and led forth forty-seven legions into the conquered lands, and divided them among them. [Y. R. 673. B. C. 79.] He besieged and took the town of Volaterra, which was as yet at war with him. Mitylene, the only town in Asia which continued to adhere to Mithridates, was likewise stormed and demolished.

BOOK XC.

Sylla died, and the honour was paid him by the senate of being buried in the Campus Martius. [Y. R. 674. B. C. 78.] Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, attempting to rescind the acts of Sylla, raised a war, and was driven out of Italy by his colleague, Quintus Catulus, and having vainly planned a war in Sardinia, lost his life. [Y. R. 675. B. C. 77.] Marcus Brutus, who held possession of Cisalpine Gaul,

was slain by Cneius Pompeius. Quintus Sertorius, one of the proscribed, raised a formidable war in Farther Spain. Lucius Manilius, the proconsul, and Marcus Domitius were overthrown in a battle by the quæstor Herculeius. This book contains, moreover, an account of the expedition of the proconsul, Publius Servilius, against the Cilicians.

BOOK XCI.

Cneius Pompeius, while yet only of equestrian rank, was sent with consular authority against Sertorius. Sertorius took several cities, and reduced very many others to submission. The proconsul, Appius Claudius, conquered the Thracians in several battles. [Y. R. 676. B. C. 76.] Quintus Metellus, the proconsul, cut off Herculeius, the quæstor of Sertorius, with his whole army.

BOOK XCII.

Cneius Pompeius fought an undecided battle with Sertorius, the wings on each side being beaten. Quintus Metellus conquered Sertorius and Peperna, with both their armies; Pompeius, desirous of having a share in this victory, engaged in the action, but without success. Sertorius, besieged in Clunia, made frequent sallies, to the great loss of the besiegers. [Y. R. 677. B. C. 75.] This book contains, moreover, an account of the successful expedition of Curio, the proconsul, against the Dardanians, and of the cruelties of Sertorius against his own partisans, many of whom he put to death, upon pretended suspicion of treachery.

BOOK XCIII.

Publius Servilius, the proconsul in Cilicia, subdued the Isaurians, and took several cities belonging to the pirates. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying, bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people, who reduced them into the form of a province. [Y. R. 678. B. C. 74.] Mithridates, having established a league with Sertorius, declared war against Rome; he made vast preparations, both by land and sea, and seized Bithynia: Marcus Aurelius Cotta was overcome in an action by the king, at Chalcedon. This book contains the history of the actions of Pompey and Metellus against Sertorius, who was equal to them in all the tactics of war and military service, and having driven them from the blockade of the town of Calagurris, he compelled them to retire to different countries—Metellus to Farther Spain, and Pompey to Gaul.

BOOK XCIV.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul, defeated Mithridates in an action between their cavalry, and made several successful expeditions, and repressed a mutiny among his soldiers which originated from an eager desire of fighting. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Gallogræcia, killed certain officers of Mithridates who were stirring up war in Phrygia. This book contains, moreover, an account of the successes of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

BOOK XCV.

Caius Curio, the proconsul, [Y. R. 679. B. C. 73,] subdued the Dardanians, in Thrace. Seventy-four gladiators, belonging to Lentulus, make their escape from Capua, and having collected a great number of slaves and hired servants, and having put themselves under the command of Crixus and Spartacus, they defeated, in a battle, Claudius Pulcher, a lieutenant-general, and Publius Varenus, the prætor. Lucius Lucullus, the proconsul, destroyed the army of Mithridates, by the sword and famine, at Cyzicus; and obliged that king, when driven from Bithynia, and broken down by various misfortunes arising from war and shipwrecks, to take refuge in Pontus.

BOOK XCVI.

Quintus Arrius, the prætor, [Y. R. 680. B. C. 72,] slew Crixus, the commander of the fugitive gladiators, with twenty thousand men. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, engaged Spartacus unsuccessfully, who also defeated Lucius Gellius, the consul, and Quintus Arrius, the prætor. Sertorius was slain at a feast, in the eighth year of his command, by Manius Antonius, Marcus Peperna, and other conspirators: he was a great general, and although opposed to two eminent commanders, Pompeius and Metellus, was often equal, and sometimes even superior, to both of them; at last, being deserted and betrayed, the command of his force devolved upon Peperna, whom Pompeius took prisoner and slew, and recovered Spain, towards the close of the tenth year of that war. Caius Crassus, the proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, the prætor, fought Spartacus unsuccessfully; the charge of that war was committed to the prætor, Marcus Crassus.

BOOK XCVII.

Marcus Crassus, the prætor, [Y. R. 681. B. C. 71,] fought successfully first with that part of the fugitives which was composed of Gauls and Germans, and slew thirty-five thousand of them, with their general, Granicus; afterwards he fought with Spartacus, killing him and forty thousand men. Marcus Antonius, the prætor, ended, by his death, the war against the Cretans, which had been unsuccessfully undertaken. Marcus Lucullus, the proconsul, subdued the Thracians. Lucius Lucullus fought successfully against Mithridates in Pontus, more than sixty thousand of the enemy being slain. [Y. R. 682. B. C. 70.] Marcus Crassus and Cneius Pompey, being made consuls, restored the tribunitian power; the latter, being of the equestrian order, had not filled the office of quæstor. The right of trial was transferred to the Roman knights, by the prætor, Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The affairs of Mithridates being reduced to a state of desperation, he flew for refuge to Tigranes, king of Armenia.

BOOK XCVIII.

A treaty of friendship was made by Machares, son of Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, with Lucius Lucullus. Cneius Lentulus and Caius Gellius, the censors, exercised their office with extreme rigour; expelling sixty-four senators. The lustrum was closed, and the number of citizens amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand. [Y. R. 683. B. C. 69.] Lucius Metellus, the prætor, was successful against the pirates in Sicily. The temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, having been consumed by fire, was rebuilt, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. [Y. R. 684. B. C. 68.] Lucius Lucullus defeated Mithridates and Tigranes, with their vast armies, in Armenia, in several battles. The war against the Cretans being committed to the charge of the proconsul, Quintus Metellus, he laid siege to the city of Cydonia. [Y. R. 685. B. C. 67.] Lucius Triarius, a lieutenant-general of Lucullus, was defeated in a battle against Mithridates. Lucullus was prevented, by a sedition in his army, from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, and completing his victory; the Valerian legions refused to follow Lucullus, alleging that they had served out their time.

BOOK XCIX.

The proconsul, Quintus Metellus, took Gnossus, Lyctus, Cydonia, and many other cities. Lucius Roscius, the plebeian tribune, carried a law, that the fourteen lower seats in the theatre shall be allotted to the Roman knights. Cneius Pompeius, being ordered by a law, which had the sanction of the people, to proceed against the pirates, who had interrupted the commerce of corn, in forty days drove them wholly from the sea; and having finished the war against them in Cilicia, and reduced them to submission, assigned them lands and towns. This book contains, moreover, the history of the successes of Metellus against the Cretans, the letters between Metellus and Pompeius. Metellus complained that Pompeius had robbed him of the glory of his actions, in sending a deputy of his own to receive the submission of the Cretans. Pompeius alleged that he had a right to do so.

BOOK C.

Caius Manilius, the tribune of the people, [Y. R. 686. B. C. 66,] to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, proposed that the Mithridatic war should be committed to the conduct of Pompeius. He made an admirable speech on the occasion. Quintus Metellus, having subdued Crete, imposed laws upon that hitherto free island. Cneius Pompeius, on setting out for the war against Mithridates, renewed the treaty of friendship with Phraates, king of Parthia; he overcame Mithridates in an engagement between their cavalry. This book contains also the history of the war between Phraates, king of Parthia, and Tigranes, king of Armenia; afterwards, between the father and son Tigranes.

BOOK CI.

Cæsar Pompeius vanquished Mithridates, in a battle fought in the night, and compelled him to fly to Bosphorus; reduced Tigranes to submission, taking from him Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia; and restored to him his own kingdom of Armenia. The conspiracy planned by those, who had been found guilty of bribery in seeking the consulship, to murder the consuls, was suppressed. [Y. R. 687. B. C. 65.] Pompeius pursued Mithridates into remote, and even unknown regions; he conquered in battle the Iberians and Albanians, who had refused him a passage through their territories. This book contains also the history of the flight of Mithridates through Colchis and the country of the Heinochi, and of his actions at Bosphorus.

BOOK CII.

Pompeius reduce Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, made war upon his father. Mithridates, besieged in his palace, took poison, and, when this did not produce the desired effect, he caused himself to be slain by a Gaul, named Bituitus. Pompeius conquered the Jews, and took their hitherto unviolated temple at Jerusalem. [Y. R. 688. B. C. 64.] Catiline, having twice failed in his suit for the consulship, forms a conspiracy, with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, to destroy the consuls and the senate, to burn the city, and seize the commonwealth: he raised an army in Etruria; [Y. R. 689. B. C. 63;] the conspiracy was discovered, and frustrated by the exertions of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the consul. Catiline was driven out of Rome; the other conspirators were punished with death.

BOOK CIII.

Catiline, together with his army, [Y. R. 690. B. C. 62,] was slain by the proconsul, Caius Antonius. Publius Clodius being accused of having, disguised in woman's apparel, entered a chapel, which it was not lawful for a man to enter, and of having defiled the wife of the high priest, was acquitted. Caius Pontinius, the prætor, subdued at Solon the Allobrogians, who had rebelled. Publius Clodius joined the party of the people. Caius Cæsar subdued the Lusitanians: [Y. R. 691. B. C. 51:] being a candidate for the consulship, and determined to seize the power of the commonwealth in his own hands, he formed a party with two of the principal men of the state, Cneius Pompeius and Marcus Crassus. [Y. R. 692. B. C. 60.] Cæsar, the consul, procured the passing of some Agrarian laws, contrary to the will of the senate, and notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, Marcus Bibulus. [Y. R. 693. B. C. 59.] Caius Antonius, the proconsul, was defeated in Thrace. [Y. R. 694. B. C. 58.] Marcus Cicero was banished, in consequence of a law procured by Publius Clodius, for having put to death Roman citizens uncondemned. Cæsar, having gone into the province

of Gaul, subdued the Helvetians, a wandering tribe, who, seeking a place of settlement, attempted to pass through Narbo, a part of his province. This book contains a description of the situation of Gaul. Pompeius triumphed over the children of Mithridates, Tigranes, and also the son of the latter; and the surname of the Great was conferred upon him by a full assembly of the people.

BOOK CIV.

This book commences with a description of the situation of Germany, and the manners and customs of the natives. Caius Cæsar, at the request of the Æduans and Sequanians, whose country had been seized upon, leads his army against the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, under the command of Ariovistus, roused by an address the courage of his soldiers, who were alarmed at the unusual appearance of these new enemies, and expelled from Gaul the Germans, defeated in a battle. [Y. R. 695. B. C. 57.] Marcus Tullius Cicero, to the great joy of the senate, and of all Italy, was recalled from banishment chiefly by the persuasion of Pompeius, aided by Titus Annius Milo, the plebeian tribune, who also argued in his favour. The charge of providing corn for the city was committed to Cneius Pompeius for five years. Cæsar brought to subjection the Ambians, Suessians, Veromanduans, and Atrebatians, a people of the Belgians, whose numbers were immense, after having subdued them in battle. He afterwards, at great risk, engaged the Nervians, a people belonging to one of the above states, and destroyed that race; this war they continued with such obstinacy, that their army was reduced from sixty thousand men to three hundred, and, of four hundred senators, only three remained alive. A law being made to reduce Cyprus to the form of a province, and to confiscate the royal treasure; the management of that business was committed to Marcus Cato. [Y. R. 696. B. C. 56.] Ptolemy, being ill-treated by his subjects, and dethroned, came to Rome. Caius Cæsar defeated the Venetians, a people living on the borders of the sea, in a sea-fight. This book contains also the history of his lieutenants' equally good fortune.

BOOK CV.

When, by the intercessions of Caius Cato, the elections were suspended, the senate went into mourning. [Y. R. 607. B. C. 55.] Marcus Cato, a candidate for the prætorship, lost the election, Vatinius carrying it against him. The same Cato was committed to prison by the tribune Trebonius, for resisting the law allotting the provinces, for five years, in the following manner: to Cæsar, Gaul and Germany; to Pompeius, Spain; and to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war. Aulus Gabinius, the proconsul, restored Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, and dethroned Archelaus, whom the people had elected king. [Y. R. 698. B. C. 54.] Cæsar, having vanquished the Germans who had invaded Gaul, passed the Rhine, and subdued the nearest part of it: and then crossed over the sea into Britain, with adverse fortune, at first owing to opposing tem-

pests, and afterwards with little better success; and, having killed a very great number of the inhabitants, he reduced a part of the island to subjection.

BOOK CVI.

Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, and wife of Pompeius, died, and by a vote of the people she was honoured with burial in the Campus Martius. Certain tribes of the Gauls revolted under the command of Ambiorix; they insnare and cut off Cotta and Titurius, lieutenants-general under Cæsar, with the armies under their command: having attacked the camps of the other legions, who with difficulty defended them, and among the rest the camp of Quintus Cicero, who commanded in the country of the Nervii, they were defeated by Cæsar in battle. [Y. R. 699. B. C. 53.] Marcus Crassus crossed the Euphrates, to make war against the Parthians, and was overthrown in a battle, in which his son was killed, after he had collected the remains of his army upon a rising ground: having been invited to a conference by the enemy, whose leader was Surenas, under the pretence of a treaty of peace, he was insnared, and fell fighting bravely, to prevent his suffering indignity from the enemy while alive.

BOOK CVII.

Caius Cæsar, having subdued the Trevirian Gauls, passed over a second time into Germany; finding no enemy there, he returned to Gaul, and reduced to obedience the Eburones, and other cities, which had revolted. Titus Annius Milo, a candidate for the consulship, killed Publius Clodius on the Appian road, near Bovillæ: the people burned the body of the latter in the curia. [Y. R. 700. B. C. 52.] The candidates for the consulship, Hypsæus, Scipio, and Milo, carried on their contention with so much rancour, as to come to open violence, which excited a seditious tumult. To repress these enormities, Cneius Pompeius was a third time elected consul, in his absence, and without a colleague,—a circumstance which never occurred before. Milo was tried for the murder of Clodius, and condemned to banishment. A law was made, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Marcus Cato, to empower Cæsar to stand for the consulship, though absent. This book contains also the history of Cæsar's operations against the Gauls, who had almost all revolted, and put themselves under the command of Vercingetorix: he took many towns; amongst others, Avaricum, Biturium, and Gergovia.

BOOK CVIII.

Caius Cæsar overthrew the Gauls at Alesia, and reduced all the revolted cities to subjection. Caius Cassius, Marcus Crassus's quæstor, defeated the Parthians who had passed over into Syria. [Y. R. 701. B. C. 51.] Marcus Cato failed in his suit for the consulship; the successful candidates being Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus. Caius Cæsar subdued the Bellovacians, and other Gallic tribes. This book contains, moreover, the record of the

disputes between the consuls, concerning the sending out of a person to succeed Cæsar; Marcellus contending that Cæsar should come home to sue for the consulship, being, by a law made expressly for that purpose, enabled to hold his province until that period; and also the exploits of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.

BOOK CIX.

In this book are recorded the causes and commencement of the civil war, and [Y. R. 702. B. C. 50] disputes about sending a successor to Cæsar, who refused to disband his army, unless Pompeius should also do the same. And it contains an account of the actions of Caius Curio, the plebeian tribune, first against Cæsar, afterwards in his favour. [Y. R. 703. B. C. 49.] A decree of the senate being passed, that a successor to Cæsar should be appointed, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius being driven out of the city, for protesting against that measure, orders were sent by the senate to the consuls, and to Cneius Pompeius, to take care that the commonwealth should sustain no injury. Cæsar, determined to make war upon his enemies, arrived in Italy with his army, took Corfinium, and in it Lucius Domitius and Lucius Lentulus, whom he discharged; and drove Cneius Pompeius and his adherents out of Italy.

BOOK CX.

Cæsar besieged Masilia, the gates of which had been shut against him; leaving his lieutenants-general, Caius Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, to carry on the siege, he set out for Spain, where Lucius Afranius and Caius Petreius, Pompeius's lieutenants-general, with seven legions, surrendered to him at Ilerda: he dismissed them all in safety. He also reduced to submission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompeius, with the army under his command. He granted the privileges of Roman citizens to the Gaditanians. The Massilians were defeated in two engagements at sea; after having sustained a long siege, they yielded to Cæsar. Caius Antonius, a lieutenant-general of Cæsar, having made an unsuccessful attack upon Pompeius's forces in Illyria, was taken prisoner. In the course of this war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, a district beyond the Po, in alliance with Cæsar, seeing their bridge blocked up by the enemy's ships, rather than fall into their hands, killed one another. Caius Curio, one of Cæsar's lieutenants-general in Africa, after a successful engagement with Varus, a general of the Pompeian party, was cut off, together with his army, by Juba, king of Mauritania. Caius Cæsar passed over into Greece.

BOOK CXI.

Marcus Cælius Rufus, the prætor, [Y. R. 704. B. C. 48,] having excited a sedition in the city, by holding out hopes to the people that their debts should be annulled, his office being taken from him, was driven from the city: he joined Milo, who, being in exile,

was raising an army of fugitives: they were both slain while preparing for war. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, was dethroned by her brother Ptolemy. The Cordubians in Spain, harassed by the extortion and oppression of the prætor, Quintus Cassius, desert Cæsar's party, together with two legions. Cneius Pompeius being besieged by Cæsar at Dyrracchium, beats him out of his lines; the siege being raised, the seat of war was removed to Thessaly: Cæsar conquered Pompeius in a battle at Pharsalia. Cicero remained in the camp, as he was a man better calculated for any thing than war. Cæsar granted a free pardon to all who submitted themselves to his power.

BOOK CXII.

The consternation and flight of the vanquished parties in various quarters of the world are recorded. Cneius Pompeius, when he had gone to Egypt, before he could land, was slain in his boat by Achilles, who had been sent for that purpose, according to the command of Ptolemy, the young king, who was instigated by Pothinus and Theodotus, his tutor, who had great influence over the king. Cornelia, his wife, and Sextus, his son, fled to Cyprus. Cæsar followed him three days after; and when Theodotus presented to him the head and ring of Pompeius, he was grievously offended, and wept over them. [Y. R. 705. B. C. 47.] Cæsar entered Alexandria in safety, though it was in a state of tumult. Cæsar being created dictator, restored Cleopatra to her throne; and defeated with great slaughter Ptolemy, who had made war upon him by the advice of those who had caused him to put Pompeius to death. Ptolemy, in his flight, sunk with his vessel in the Nile. This book contains also an account of the fatiguing march of Marcus Cato, with his legions, through the deserts of Africa; and of the unsuccessful war of Cneius Domitius against Pharnaces.

BOOK CXIII.

The Pompeian party having collected their forces in Africa, the supreme command was given to Publius Scipio,—Marcus Cato, who had been joined with him in the command, giving it up. When it was deliberated, in council, whether the city of Utica should not be demolished, on account of its attachment to Cæsar, Cato opposed that measure, which was strongly recommended by Juba: Cato's opinion prevailing, he was appointed governor of the city. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius the Great, having collected some forces in Spain, which neither Afranius nor Petreius would take the command of, renews the war against Cæsar. Pharnaces, king of Pontus, son of Mithridates, after supporting the war but a very short time, was subdued. When seditions were excited in Rome by Publius Dolabella, a plebeian tribune, who moved for a law to abolish the debts of the people, and on that account a tumult arose among the people, Marcus Antonius, master of the horse, brought troops into the town, and killed eight hundred of the people. Cæsar discharged the veteran soldiers, who were grown

mutinous, crossed over into Africa, and engaged the forces of king Juba in a very hazardous combat.

BOOK CXIV.

Cæcilius Bassus, [A. U. 706. B. C. 46,] a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, stirred up war in Syria; the legion left there, under the command of Sextus Cæsar, having slain their commander, and revolted to Bassus. Cæsar defeated Scipio the prætor, Afranius, and Juba, at Thapsus, their camps having been stormed. Having heard of this circumstance, Cato stabbed himself at Utica, and by the intervention of his son he might have been saved, but in the middle of the restoratives, having torn open the wound, he expired, in his forty-ninth year. Petreius put Juba and himself to death. Publius Scipio, being surrounded in his ship, to an honourable death added also a remarkable speech, for to the enemies who inquired about the general, he said, "The general is well." Faustus and Afranius were slain. Cato's son was pardoned. Brutus, Cæsar's lieutenant-general, defeated the rebellious Bellovacians in battle.

BOOK CXV.

Cæsar triumphed four times; over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He gave a feast, and exhibited shows of every description. To Marcus Marcellus, a man of consular rank, he granted leave to return at the request of the senate; which favour Marcellus did not live to enjoy, having been murdered at Athens by Cneius Magius Cilo, his own dependant. Cæsar held a census, when the number of citizens amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, [A. U. 707. B. C. 45,] and went to Spain against Cneius Pompey; where, after many attacks on both sides, many cities having been stormed, he at length gained a signal victory, after a most desperate engagement, at Munda. Sextus Pompeius effected his escape.

BOOK CXVI.

Cæsar triumphed a fifth time over Spain. Very many and high honours were decreed him by the senate; among others, that he should be styled Father of his country, and Sacred, and also that he should be perpetual dictator. [A. U. 708. B. C. 44.] It afforded cause of odium against him, that he rose not to the senate when conferring these honours on him, as he was sitting before the shrine of Venus Genetrix; and that he laid aside on a chair the diadem, placed on his head by his colleague in the consulship, Marcus Antonius, who was running among the Lupercalians, and that the magistracies were taken away from Epidius Marullus and Cæsetius Flavus, the tribunes of the people, who excited envy against him for aiming at the imperial dignity. For these reasons, a conspiracy was formed against him; the chiefs of which were, Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, with two of his own partisans, Decimus Brutus and Caius Trebonius. He was slain in Pompey's

senate-house with three-and-twenty wounds; and the Capitol was seized on by his murderers. An act of amnesty having been passed by the senate in relation to his murder, and the children of Antony and Lepidus having been taken as hostages, the conspirators came down from the Capitol. Octavius, Cæsar's nephew, was by his will made heir of half his possessions. Cæsar's body was burnt by the people, in the Campus Martius, opposite the rostrum. The office of dictator was abolished for ever. Caius Amatius, one of the lowest of the people, giving himself out for the son of Caius Marius, having excited some seditious movements among the credulous vulgar, was slain.

BOOK CXVII.

Caius Octavius came to Rome from Epirus, whither Cæsar had sent him to conduct the war in Macedonia; and, having received favourable omens, assumed the name of Cæsar. In the confusion and bustle of affairs, Lepidus procured the office of chief priest. But when Marcus Antonius, the consul, governed with violence, and forcibly caused a law to be passed respecting the change of provinces; and had also given very injurious treatment to Cæsar, when he requested that he would assist him in punishing the murderers of his uncle; Cæsar, to strengthen himself and the commonwealth against him, called out the veteran soldiers, who had been settled in the colonies. The fourth and Martian legions also deserted from Antony to Cæsar. Afterwards also very many revolted to Cæsar, on account of the cruelty of Antony, who slaughtered every where in their own camps even those whom he suspected. Decimus Brutus, in order to stop Antonius on his way into Cisalpine Gaul, seized Mutina with his army. This book contains also the history of the attempts of both parties to possess themselves of the provinces, and of the preparations for war.

BOOK CXVIII.

Marcus Brutus, in Greece, under the pretext of supporting the commonwealth, and the war against Antonius, managed to get the command of Vatinius' army and province. [Y. R. 709. B. C. 43.] To Cæsar, who had first undertaken to defend the commonwealth by arms, was given the authority of proprætor, with consular ornaments by the senate, and it was added that he should be enrolled a senator. Marcus Antonius besieged Brutus at Mutina; and the ambassadors sent to him by the senate, with a treaty of peace, met with little success in effecting it. The people of Rome assumed the military habit. Marcus Brutus reduced under his power Caius Antonius, the prætor, together with the army which he commanded in Epirus.

BOOK CXIX.

By the treachery of Publius Dolabella, Caius Trebonius was slain in Asia: for which crime the senate voted Dolabella to be a public

enemy. When Pansa, one of the consuls, had fought unsuccessfully against Antony, Aulus Hirtius, the other consul, coming up with his army, equalized the fortune of either party, the forces of Antony being routed. Antonius, afterwards being conquered by Hirtius and Cæsar, fled into Gaul, and joined to himself Marcus Lepidus, together with the legions which were under him, and was declared a public enemy by the senate, together with all his associates. Aulus Hirtius, who, after his victory, was slain in the enemy's camp, and Lucius Pansa, who died of a wound received in an unsuccessful battle, were buried in the Campus Martius. To Cæsar, the only surviving general of the three, the senate showed but little gratitude; for a triumph was voted to Decimus Brutus, who was relieved from the siege of Mutina by Cæsar. They did not mention with sufficient gratitude Cæsar and his soldiers, wherefore Caius Cæsar, having, by the intervention of Marcus Lepidus, renewed his friendly relation with Marcus Antonius, came with his army to Rome, and those who had been unjust to him, being struck with dread at his approach, he was elected consul in his nineteenth year.

BOOK CXX.

Cæsar, the consul, introduced a law to hold an inquiry into the case of those by whose instigation his father had been murdered, and Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and Decimus Brutus having been tried by this law, were condemned, though absent. When Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus, having also joined their forces to those of Antonius, had increased his strength, and when Decimus Brutus, to whom the senate had given orders to pursue Antony, being deserted by the legions under his command, had fled, he was killed by Capenus Sequanus, by order of Antonius, into whose hands he had fallen. Caius Cæsar became reconciled to Antonius and Lepidus, so that he and Lepidus and Antony formed a triumvirate for the administration of the republic for five years, and that they should proscribe each his particular enemies, in which proscription were included very many of the equestrian order, and one hundred and thirty senators; among whom were Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Cæsar, Antony's uncle, and Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose head and right hand were placed on the rostrum, when he was murdered in his sixty-third year by Popilius, a legionary soldier. This book also contains an account of the transactions of Brutus in Greece.

BOOK CXXI.

Caius Cassius, having received orders from the senate to pursue Dolabella, who had been pronounced a public enemy, acting under the sanction of the state, reduced Syria under his authority by means of the three armies which were in that province, and besieging Dolabella, in Laodicea, put him to death. Caius Antonius, having been taken, was also slain by order of Marcus Brutus.

BOOK CXXII.

Marcus Brutus fought unsuccessfully with the Thracians. Afterwards all the provinces beyond sea, together with the armies in them, having been brought into obedience to him and Cassius, they met at Smyrna, to hold a council relative to the war which they were about to engage in. [Y. R. 710. B. C. 42.] They agreed in pardoning Publicola, the brother of Marcus Messala, who had been conquered.

BOOK CXXIII.

Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, having assembled a considerable number of the proscribed Romans, and other fugitives, in Epirus, wandering about for a long time, subsisting chiefly by piracy; at length he seized first on Messana in Sicily, and afterwards on the whole province; and having killed Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, the prætor, he defeated Quintus Salvidienus, a general of Cæsar's, in a sea-fight. Cæsar and Antonius, with their armies, passed over into Greece, to make war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificius conquered, in a battle in Africa, Titus Sestius, the leader of Cassius' party.

BOOK CXXIV.

Caius Cæsar and Antony fought an undecisive battle with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi; in which the right wing of each army was victorious; and on both sides the camps were taken: the death of Cassius turned the scale of fortune; for, being at the head of that wing which was beaten, he supposed his whole army routed, and killed himself. Afterwards, in another battle, Brutus, being overcome, put an end to his life, in his fortieth year, after entreating Strabo, the companion of his flight, to drive a sword through him. *Many others slew themselves,* among whom was Quintus Hortensius.

BOOK CXXV.

Cæsar, [Y. R. 711. B. C. 41,] leaving Antonius to take care of the provinces beyond the sea, returned to Italy, and made a distribution of lands among the veterans. He represses, with great risk, a mutiny among his soldiers, who, being bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, conspired against their general. Lucius Antonius, the consul, influenced by Fulvia, made war upon Cæsar, having taken to his assistance those whose lands Cæsar had distributed among his veteran soldiers: and having overthrown Lepidus, who, with an army, had charge of the defence of the city, he entered it in a hostile manner.

BOOK CXXVI.

Cæsar, now twenty-three years of age, [Y. R. 712. B. C. 40,] besieged Antonius in Perusia, and forced him, after several ineffec-

tual attempts to escape, to surrender through famine, and pardoned him and all his soldiers. He razed Perusia to the ground, and terminated the war without bloodshed, all the forces of the enemy having been brought under his own power.

BOOK CXXVII.

The Parthians, who had joined the Pompeian party, under the command of Labienus, invaded Syria, and having beaten Decidius Saxa, a lieutenant-general under Antonius, seized that whole province. When Marcus Antonius was excited to dispute with Cæsar by his wife Fulvia, having dismissed her, lest she should mar the concord of the generals, and having concluded a treaty of peace with Cæsar, he married his sister Octavia. He himself informed against Quintus Salvidienus, who was forming a villanous combination against Cæsar, who, having been condemned, committed suicide. [Y. R. 713. B. C. 39.] Publius Ventidius, the lieutenant of Antony, drove the Parthians from Syria, having conquered them in battle, their general, Labienus, having been slain. When Sextus Pompey held Sicily, (being hostilely disposed, and near to Italy,) and obstructed the commerce in corn, at his own request Cæsar and Antony entered into a treaty of peace, so that he was made governor of Sicily. This book contains also the history of the commotions and war in Africa.

BOOK CXXVIII.

[Y. R. 714. B. C. 38.] When Sextus Pompeius had again infested the sea with his piracies, nor kept the peace which he had solicited, Cæsar, being obliged to make war upon him, fought against him in two indecisive sea-engagements. [Y. R. 715. B. C. 37.] Publius Ventidius, the lieutenant of Marcus Antonius, overthrew the Parthians in battle, in Syria, and killed their king. [Y. R. 716. B. C. 36.] Antonius's generals vanquished the Jews also. This book contains also the account of the preparations for war in Sicily.

BOOK CXXIX.

Several battles were fought at sea, with Sextus Pompeius, with various success; of Cæsar's two fleets, one under the command of Agrippa gained a victory; the other, led by Cæsar himself, was cut off; and his soldiers, being sent on shore, were exposed to great dangers. Pompeius, being afterwards defeated, fled into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus, who came from Africa, under the pretext of joining Cæsar in the war which he was about to wage against Sextus Pompeius, when he declared war against Cæsar himself, being deserted by his army, and deprived of the honour of the triumvirate, obtained his life. Cæsar conferred a naval crown upon Agrippa, an honour never before bestowed on any commander.

BOOK CXXX.

Marcus Antonius, having spent much time in luxurious indul-

gence with Cleopatra, having arrived late in Media, with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand horse, made war upon the Parthians. When, having lost two of his legions, nothing prospered with him, he retreated to Armenia; being pursued by the Parthians, he fled three hundred miles in twenty-one days, great trepidation and danger encompassing his whole army. He lost about eight thousand men by tempests; he was himself the cause, as well of the losses by the tempests, as of the unfortunate Parthian war; for he would not winter in Armenia, being in haste to revisit Cleopatra.

BOOK CXXXI.

Sextus Pompeius, [Y. R. 717. B. C. 35,] notwithstanding his engagements to Marcus Antonius, endeavoured to raise a war against him in Asia, and was slain by one of Antonius's generals. [Y. R. 718. B. C. 34.] Cæsar repressed a mutiny of the veterans, which threatened much mischief; he subdued the Japidæ, the Dalmatians, and Pannonians. [Y. R. 179. B. C. 33.] Antonius, having, by promises of safety and protection, induced Artavardes, king of Armenia, to come to him, commanded him to be thrown into chains, and gave the kingdom of Armenia to his own son, whom he had by Cleopatra, whom he now treated as his wife, having been long enamoured of her.

BOOK CXXXII.

Cæsar conquered the Dalmatians in Illyria. [Y. R. 720. B. C. 32.] He passed over to Epirus at the head of an army [Y. R. 721. B. C. 31] against Antonius, who, fascinated by the love of Cleopatra, by whom he had two sons, Alexander and Philadelphus, would neither come to Rome, nor, the time of his triumvirate being expired, would resign that office; but meditated war, which he should wage against Rome and Italy, and for that purpose was preparing great forces both by sea and land, having also divorced Octavia, Cæsar's sister. Sea-fights, and battles on land between the cavalry, in which Cæsar was victorious, are recorded.

BOOK CXXXIII.

After his fleet had been vanquished by Cæsar at Actium, Antonius escaped to Alexandria, where, being besieged by Cæsar, in desperation, induced principally by a false rumour of the death of Cleopatra, he committed suicide. Cæsar having reduced Alexandria, [Y. R. 722. B. C. 30,] Cleopatra, to avoid falling into his hands, having put herself to death, on his return to Rome triumphs three times: first, over Illyria; secondly, on account of the victory at Actium; and, thirdly, over Cleopatra: the civil wars being thus terminated, after they had lasted one-and-twenty years. [Y. R. 723. B. C. 29.] Marcus Lepidus, the son of Lepidus, who was of the triumvirate, forming a conspiracy against Cæsar, was taken and killed.

BOOK CXXXIV.

Cæsar, having settled the affairs of the state, [Y. R. 724. B. C. 28,] and reduced all the provinces to exact order, received the surname of Augustus; and the month Sextilis was named, in honour of him, August. [Y. R. 725. B. C. 27.] Cæsar having called a meeting of the states at Narbo, a census was made of the three Gauls, which were conquered by his father. The war against the Bastarnians, Mœsians, and other nations, under the conduct of Marcus Crassus, is described in this book.

BOOK CXXXV.

The war carried on by Marcus Crassus against the Thracians, and by Cæsar against the Spaniards, is recorded in this book. [Y. R. 729. B. C. 23.] The Salassians, a people of the Alps, were subdued.

BOOK CXXXVI.

Rhætia was subdued by Tiberius Nero and Drusus, the step-sons of Cæsar. Agrippa, Cæsar's son-in-law, died. The census was held by Drusus.

BOOK CXXXVII.

The states of Germany, situated on either side of the Rhine, are attacked by Drusus. The insurrections, excited by the taxes levied in Gaul, were suppressed. [Y. R. 740. B. C. 12.] An altar was dedicated to Cæsar at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, by Caius Julius Vercundaris Dubius, an Æduan, appointed priest for that purpose.

BOOK CXXXVIII.

That the Thracians were subdued by Lucius Piso; [Y. R. 741. B. C. 11;] also the Cheruscans, Tenctherans, Cattians, and other nations beyond the Rhine, by Drusus, is recorded in this book. Octavia, Augustus's sister, died, having before lost her son, Marcellus; a theatre and portico, dedicated in his name, form his monument.

BOOK CXXXIX.

[Y. R. 742. B. C. 10.] The war against the nations beyond the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, is recorded in this book: the chief actors in it were Senectius and Anectius, military tribunes, belonging to the Nervians. Nero, the brother of Drusus, subdued the Dalmatians and Pannonians. Peace was concluded with Parthia, the standards which were taken from Crassus, and afterwards from Antonius, being restored by their king.

BOOK CXL.

[Y. R. 743. B. C. 9.] The war against the German nations beyond

the Rhine, conducted by Drusus, is recorded in this book. Drusus himself, his horse having fallen on his leg, died of the fracture thirteen days after the accident. His body was conveyed to Rome by his brother, Nero, who having been summoned by the tidings of his illness, had quickly come to him, and it was buried in the tomb of Caius Julius. His funeral eulogium was pronounced by Cæsar Augustus, his step-father, and many honours were added to his last rites.

FRAGMENTS

OF

THE HISTORY OF LIVY.

TRANSLATED

BY WILLIAM A. M'DEVITTE, SEN. MOD. EX. SCHOL. A. B. T. C. D.

N B. An asterisk is prefixed to such fragments as can, by a probable conjecture, be referred to the books to which they belong: the other fragments, to which we cannot assign their proper place in the books of Livy, together with what remains of a letter inscribed to his son, have been added subsequently.

* Belonging to the 12th book.

Pyrrhus was a consummate tactician, but more skilful in the arrangements of a battle than the operations of a war.—Servius on Virg. Æn. i. 456.

* Belonging to the 13th book.

We might have held it in private.—Priscian.

* Belonging to the 14th book.

Both Livy and Sallust inform us that the ancients used scythe-armed chariots.—Servius. Virg. Æn. i. 476.

* Belonging to the 16th book.

Sichæus was called Sicharbas; Belus, the father of Dido, Methres; Carthage from Carthada, (as we read it,) which is found in the history of the Carthaginians, and in Livy.—Servius. Virg. Æn. i. 343.

Carthage signifies, in the Punic tongue, "New City," as Livy informs us.—Servius. Virg. Æn. i. 366.

Bitias was the admiral of the Punic fleet, as Livy informs us. Servius.—Virg. Æn. i. 738.

* Belonging to the 17th book.

The day before the Nones. The day before the Ides.—Priscian.

* Belonging to the 18th book.

Beardless.—Charis. book i.

There is also mention made by Livy of a serpent, in a narrative alike interesting and eloquent.

For he says that there was in Africa, at the river Bagradas, a

snake of such enormous size, that it prevented the army of Atilius Regulus from using the water: and that, after seizing many of the soldiers in its powerful fangs, and crushing several to death in the folds of its tail, as soon as they discovered that it could not be injured by weapons cast by the hand, it was at last attacked on every side by missiles from the engines, and killed by numerous and ponderous blows of huge stones; and that it appeared to all, both cohorts and legions, more terrible than Carthage itself. He narrates that the Romans were compelled to remove their camp, owing to the river being tinged with its blood, and the air in the vicinity being corrupted by the pestilential effluvia.

He says, too, that the skin of the monster, which was a hundred and twenty feet long, was sent to Rome.—Valerius Maximus.

* Belonging to the 19th book.

The third (secular) games were celebrated, according to Antias and Livy, in the consulship of Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Junius Pullus.—Censorinus.

It is recorded in Livy that when a certain general, who was desirous of carrying on a war, was prevented by one of the tribunes of the commons from setting out on the expedition, he ordered the sacred chickens to be brought forward: when they did not eat the corn that was cast before them, the consul, in derision of the augury, said, "let them drink," and cast them into the Tiber. Afterwards, when returning victorious in his ships, he was drowned off the coast of Africa, with all that he commanded.—Servius. Virg. Æn. vi. 198.

* Belonging to the 22nd book.

And in repeating the attack with a small body of troops on the walls of Alisfa, after coming like a marauder, an elephant covered with armour broke forth from the town: the consul took it, and after slaying those on its back, reserved it for the fight. But the townsmen, as they felt little anxiety about it, on the second day, armed with shields, engraven with the figures of elephants, attack a few fugitives, and retake the elephant under more favourable omens; and the inhabitants give the name of Alifæ to the town, formerly called Ruffius, from the circumstance of the favourable following the unfavourable omen.

This fragment is undoubtedly spurious.

* Belonging to the 49th book.

There are three different opinions concerning the date of the fourth (secular) games. For Antias, and Varro, and Livy have recorded, that they were exhibited in the consulate of Lucius Marcius Censorinus and Manius Manilius, in the six hundred and fifth year after the foundation of Rome.—Censorinus.

* Belonging to the 56th book.

Who say that Pompey pleaded disease as an excuse, lest, by his presence in the tumult, he might irritate the minds of the Numantines.—Priscian.

* Belonging to the 77th book.

Sulla makes a most noble matrimonial alliance, by marrying Cæcilia, the daughter of Metellus, the pontifex maximus. For

which reason the populace chanted many lampoons against him, and many of the principal men envied him, considering him, whom they judged deserving of consulship, unworthy of that woman, as Livy remarks.—Plutarch. Sulla.

Livy relates that, when Sulla first advanced to the city against Marius, the entrails appeared so propitious to the person sacrificing, that Postumius, the soothsayer, expressed his willingness to give himself into custody, on condition that he should suffer capital punishment, if Sulla did not, by the aid of the gods, succeed in the projects which he had in contemplation.—Augustin.

* Belonging to the 83rd book.

Since when all the statues were overthrown and burned along with the town, the statue of Minerva alone is reported (as Livy says) to have stood uninjured under the ruins of that immense temple.—Augustin.

Belonging to the 91st book.

The inhabitants of Contrebia, although they were attacked by the pangs of famine, in addition to their other calamities, after making many ineffectual attempts to repel the war from their city and walls, injured the works of Sertorius by casting fire from the walls; and a tower of many stories, which exceeded in height all the fortifications of the city, being consumed by the spreading flames, fell to the ground with a great crash. However, during the following night another tower was reared in the same place, by the efforts of Sertorius, who remained awake all night; the sight of which at the dawn struck the enemy with astonishment. At the same time the city-tower, which had been their strongest defence, as its foundations were undermined, began to yawn with great rents, and afterwards take fire from a torch that was thrown against it; and the inhabitants of Contrebia, being terrified by the fear of the fire and fall of the battlements combined, fled in alarm from the walls: and the whole populace shouted out that ambassadors should be sent to surrender the city. The same valour which had urged Sertorius to besiege them when they provoked him, made him, when victorious, more inclined to mercy. After receiving hostages, he exacted a small sum of money, and took away from them all their arms. He ordered the deserters that were freemen to be brought alive to him: he ordered the inhabitants to slay the fugitive slaves, of whom there was a greater number. They cut their throats and cast them from the walls. Having reduced Contrebia, after a siege of forty-four days, which cost him a great number of men, and having left Lucius Insteius in command there with a strong garrison, he himself marched his army to the river Iberus. Then having built his winter quarters nigh to the town, which is called Castra Ælia, he remained in person in the camp; during the day he held a congress of the allied states in the town. He had previously issued a proclamation throughout the entire province, that each state should make arms in proportion to its resources: and after inspecting them, he ordered his soldiers to bring in their other arms, which had been rendered ineffective by frequent marches, or assaults and battles, and divided the new arms among

the men by means of the centurions. He also furnished the cavalry with new arms: and distributed among them clothes, which had been previously prepared for them, and gave them pay also. He searched carefully for mechanics, and brought them together from every quarter, and erected public manufactories in which he could employ their labour, and made calculations of the amount of work that could be done each day. Therefore all the implements of war were in process of preparation at the same time: neither did the mechanics want materials, as all things had been previously prepared by the zealous efforts of the states; nor was any department of the service unprovided with proper workmen. Then, after calling together the embassies of all the nations and states, he returned them thanks, because they furnished the supplies which had been levied on them for the infantry: he laid before them a statement of the acts which he had performed in defending his allies and besieging the cities of the enemy, and encouraged them to prosecute the war with vigour: he informed them, briefly, how deeply the provinces of Spain were interested in the success of his party. He then dismissed the assembly, and after bidding them all to be of good courage, and return to their respective states, he sent Marcus Perperna early in spring with twenty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, to the nation of the Ilercaonians, to defend the maritime coast of that country: he gave him instructions relative to the routes by which he should march to defend the cities in alliance with him, which Pompey was besieging, and pointed out the places in which he might lay ambuscades for Pompey on his march. At the same time he sent letters to Herennuleius, who was in the same country, and to Lucius Hirtulius, in the other province, with instructions as to the manner in which he wished the war to be conducted: charging him especially "to defend the allied states in such a manner as not to fight a pitched battle with Metellus, for whom he was not a match either in influence or strength. That he himself did not intend to march against Pompey; nor did he believe that the latter would come to a pitched battle; since if the war were protracted, the enemy could procure supplies from every quarter by their shipping, as they had the sea at their back, and all the provinces under their dominion; and that he himself would be reduced to want of every thing, since what he had previously stored was consumed during the former summer. That Perperna was appointed to the command of the region bordering on the sea, in order that he might be able to defend the country which was as yet free from the ravages of the enemy, and at the same time attack them unawares, if any opportunity should occur." He determined to march in person with his army against the Beronians and Autrigonians; because he ascertained that they had frequently, during the winter, solicited aid from Pompey, and had sent persons to point out the way to the Roman army, during the time that he himself was employed in besieging the Celtiberian cities; and besides, his soldiers were often harassed by their cavalry during the siege of Contrebia, in whatsoever direction they might proceed in search of corn and forage. They had even the hardi-

hood at that time to solicit the Arevaci to join their party. He intended, after giving them an example of the severity of war, to deliberate which of his two enemies he should attack, which of the two provinces he should repair to: whether he should go to the maritime coast, to prevent Pompey from entering Ilercaonia and Contestania, both of which were allied nations, or should turn his attention to Metellus and Lusitania. Sertorius, anxiously deliberating on these plans, marched his army peaceably along the banks of the river Iberus, through the territory of his allies, without injuring any one. Then he marched into the territories of the Bursaonians, Cascantinians, and Gracchuritanians; and after wasting every thing, and trampling down the crops, came to Calaguris Nasica, a city of the allies; and after passing the river nigh to the town, by a bridge built for the occasion, he encamped there. On the next day he sent Marcus Marius, the quæstor, into the territory of the Arevacans and Cerindonians, to enlist soldiers among those nations, and to convey the corn from them to Contrebia, called also Leucas, near which city lay the most convenient roads leading out of the country of the Beronians, in whatever direction he should determine to march his army: and he sent Caius Insteius, the prefect of the cavalry, to Liguria and the nation of the Vaccæans, to search for horsemen, with orders to wait for him at Contrebia with such cavalry as he could collect. After despatching them, he himself set out, and having marched his army through the territory of the Vasconians, pitched his camp on the confines of the Beronians. On the next day he went forward with the cavalry to reconnoitre the roads, after giving orders to the infantry to march in the form of a square, and came to Vaccæa, the strongest city in that country. He came on them unexpectedly during the night. The townsmen having summoned from every quarter the cavalry, both of their own nation and the Autrigonians, made a sally and marched against Sertorius, to prevent him from entering the pass.—The Vatican copy of Livy. This was the first battle that was fought between Sertorius and Pompey. We have the authority of Livy, that Pompey's army lost ten thousand men and all their baggage. —Frontinus.

* Belonging to the 94th book.

Livy says, in his 94th book, that Inarime was in part of Mæonia, where, for an extent of fifty miles, the earth has been burned with fire. He intimates that Homer signified the same fact.—Servius. Æn. ix. 715.

Belonging to the 97th book.

Livy relates that thirty thousand armed men (composed of the fugitives conquered by Crassus) were slain in that battle with their leaders, Castus and Gannicus, and that five of the Roman eagles were recovered, besides twenty-six military standards, and many spoils, among which were the rods and axes.—Frontinus.

* Belonging to the 98th book.

Livy says that the Romans never before, with such inferior numbers, engaged an enemy. For the victors were scarcely equal in number to a twentieth, or even a smaller portion, of the con-

quered.—Plutarch. Lucullus. We have the authority of Livy, that in the former engagement (that at Tigranocerta) a greater number of the enemy was slain and taken prisoners, but in the latter battle (that at Artaxata) the noblest of the nation met that fate.—Plutarch. Lucullus.

* Belonging to the 99th book.

Crete had at first a hundred cities; from which circumstance it was called Hecatompolis; afterwards it contained twenty-four; and subsequently, as we are told, two, Gnossus and Hierapytna: although Livy says that several were stormed by Metellus.—Servius. Virg. Æn. iii. 106.

* Belonging to the 102nd book.

After having dissolved this.—Agroetius. For on the capture of the city, (he alludes to the capture of Jerusalem by Cneius Pompeius,) in the third month of the siege, on a fast-day, in the 179th Olympiad, in the consulship of Caius Antonius and Marcus Tullius Cicero, when the Romans, after storming the town, were butchering those who were in the temple; notwithstanding all this, those who were engaged in the sacred ceremonies continued to offer divine worship with the same attention, and were not induced, either by the fear of losing their lives, or by the number of men who were slain around them, to take to flight, for they considered it better to suffer at the very altars whatever they might be compelled to endure, than to neglect any of the commandments instituted by their forefathers. Those who have recorded the achievements of Pompey, testify that these facts were not invented, merely with a tendency to extol a false piety, but that they are really true; among these writers may be enumerated Strabo and Nicolaus, and in addition to them Titus Livy, the writer of Roman History.—Josephus.

Belonging to the 103rd book.

The cancer which eats away the body is more horrible. When concealed it consumes the vitals; when palpable, tears them away: formerly the ancients expelled it by various remedies. For the 103rd book of Titus Livy informs us that such an ulcer was cut out by a red-hot knife, or driven away by drinking the seed of rape: he asserts that the life of a person who has received the infection can scarcely be prolonged for seven days; so great is the violence of the disease.—Q. Seren. Lamon.

* Belonging to the 105th book.

Livy among the ancients, and Fabius Rusticus among the moderns, both most eloquent writers, have compared the shape of Great Britain to an oblong shield, or two-edged battle-axe.—Tacitus. Agric. Although no one as yet has made the circuit of the entire of Britain, as Livy relates, still various opinions have been expressed by many in speaking on that subject.—Jornandes.

* Belonging to the 109th book.

In the seven hundredth year from the foundation of Rome, a conflagration, the origin of which has not been ascertained, broke out in that city, and consumed fourteen divisions of it: never, as Livy remarks, was it wasted by a greater fire; so extensive was it, that several years after, Cæsar Augustus gave a large sum of

money out of the public treasury for the purpose of rebuilding those edifices which were then burned to the ground.—Orosius. Cæsar, having crossed the river Rubicon, on his reaching Ariminum soon after, issued the necessary commands to the five cohorts, which were the only troops that he then had, and with which, as Livy says, he attacked the world.—Orosius.

* Belonging to the 111th book.

Caius Crastinus was the first that struck an enemy on the late occasion, which he did with the first javelin that he could seize.—Scholiast on Lucan. Caius Cornelius, a man skilled in the science of augury, the fellow-citizen and intimate friend of Livy the historian, happened to be engaged in taking auspices at the same time. He first, as Livy records, knew the exact period of the battle (of Pharsalia), and told the by-standers that the affair was going on at that moment, and that the leaders were commencing battle. When he took the auguries a second time, and beheld the signs, he leaped up in a fit of inspiration, shouting out, "Cæsar, thou art conquering!" While they who were present were astonished, he took off the garland from his head, and swore that he would not replace it until the event was proved to correspond to his art. Livy positively asserts that this is true.—Plutarch. Cæsar.

Belonging to the 112th book.

Bogud Bogudis, the name of a barbarian, which Livy has declined in the 112th book with the genitive Bogudis.—Priscian. Cassius and Bogud attacked the camp also in different parts, and were not far from forcing the works. At which time also he endeavoured to transport his army rapidly into Africa, for the purpose of strengthening the kingdom of Bogud. Cassius would have waged war against Trebonius, if he could have induced Bogud to become a partner in his mad design.—Priscian. Four hundred thousand books, the noblest monument of the wealth of kings that ever existed, were burned at Alexandria. Other writers have spoken in favour of this library; Livy, for instance, who said that it was the surpassing work of the elegance and research of kings.—Seneca.

Belonging to the 113th book.

And he himself defended the coast about Palpud.

* Belonging to the 114th book.

These are the accounts that some give of Bassus; but Livy says that he fought under the command of Pompey, and on his defeat lived privately at Tyre, and by bribing some of the legionary soldiers, succeeded in being elected general by them when Sextus was killed.—Appian. I should wish my lot to be such as Titus Livy describes Cato's to have been: for his glory was of such an elevated character, that no addition to or diminution of it was made by the praise or blame of any man, though men of the greatest abilities did both. He alludes to Marcus Cicero and Caius Cæsar, the former of whom wrote in praise, and the latter in condemnation, of the above-mentioned individual.—Hieronymus.

* Belonging to the 116th book.

According to the narrative of Livy, an ornamental top had been

added to the house of Cæsar, by a decree of the senate, to give it beauty and grandeur. His wife Calpurnia imagined in her dreams that this had fallen, and that she was lamenting and weeping over it. Therefore, when day dawned, she entreated Cæsar not to go into the street that day, but postpone the meeting of the senate to another occasion, if he could possibly effect it.—Plutarch. Cæsar. It is considered an evil omen when Mount Ætna, in Sicily, emits not only smoke, but balls of fire: and Livy says that such extensive flames issued from it before the death of Cæsar; that not only the neighbouring cities, but also the state of Rhegium, which is far distant from it, felt the fiery vapour.—Servius. The remark that was generally made concerning Julius Cæsar, and attributed to Titus Livy, is applicable also to the winds; namely, that it was doubtful whether his existence or non-existence would have been more advantageous to the republic.—Seneca.

* Belonging to the 118th book.

In opposition to the murderers of Caius Cæsar, he levied some troops to assist his avengers.

* Belonging to the 120th book.

Marcus Cicero had left the city a little before the arrival of the triumvirs, considering it certain that there was no greater possibility of his being rescued from Antonius, than of Brutus and Cassius being saved from Cæsar, and so the matter really was. He fled first to the territory of Tusculum, and afterwards proceeded by cross roads into the territory of Formiæ, with the intention of embarking at Caieta. From which he sailed out several times into the deep sea, but when the adverse winds at one time drove him back, at another he himself could not endure the pitching of the ship in the heavy roll of the sea, he was at length seized with a disgust at both life and flight: and having returned to his upper villa, which is little more than a mile from the sea, he said, "I will die in my native land that I have saved so often." It is ascertained that his slaves were prepared to fight with bravery and fidelity; and that he himself ordered them to lay down the litter, and bear with resignation whatever the severity of fortune would enjoin. As he stretched forth from the litter, and held his neck unmoved, his head was cut off. Nor did that suffice the senseless cruelty of the soldiers. They cut off his hands also, in reproach of their having written any thing against Antonius. In this way his head was brought to Antonius, and by his orders placed between his hands on the rostrum. The people, raising up their eyes bedimmed with tears, could scarcely bear the sight of his dismembered limbs. He lived sixty-three years; so that in the absence of violence his death would not have seemed a premature one: his genius was successfully displayed in his works, and in gaining the rewards of his works: he himself was for a long time prosperous, yet during his long career of success suffering occasionally great calamities: namely, exile, the ruin of the party which he had espoused, the death of his daughter, his own, so miserable and galling; none of which calamities he bore with the firmness worthy of a man, except his death, which, to a man that estimated matters justly, might seem less likely to call forth indignation, as he

had not suffered from his victorious enemy greater cruelty than he would himself have practised, if he had been equally successful. However, if any one will weigh accurately his virtues against his vices, he will come to the conclusion that he was a great, energetic, and remarkable man, and one who would require the eulogies of a second Cicero to do justice to his merit.

Belonging to the 127th book.

Since traces of the dissensions between Augustus and Antonius still existed, Cocceius Nerva, the ancestor of that Nerva who was subsequently emperor of Rome, recommended to Augustus to send deputies to treat of affairs in general. Therefore Mæcenas and Agrippa were sent, who brought both armies into one camp, as Livy relates in the 127th book. But we must understand that when Fonteius was deputed by Antonius, Augustus sent Mæcenas and others to the same place.—Acro on Horace. When a dispute arose between Cæsar Augustus and Antonius, Cocceius Nerva, the ancestor of him who was afterwards emperor of Rome, requested of Cæsar to send some one to Tarracina to negotiate the principal points. Mæcenas held the conference first, and was shortly after joined by Agrippa, and there entered into a most solemn compact with Antonius's deputies, and ordered the standards of both armies to be brought together into the same camp. Livy mentions this also in the 127th book, but makes no mention of Capito.—Porphyrio on Horace. Fonteius Capito had been sent as deputy by Antonius and Mæcenas, and Agrippa, in a similar capacity, by Augustus, owing to the mediation of Cocceius Nerva, who possessed great influence with both Augustus and Antonius, and was the ancestor of the emperor Nerva. But the deputies met for the purpose of negotiating the general interests of their principals, and settling the disputes that had broken out between these two commanders; which they did, and brought both armies into one camp, near Brundusium; an event which was hailed with great demonstrations of joy, as Livy relates in the 127th book.—Commentator Cruquii on Horace.

* Belonging to the 133rd book.

Livy relates that Cleopatra, when after her capture by Augustus she was designedly treated with great indulgence, used to say: I will not grace a triumph.—Commentator Cruquii. Hor. Odes, i. 37.

Belonging to the 136th book.

In the same year Cæsar celebrated the secular games with great pomp; they were usually celebrated every hundredth year (for such was the limit of a secular period).—Censorinus.

A man of great but ill-directed abilities.—Seneca.

I confess that I am astonished that Titus Livy, a most celebrated writer, in one of the volumes of his history, which he traces back to the foundation of the city, used the following exordium: that he had already acquired sufficient glory, and had it in his power to cease his exertions, were it not that his intellectual restlessness obtained food by labour.—Pliny.

Titus Livy and Cornelius Nepos have recorded that the breadth of the Straits of Gibraltar at the narrowest part is seven miles; but at the widest part ten miles.—Pliny.

The proper number of consuls being elected.—Servius.

Thou, whosoever thou art, shalt be ours, are the words of a general receiving a deserter under his protection, in which sense we meet them in Livy.—Servius.

I was destined from my birth to be a general, not a common soldier.

William of Malmesbury appears to have borrowed this expression of Scipio from Livy.

Tell me, when we often read in Roman history, on the authority of Livy, that countless thousands of men perished very frequently in this city by the breaking out of plagues, and that matters often came to such a state that there were scarcely sufficient men to constitute an army in those warlike times, were no sacrifices offered to your god, Februarius, at that period? Or was his worship utterly ineffectual? Were not the Lupercalia celebrated at that time? For you cannot say that these sacred rites were unknown at the time, since they were said to have been introduced into Italy by Evander before the date of Romulus. But Livy, in his second decade, tells us the reason of the institution of the Lupercalia (as they are intimately connected with his own superstitions): he does not say that they were instituted to check disease, but to remove the barrenness of women, which was then prevalent.—Gelasius.

According to Livy, ambassadors suing for peace are called heralds.—Servius.

Livy calls silver heavy; he means masses of it.—Servius.

On this eminence (the promontory of Circæum) was a town, which was called both Circæum and Circæi. For Livy uses both.—Servius.

Titus Livius was so unfavourable to Sallust, that he reproached him with this sentence, "prosperity has a wonderful tendency to cloak misconduct," as being not only translated, but even spoiled in the translation. Nor does he do this out of regard to Thucydides, with a view to extol him. He praises him whose rivalry he does not fear, and thinks that Sallust could be more easily surpassed by him if he were previously excelled by Thucydides.—Seneca.

Titus Livy used to say that Miltiades, the rhetorician, made the following elegant remark—"they are mad on common-place subjects . . . . . ." in reference to orators who hunt after antiquated or obsolete terms, and consider chastity of style to consist in obscurity of diction.—Seneca.

Several have fallen into the same error: nor is it a novel defect, since I find, even in Livy, that there was a certain teacher of rhetoric who ordered his pupils to throw an air of mystery over their expressions, which he expressed by the Greek word *σκότισον*. From which circumstance originated the remarkable expression of approbation: "so much the better: even I myself did not understand."—Quintilian.

Therefore that hint was the safest, of which an example occurs in Livy, in the letter written to his son, "we ought to read Demosthenes and Cicero, and them too in such a manner that each of us should closely resemble Demosthenes and Cicero."—Quintilian.

THE END.

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———, Cæso, quæstor, accuses Sp. Cassius of treason, ii. 41. Is made consul, 42. A second time consul, when his troops refuse to conquer, 43. He and his brother renew the fight, 46. Is chosen consul a third time, 48. Leads his family against the Veians, 49.
——— Ambustus, Cæso, quæstor, iv. 54. Consular tribune, 61. Again, v. 10. A third time, 24.
——— Dorso, C., during the siege of the Capitol, passes through the Gauls to perform sacrifice, and returns safe, v. 46.
———, L., envoy from Scipio to Carthage, xxx. 25.
———, M., brother of Cæso, consul, ii. 42. Again, 43. Refuses a triumph, 47.
———, chief pontiff, dictates the form of words, in which the Roman elders

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——— Vibulanus, Numerius, consul, iv. 43. Consular tribune, 49. Again, 57.
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———, ambassador to the Gauls, kills one of their leaders, and is made consular tribune, v. 35, 36. He, with his brother, is called to an account for his conduct towards the Gauls, and dies, vi. 1.
——— Ambustus, Q., consul, iv. 52. Master of horse, vii. 28. Dictator, ix. 7.
——— Gurges, Q., consul, x. 47.
——— Maximus Rullianus, Q., curule ædile, viii. 18. Master of horse, 29. Fights the Samnites contrary to the order of the dictator, Papirius, and is successful, 30. His dispute with the dictator, 30—36. He is made consul, 38. Interrex, ix. 7. Dictator, he defeats the Samnites, 23. Again consul, he defeats the Etrurians, 35. Though at enmity with Papirius, nominates him dictator, 38. A third time consul, he overthrows the Samnites and Umbrians, 41. Censor, he distributes the lowest rabble among the four city tribes, and thence gains the surname of Maximus, 46. A fourth time consul, he overcomes the Samnites, x. 13, 14. Is made consul a fifth time, 22. Triumphs, 30.
——— Vibulanus, Q., consul, iv. 37. Consular tribune, 49.
——— Maximus Verrucosus, Q., ambassador to Carthage, xxi. 18. Prodictator, xxii. 8. His cautious method of conducting the war, 11—17. He sells his estate to ransom prisoners, 23. Saves from total defeat his master of horse, who had fought Hannibal contrary to his judgment, 28, 29. His advice to the consul Æmilius, 39. He is made chief pontiff, xxiii. 21. A third time consul, 31. His actions, 46, 48. Is consul a fourth time, xxiv. 8. Acts as lieutenant-general under his son, 44. Is made consul a fifth time, xxvii. 7. Prince of the senate, 11. He takes Tarentum, 15. Effects a reconciliation between the consuls Livius and Nero, 35. Opposes Scipio's design of carrying the war into Africa, xxviii. 40; xxix. 19. Dies, xxx. 26.
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———, Cn., consul, x. 11. Defeats the Samnites, and triumphs, 12. Proprætor, he overthrows the Etrurians, 26, 27, 30.
———, quæstor, delivered up to Hannibal by the Ligurians, xxi. 59.
———, lieutenant-general, xxvi. 14, 33; xxvii. 8.
——— Centumalus, Cn., curule ædile, made prætor, xxiv. 43. Consul, xxv. 41; xxvi. 1. Is defeated by Hannibal at Herdonea, and slain, xxvii. 1.
——— Flaccus, Cn., prætor, xxv. 2. Is intoxicated with success, 20. Defeated by Hannibal at Herdonea, 21. Called to account for misconduct, xxvi. 2. He goes into exile, 3.
———, L., consul, viii. 38. Master of horse, ix. 21.
———, M., military tribune, killed in battle, xxvii. 12.
——— Centumalus, M., prætor, xxxv. 10, 20.
——— Flaccus, M., commissioner of lands, xxxi. 4. Lieutenant-general, xliii. 11.
——— Nobilior, M., prætor, xxxiv. 54. Defeats the Celtiberians and their allies, taking their king prisoner, xxxv. 7. His ovation, xxxvi. 21. A second, 38. Is chosen consul, xxxvii. 48. Wages war with success against the Ætolians, xxxviii. 4—12. A triumph is decreed to him after some dispute, xxxix. 5. He triumphs, xl. 45.
——— Pætinus, M., consul, x. 9.
———, Q., curule ædile, xxx. 39.
——— Flaccus, Q., pontiff, xxiii. 21. Prætor, xxiv. 30. Master of horse and consul, xxv. 2. Takes Hanno's camp, 13, 14. Lays siege to Capua, xxvi. 4. Follows Hannibal on his route to Rome, 8—10. Beheads the Campanian senators, 15. Is accused by the Campanians, 27, 33. Created dictator, xxvii. 5. Consul a fourth time, 6. His reputation loses its lustre, 20. He is continued in command at Capua, 22.
——— Gillo, Q., lieutenant-general under Scipio, xxx. 21. Prætor, xxxi. 4.
——— Flaccus, Q., prætor, xxxviii. 42; xxxix. 56. Is made a pontiff, xl. 42. Triumphs over the Celtiberians, and is

chosen consul, 43. Triumphs over the Ligurians, 59. Is made censor, xli. 27. Strips the temple of Juno Lacinia, xlii. 3. Hangs himself, 28.
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———, Agrippa, iii. 66, 70. Consular tribune, v. 32.
——— Pacilus, C., consul, iv. 12. Censor, 22. Disfranchises Mamercus Æmilius, 24. Is made consular tribune, 31. Consul again, 52.
——— Aculeo, C., quæstor, xxxviii. 55.
———, L., consul, opposes the Agrarian law, ii. 54.
———, consular tribune with Camillus, vi. 22. Dispute between them, 23, 24, 25.
———, plebeian tribune, ix. 42.
——— Camillus, L., dictator, restores the consulship to the patricians, and is elected consul, vii. 24. Defeats the Gauls, 26. Is made dictator, 28.
———, consul, takes Pedum, and triumphs, viii. 13. Consul a second time, 29.
——— Medullinus, L., a person or persons of this name held the following offices, but the accounts are obscure: Consular tribune, iv. 25, 35. Again, 44. Consul, 51. Again, 54. Consular tribune, 57. Again, 61. A third time, v. 14. A fourth, 16. A fifth, 24. A sixth, 26. A seventh, 32.
——— Purpureo, L., military tribune, xxvii. 2. Attends a general assembly of the Ætolians, xxxi. 29. Is made consul, xxxiii. 24.
——— Camillus, M., consular tribune, v. 1. Again, 10. A third time, he ravages Campania, 14. Interrex, 17. Dictator, 19. Defeats the Faliscians, and takes Veii, 25. Opposes the design of removing to Veii, and is made consular tribune a fourth time, 26. Sends back to the Falerians their children, and he traitor who brought them to his camp, 27. Interrex, he is accused by Apuleius; goes into exile, and is fined, 32. Is recalled, and made dictator, 46. Utterly vanquishes the Gauls, and triumphs, 49. Dictator a third time, he takes the Volscian camp, vi. 1. Consular tribune a fifth time, 6. His services, 7—10. Consular tribune a sixth time, 18. A seventh, 22. His moderation towards his colleague, and success in war, 23, 25. Dictator a fourth time, 38. A fifth, he triumphs over the Gauls, 42. His death, and character, vii. 1.
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——— Crassipes, M., commissioner of lands, xxxiv. 53. Prætor, xxxviii. 42. Again, xli. 28.
———, P., consul, ii. 56.
——— Philus, P., prætor, xxi. 35, 55. Returns wounded from Africa, xxiii. 11. Is made censor, xxiv. 11; and acts with severity, 18. Is accused by Metellus, plebeian tribune, and dies, 43.
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———, Sex., consul, ii. 39.
———, Sp., consul, ii. 43.
———, consul, worsted by the Æquans, and surrounded in his camp, iii. 4. Is relieved by T. Quintius, 5.
———, consular tribune, vi. 31.
——— Camillus, Sp., son of Marcus, first prætor, vii. 1.
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———, Circensian, xxx. 27.
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———, M., consular tribune, vi. 42.
——— Macerinus, M., consul, quashes the combinations of the plebeian tribunes against the patricians, iii. 65. Is made consul a second time, iv. 8. He overthrows the Volscians, sends them under the yoke, and triumphs, 10. Is a third time consul, 17. Censor, 22. *See* ix. 33, 34.
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———, consul, x. 1.
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———, M., consul, iv. 1.
———, T., plebeian tribune, proposes an Agrarian law, and accuses T. Menenius, ii. 52. Makes a heavy charge on the consuls of the preceding year, and is put to death, 54.
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Hamilcar, forming plans for a war against the Romans, dies, xxi. 1, 2, 5. This happened at a place in Spain called Highfort, xxiv. 41.
———, acting in concert with the Insubrian Gauls, is killed in battle at Cremona, xxxi. 21.
———, son of Bomilcar, defeated by the Scipios, xxiii. 49.
———, son of Gisgo, given up to the Romans, with the isle of Melita, xxi. 51.
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———, P., consul, triumphs over the Sabines, ii. 16.
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Quæstorium, part of a camp taken by the Samnites, x. 32.
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——— Flamininus, Cæso, commissioner to build a temple of Concord, xxii. 33.
——— Cincinnatus, C., consular tribune, vi. 32.
——— Capitolinus, Cn., first curule ædile, vii. 1.
———, D., of obscure birth, remarkable for bravery and conduct, commander of a Roman fleet, is killed in a sea-fight with the Tarentines, xxvi. 39.
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——— Cincinnatus, L., supplicates the people in favour of his son Cæso, iii. 12. Consul, 19. Refuses to be re-elected consul, 21. Is called from the plough to the dictatorship, 26. Surrounds and vanquishes the Æquans, and sends them under the yoke, 27, 28. Is presented by his army with a golden crown, and triumphs, 29. A candidate for the decemvirate, fails, 35. Executes the business of censor with moderation, iv. 6. Is again dictator, 13.
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——— Atratinus, A., one of the first consular tribunes, iv. 7. Again, 44. A third time, 47. Master of horse, vi. 28.
———, C., consul, his negligence and rashness, iv. 37. He is accused by L. Hortensius, plebeian tribune, and saved by the entreaties of the military tribunes of his army, 42. Is again accused, and condemned, 44.
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———, Cn., lieutenant-general under Q. Fulvius, xxvii. 6.
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——— Longus, C., commissioner of religious affairs, xli. 21.
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———, P., ambassador to Ptolemy Epiphanes, xxxi. 2. Curule ædile, is made prætor, xxiv. 43, 44; xxv. 3; xxvi. 1. Censor, xxvii. 11. Consul, xxix. 11. Makes peace with Philip, 12. Engages in an irregular combat with Hannibal, and is worsted; engages him again, and gains the victory, 36.
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——— Gracchus, Tib., master of horse, xxii. 57. Sends corn and nuts down the river to the besieged in Casilinum, xxiii. 19. Curule ædile, is made consul, 24. Supports the spirits of the senate, 25. Takes the command of the volunteer slaves, 32. His services, 35—37. He defeats Hanno, xxiv. 14, 15. Gives freedom to the volunteer slaves, 16. Again consul, 43. His actions in Lucania, xxv. 1. He is insnared by treachery, and his body is sent to Hannibal, 16.
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——— Longus, Tib., consul, xxi. 6. Is sent into Sicily, 17. Recalled, and joins his colleague, 51. Is defeated by Hannibal, 55. Fights Hannibal again, is successful at first, but worsted afterwards, 59. Fights Hanno with good success, xxiii. 37.
——— Gracchus, Tib., plebeian tribune, although at enmity with Scipio Africanus, stops the prosecution against him, and receives thanks from the senate for his honourable conduct, xxxviii. 53. Prevents the imprisonment of L. Scipio, 60.
———, commissioner of a colony, xxxix. 55. Prætor, xl. 35. Consul, xli. 8. Triumphs over the Celtiberians, 7.
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——— Musca, Tib., commissioner of lands, xlv. 13.
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Senones, people of Gaul, advance to Clusium, and to Rome, v. 35. *See* Gauls. Surround and cut to pieces a Roman legion, x. 26.
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———, L., carrying an offering to Delphi, taken by pirates, and dismissed, v. 28.
——— Fidenas, L., military tribune, v. 16. Consul, 17. Consular tribune, 25. A second time consul, 30. A second time consular tribune, 35. A third time, 45.
———, consular tribune, iv. 35.
———, Manlius, decemvir, iii. 35.
——— Fidenas, Man., consular tribune, iv. 61. Again, v. 8. On his camp being attacked by the Faliscians, he chooses to be vanquished by the enemy, rather than send to his colleague for succour, for which he is brought to trial, 11, and fined, 12.
———, Man., military tribune, assists in the taking of Locri, xxix. 6. Is scourged by Pleminius, and put to death, 9.
——— Silus, Man., prætor, when the number was increased to six, xxxii. 27. Lieutenant-general, xliv. 30.
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Servilius, C., commissioner of lands, obliged to fly by an inroad of the Boians, xxi. 25.
———, consul, ii. 49.
———, consular tribune, contending with his colleagues, submits to the advice of his father, iv. 45.
——— Ahala, C., master of horse, kills

Mælius, iv. 13, 14. Is commended by the dictator, 15. Made consul, 30. Consular tribune, 56. Master of horse, and a second time consular tribune, 57. A third time, v. 8. In obedience to the will of the senate, he obliges his colleagues to abdicate, 9.
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———, C., commissioner for conducting a colony to Placentia, is seized by the Gauls, xxi. 25; and sixteen years after is delivered, and brought home by his son, xxx. 19.
———, son of the preceding, lieutenant-general, throws supplies into the citadel of Tarentum, xxv. 15. Is made pontiff, xxvii. 6. Plebeian ædile, 21. Master of horse, and curule ædile, 33, 36. Prætor, xxviii. 10, 46. Consul, xxix. 38; xxx. 1. Liberates and brings home his father, xxx. 19. Dictator, 39. Chief pontiff, xxxix. 46. Is ordered to find out expiations in time of a pestilence, xl. 37. Dies, 42.
——— Casca, C., plebeian tribune, xxv. 3.
——— Cæpio, Cn., pontiff, xxv. 2. Curule ædile, xxviii. 10. Prætor, xxxviii. 46. Consul, xxix. 38; xxx. 1. Goes over to Sicily in pursuit of Hannibal, but is recalled by a dictator appointed for the purpose, 24. Dies, xli. 21.
——— Geminus, Cn., consul, xxi. 57; xxii. 1. He ravages the island of Maninx, 31. Follows the plan of Fabius in conducting the war, 32, 43. Is slain at Cannæ, 49.
——— Structus, L., consular tribune, iv. 47.
——— M., augur, xxvi. 23. Curule ædile, xxix. 38. Master of horse, xxx. 24. Consul, 26, 27. Is continued in command, 41. His speech in favour of Æmilius Paullus, xlv. 37, &c.
———, M., military tribune, xl. 27. Pontiff, xliii. 11.
——— Geminus, M., master of horse, xxx. 24, 27. Commissioner of lands, xxxi. 4. Of a colony, xxxii. 29.
———, P., consul, ii. 21. Not pleasing either to the patricians or plebeians, 27.
———, consul, iii. 6. Dies, 7.
———, Q., consul, ii. 6. Again; and is sent against the Æquans, iii. 2.
———, quæstor, prosecutes M. Volscius for false evidence against Cæso, iii. 24.
——— Priscus, Q., dictator, iv. 21. Routs the Etrurians, and takes Fidenæ, 22. Calls on the tribunes to make the consuls name a dictator, 26. Is made dictator, 46. Defeats the Æquans, 47.
——— Fidenas, Q., consular tribune, v. 8. Again, 14. Interrex, 17. Consular tribune a third time, 24. A fourth, 36. A fifth, vi. 4. A sixth, 6.
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——— Ahala, Q., consul, vii. 1. A second time, 4. Dictator; he, by direction of the senate, vows the great games, and, after several services, abdicates, 11. Is made interrex, 17.
———, Q., master of horse, vii. 22. Consul, 38.
———, Sp., consul, repulses the Veians; is afterwards worsted by them, and saved by his colleague, ii. 51, 52.
——— Priscus, Sp., consul, vi. 31. Consular tribune, 38.
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——— Tullius, i. 18. Son of a prisoner taken at Corniculum, 39, and iv. 3. Advanced to the throne by the senate, 41. Marries his daughters to the Tarquins. 42. Institutes the census, 42; and closes the lustrum, 44. Is murdered, 48. His commentaries, 60.
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———, quæstor, iv. 50.
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Sewer, great, constructed by Tarquinius the Proud, i. 55.
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———, M., of Fregellæ, answers for eighteen colonies, that they would supply troops, xxvii. 10.
Sextius, L., plebeian tribune, iv. 49.
———, plebeian tribune, proposes laws concerning debts, concerning lands, and the admission of plebeians to the consulship, and prevents the election of curule magistrates, vi. 35. Being a tenth time tribune, he is made the first plebeian consul, 42.
——— Sabinus, M., prætor, xxx. 26.
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———, beaked, xxviii. 45, 46; xxx. 10.
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———, Cn., prætor, xlii. 10. Is sent with an army to Macedonia, 27.
———, L., plebeian tribune, vi. 6.
———, T., consul, ii. 40. Defeats the Volscians, 41.
———, proposes that the Romans should remove to Veii, v. 24.
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Sidicinians, attacked by the Samnites, procure the assistance of the Campanians, vii. 29. Wish to surrender themselves to the Romans; and, being rejected, are reduced by the Latins, viii. 1, 2. Wage war with the Auruncians, 15. Are conquered by the Romans, 16, 17.
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——, sent by Marcellus to the governor of the fort Euryalus, xxv. 25. Wears a golden crown in Marcellus's triumph, and is rewarded with the freedom of Rome, xxvi. 21.
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———, T., plebeian tribune, accuses Sp. Servilius, ii. 52.
——— Gellius, Samnite general, is taken by the Romans, ix. 44.
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—— iii. 3. — 124,214
—— iii. 24. — 132,409
—— x. 9, 47. — 262,322
—— xxvii. 36. — 137,108
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Sylvanus, supposed to have uttered a loud voice from the Arsian wood, ii. 7.
Sylvius, surname of the Alban kings, i. 3.
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Syphax, king of Numidia, solicited by Scipio, forms a treaty of amity with the Romans, xxiv. 48. Defeated by Masinissa, he flies to the Maurusians, 49. Sends an embassy to Rome, and receives one from thence, xxvii. 4. Is visited by Scipio and Hasdrubal, and makes an alliance with Scipio, xxviii. 17, 18. Marries a daughter of Hasdrubal, and renounces the friendship of Scipio, xxix. 23. His war with Masinissa, 33. His camp is burned by Scipio and Masinissa, xxx. 5. He advances against Masinissa and Lælius; is defeated and taken, 11. His discourse to Scipio on being brought to the Roman camp, 13. He is sent to Rome, 17, and dies in confinement, 45.
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———, L., aspires to the crown, i. 46. Instigated by his wife, seizes it by force, 47. Puts the principal senators to death, secures his person by a strong guard, neglects the practice of consulting the senate, courts the favour of the Latins, marries his daughter to Mamilius of Tusculum, is surnamed the Proud, 49. Is severely censured by Herdonius, 50, whose death he procures, 51. He makes war on the Volscians, and takes Suessa Pometia; takes Gabii by stratagem, 53, 54. Builds the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and executes other works, 55. Lays siege to Ardea, 57. Is dethroned, and banished, 60. Attempts to recover the kingdom by the aid of the Veians and Tarquinians, ii. 6; then of Porsenna, and is wounded at the battle of Regillus, 19. Dies, 21.
———, Aruns, son of the Proud, sent to Delphi, i. 56. Falls in battle, together with his antagonist L. J. Brutus, ii. 6.
———, L., son of the Proud, i. 56. Is present in the battle of Regillus, ii. 19, 20.
———, Sex., son of the same, betrays Gabii to his father, i. 53, 54. His treatment of Lucretia, 58. He is killed at Gabii, 60.
———, Aurunus, brother of the Proud, mild in disposition, is murdered by his wife, i. 46.
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Tempanius, Sex., decurio of horse, by making the cavalry dismount, prevents a total defeat, iv. 33. His prudent answer respecting the consul Sempronius, 41. He is made plebeian tribune, 42.
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——— Tuscivicanus, P., xlv. 17.
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——— Culleo, Q., a senator, after having been long a prisoner of the Carthaginians, is restored to his country, xxx. 43. Follows Scipio in his triumph, 45. Ambassador to Carthage, xxxiii. 47. Prætor, xxxviii. 42. Is commissioned to hold an inquiry respecting the conduct of Scipio, 55.
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Theodotus, one of the conspirators against Hieronymus, when put to the torture, conceals his accomplices, and falsely accuses Thraso, xxiv. 5. Hastens with Sosis to Syracuse, after the death of Hieronymus, 21.
Theogenes, Macedonian general, xliv. 32.
Theondas, king of Samothrace, summons Evander of Crete to stand trial for murder, is bribed afterwards by Perseus, xlv. 5.
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Thrasimene, or Trasimene, lake, the battle near it, xxii. 6, 7; xxiv. 13.
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Thraso, intimate friend of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse, falsely accused as a conspirator, and put to death, xxiv. 5.
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——— Potitus, L., commences an opposition to the decemvirs, iii. 39, 41. With M. Horatius, drives Appius out of the forum, 49. Is deputed by the senate to the commissioners, 53. Made consul, he procures laws in favour of the commissioners, 55. His conduct in war, 60, 61. He triumphs by order of the people, without consent of the senate, 63. Refuses to be continued in office, 64. *See* iv. 6.
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———, Man., brother of Poplicola, consul, triumphs over the Sabines, ii. 16. Is *slain* at Regillus in attempting to kill Tarquinius, 20.
———, not the first dictator, ii. 18.
———, son of Volesus, dictator, ii. 30. Triumphs over the Sabines, and, not being suffered to fulfil the hopes that he had given to the commissioners, abdicates, 31.
———, quæstor, iii. 25. Consul, 31.
———, military tribune, gains the surname of Corvus, from being aided by a crow in a single combat with a Gaul, and is made consul at twenty-three years of age, vii. 26. A second time consul, he triumphs over the Volscians, 27. A third time consul, 28. Is beloved by the soldiers, 33. Triumphs over the Samnites, 38. Dictator, 39. Composes a mutiny of the troops, 40, 41. A fourth time consul, he triumphs over the Ausonians, viii. 16. Interrex, 17, and ix. 7. Dictator a second time, x. 3. Triumphs, 5. Consul a fifth time, 6. A sixth time, 11.
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———, ix. 28. Lieutenant-general, 40. Prætor a fourth time, 41.
——— Poplicola, M., master of horse, vii. 12. Consul, 17. Again, 19.
——— Falto, Man., ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11. Curule ædile, xxx. 26. Prætor, 40.
——— Lævinus, M., prætor, xxiii. 24, 30, 31, 37. Proprætor, he guards the coast at Brundusium, xxiv. 10. His exploits in Greece during the Macedonian war, 40, and xxvi. 24, 26. He is chosen consul in his absence, 22. Exchanges provinces with Marcellus, 29. Persuades the senators to contribute their gold, silver, and money to the treasury, 36. Drives the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily, 40. Disputes with the senate about the nomination of a dictator, xxvii. 5. Proconsul, he passes from Sicily into Africa, xxviii. 4. Is sent ambassador to Attalus, xxix. 11. Proposes restitution of the money contributed by private citizens, 16. Remarkable funeral games are exhibited in honour of him by his sons, xxxi. 50.
——— Messala, M., admiral, sails to Africa, and ravages the coast, xxvii. 5. Is made prætor, xxxiv. 54. Consul, xxxvii. 47. A second time, xxxviii. 35. Pontiff, xlii. 28.
———, P., son of Volesus, accompanies Collatinus to Lucretia, i. 58. Swears after Brutus, 59. Is made consul in the place of Collatenus, ii. 2. Overcomes

the Tarquinii in battle, 6. Is accused of aiming at sovereignty, clears himself, compliments the people, and is surnamed Publicola; is also made consul, 8. A third time, 15. A fourth, he defeats the Sabines, triumphs, and dies so poor, as not to leave sufficient money for his funeral, 16.
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Velia, a city in Lucania, xxvi. 39.
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Velitrans, revolt, vi. 13, 21. Are subdued, 22, 29. Attack Tusculum, and are invested by the Romans, 36—42. Plunder the Roman territory, vii. 15. Revolt again, viii. 3, 12. Are treated with severity on account of their many revolts, and banished beyond the Tiber, 14.
Veneti, in Italy, descended from the Heneti and Trojans, i. 1. Live round the bottom of the Adriatic Gulf, v. 33; x. 2.
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Vercellius, beheaded for promoting a revolt of the Hirpinians, xxiii. 37.
Vergæ, xxx. 19.
Vergiliæ, constellation, xxi. 35.
Vergium, a fort in Spain, a receptacle of robbers, is taken by Cato; the robbers are put to death, and the guilty part of the inhabitants sold, xxxiv. 21.
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Vesilius, mount, iii. 50.
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——— virgins, chosen by Numa, have a stipend appointed, and many privileges are conferred on them, i. 20.
——— virgins, with the sacred stores, are carried to Cære by L. Albinius, v. 40.
Vestal, a, accused, is dismissed, with a charge to be more serious in conversation, and more grave in her dress, iv. 44.
———, convicted of a breach of chastity, is buried alive, viii. 15.
———, who had the charge of the sacred fire, when it was extinguished, is scourged to death, xxviii. 11. Of two vestals found guilty of incontinence,

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Vesuvius, mount, viii. 8.
Vettians, a warlike people, adjoining Macedonia, xlv. 30.
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Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, prevails on him to retire from Rome, ii. 40.
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———, consular tribune, vi. 32. Again, 36.
———, L., decemvir, iii. 33.
———, consular tribune, vi. 38.
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———, curule ædile, xxvii. 6. Prætor, 7. Proprætor in Gaul, 22. Lieutenant-general, xxviii. 9. Consul, 10. Master of horse, xxix. 11. Is sent home from Africa, and recounts the exploits of Scipio, xxx. 38, 40.
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——— Calvinus, T., consul, viii. 16. Again, ix. 1. Is sent under the yoke of Caudium, 6. Offered as prisoner to the Sabines, 10.
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———, T., consul, ii. 28. Marches against the Æquans, 30.
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——— Virius, one of the Campanian ambassadors to the consul Varro, persuades his countrymen to join the Carthaginians, xxiii. 6. Exhorts the senators to put an end to their lives, xxvi. 13. He and twenty-seven senators swallow poison, 14.
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———, prætor, xxxi. 49.
———, P., plebeian tribune, iii. 54.
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———, consular tribune, out of enmity neglects assisting his colleague Servius, v. 8. Both are compelled to re-

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———, Opiter, consul, with his colleague, takes Pometia, and triumphs, ii. 17.
———, consul, ii. 54.
———, Proculus, consul, maintains a contest with his colleague about the Agrarian law, ii. 41.
———, Sp., consul, iii. 31.
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